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THE EVOLUTION OF THE NIBELUNGENSAGA

The results which are contained in the present study were essentially reached by me some twenty years ago and were embodied in a paper which I read before the Philological Association of Stanford University in 1898. This paper formed a part of a series of studies in the history of the Siegfried-legend which remained unpublished, partly because I became interested in other lines of research, partly because my conclusions contained so many heresies that it seemed wise not to rush into print with them before I had subjected them to further tests. I now regret that I did not publish these studies at the time when they were written, for shortly afterwards Heusler and later Boer, Neckel and Pollak, following different methods of investigation, obtained results similar to those which I had reached. Among these I mention the rejection of the Lachmann-Müllenhoff theory of the mythological origin of the Siegfried-legend, the elimination as documentary source-material for the origin of this legend of certain Edda-poems such as Grípispǫ́, Reginsmǫ́l, parts of Fáfnismǫ́l, Sigrdrifomǫ́l and Helreiþ Brynhildar, and finally the demonstration of the fact that the primitive form of the Siegfried-legend is an old story of the murder of relatives or, as Boer afterwards expressed the same idea in his *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Nibelungensage*. Vol. I p. 7: "die Sigfrid Sage (ist) eine Sage vom Verwandtenmord."

Most investigators of the history of the hero-legend and the Nibelungensaga in particular, have approached the subject from the point of view of the history of the subject-matter, the Stoffgeschichte, assuming the existence of a general saga as a fixed quantity from which the poets at different periods drew, and which is capable of a reconstruction from the various poetic fragments, just as we construe an Indogermanic or a Pregermanic parent-speech by the comparison of related dialects. At the time when the mythological dogma still predominated, the interpretation consisted of reading a so-called 'deeper' or 'real' meaning into the single poetic documents by postulating a Germanic hero-myth, according to which the single heroic figures such as Siegfried, Hagen, Beowulf, etc., were deities in disguise. The seeming profundity of this sort of interpretation has, however, been cruelly exploded, and the belief in these reduced or faded gods has been abandoned.

Its place has of late been taken by the belief in the so-called Märchentheorie, according to which the hero-legend consists essentially of fairy-tales mingled with historical elements. The chief representative of this theory, which is based upon Wundt's hypothesis of the fairy-tale origin of all epic poetry, is Friedrich Panzer, the author of the books on Beowulf and Siegfried. While the parallels which this method has established are frequently very striking, it has not succeeded in finding a fairy-tale which, as a whole, would correspond to any one hero-legend, and it is only by a process of summing up features contained in widely scattered material that a certain force of argument is attained. Moreover, there are numerous old Germanic hero-legends which are free from Märchen-elements, and therefore must be explained from other sources.

But even if we grant the justification of the two methods just described, all that can be obtained by them is the explanation of the presence and probable origin of certain mythological or märchenhaften elements in the hero-legends. The results thus attained are at best analytical and atomistic in character; they may show the ingredients of the poetic composition, but they fail to explain the poetic process that made artistic use of these ingredients. Least of all will the mythological or the Märchen-theory throw light upon the rise and the development of the poetic compositions which present the fusion of the Siegfried-legend and the Burgundensaga. As the plot resulting from this fusion is the chief source of our knowledge of the Nibelungensaga, it is by a careful critical study of the evolution of the plot that, in my opinion, we may hope to solve some of the perplexing problems connected with the history of our saga.

That the Siegfriedsaga once existed as a separate legend independent of the story of the Burgundians, with which it was later combined, may be accepted as an established fact. In a previous paper (*Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass.* Vol. XII, 461 ff.) I attempted to prove that the oldest account of the Siegfried-story, though perhaps not the entire original form of the saga, as I now believe, is contained in Beowulf, ll. 885 ff. which account afterwards, in the Scandinavian version, underwent important changes. According to this Beowulf passage, the Siegfried-legend consisted of the story of a hero, who achieved highest renown by the killing of a dragon, the guardian of a great treasure. It is of little importance that in

Beowulf our hero is called Sigmund, for Sigmund, Sigurð and Siegfried are various names of the same hero, and there seems little doubt that Siegfried's famous deed was transferred to Sigmund when through the latter the legend began to connect Siegfried with the chosen clan of the Volsungs and their special protector, Oðinn. That the story of our hero was known to more than one Germanic tribe (se waes wreccena wide maerost ofer werþeode) is made evident by the same passage in Beowulf, which, however, as yet shows no traces of a connection of this story with the historic saga of the Burgundians.

While it may forever remain impossible to find the reason *why* these two stories should have been combined, we are still in a position to study *how* they were connected. The various versions of the combined story which we possess, i. e. the story of Siegfried and the story of the Burgundians, represent in my opinion, various attempts at a fusion of both legends. The earliest and most imperfect of these attempts is contained in the version given in the Edda and in the Vǫlsungasaga; a second one we may observe in the crude form of the Seifridlied and in the fragments of Low German songs imbedded in the Thidreksaga, and the third and most artistic one we possess in the Nibelungenlied. Not until the artistic union of the legends has been attained is the poetic imagination set at ease, and the Nibelungensaga ceases to attract the poets during the subsequent centuries.

It will be the purpose of the present paper to make a study of these various attempts at a fusion, the historic documents of which are the versions named before, to inquire into the means which, in the process of the artistic evolution of the saga, were employed by the poetic imagination, and, if possible, in this way to shed light on some of the unsolved problems connected with the saga.

All the versions of the story agree in letting Siegfried, after he has slain the dragon, appear at the court of the Burgundians where he woos and wins the sister of King Gunther. According to all the versions Siegfried is murdered by the hand of, or with the knowledge of certain members of the Royal Burgundian family, and according to two of the versions the final destruction of the Burgundians is due to this murder of Siegfried, though the versions differ in their statements concerning the motives which lead to the annihilation of the Burgundians.

There is no question in my mind that the story of the treacherous murder of Siegfried by jealous or avaricious relatives, who covet his treasure, was an essential part of the original Siegfried-legend. To be sure, the oldest account of the legend preserved in Beowulf, does not mention the story of the murder. The explanation is that the singer who improvises a lay on Beowulf's adventure thinks of Sigmund-Siegfried's most famous deed, his dragon fight. There is no occasion to speak of his murder. But our "scop" knew, as l. 879 shows, of feuds and *treacheries* (*fæhðe* and *fyrena*) in connection with his hero, and the subsequent phrase *æfter deaðdæge* (l. 885), unless a mere commonplace, may well refer to the widely known fact of the treacherous murder.

The story of a glorious hero murdered by treacherous relatives on the one hand, and the story of the annihilation of the Burgundians through Attila on the other hand—this was the material which the poets found before them. And we are still in a position to observe their imagination at work, combining the two legends and weaving a new story, especially in the Edda version, which I shall discuss first.

Leaving aside the mythological embellishments of the story, which are evidently later Scandinavian inventions, the original form of the new narrative, according to this version, was about as follows: Siegfried, after the dragon fight, journeys to the court of Gunther where he marries Gudrun, the latter's sister. He then assists Gunther in suing for the hand of Brynhild, the sister of Attila. To win her, the two must resort to some sort of deception. Discovering the fraud and being jealous of Siegfried, whom she secretly loves, Brynhild causes his death. Having accomplished her revenge, she kills herself, and is burned on the funeral pyre with Siegfried. Hostilities now ensue between the Burgundians and Attila, as he holds them responsible for the death of his sister. He is finally pacified by the promise of the hand of Gudrun, Siegfried's widow. At first Gudrun refuses, but she is given a potion, which causes her to forget Siegfried. After a time Attila, who covets Siegfried's hoard, now in the possession of Gunther, invites him to his court. Knowing her husband's treacherous designs, Gudrun sends her brothers a warning, but they fail to heed it and meet their death. To avenge them she kills her two sons, and at a banquet she gives Attila their blood to drink and

their hearts to eat. In the night, when Attila, drunk and defenseless, is asleep, she plunges a sword into his heart and sets fire to the castle, in which he and all his retainers are consumed.

From the account just given, it appears quite clearly that the invention of the character of Gudrun, the Kriemhilt of the German versions, is the first and most important link, by which the Siegfriedsaga and the story of the Burgundians were joined together. What furnished the historical basis for the creation of this character has long been recognized in the fact that Attila, according to Jordanis, *De origine actibusque Getarum*, Cap. 49, died during the night following his wedding to a girl named Ildico, which is the latinized form of German Hildikô. We can still observe how the legend transformed this historical fact. While Attila, in Jordanis' account, succumbs to a natural death, the legend has him die by the hand of his wife. She kills him to avenge the murder of her brothers, for the legend also invents a motive for her act by making her the sister of the Burgundian kings.

The character of Gudrun, as the above account shows, furnishes, however, still another link in the creation of the new narrative. We are told that before she became the wife of Attila she was married to Siegfried, the famous slayer of the dragon, who, accordingly, had to appear at the court of Gunther to ask for her hand. I am convinced that the invention of Gudrun's marriage to Siegfried was a device of the legend subsequent to the invention of her marriage to Attila. In fact the *Atlakvipa*, one of the oldest Edda lays, which presents the earliest poetic version of the fall of the Burgundians and of Gudrun's revenge, has as yet no knowledge of her marriage to Siegfried. I conclude that the marriage-motive, so successfully employed in explaining the annihilation of the Burgundians, is repeated for the purpose of connecting the Siegfried-legend with the story of the Burgundians. Such retrogressive growth of the legend, by which I mean the subsequent development of the antecedent history of a hero or his ancestors, is a not unfrequent phenomenon in the evolution of the hero-legend. It has its psychological basis in the general inclination, common to the hero-legend of most nations, to trace back the events and characters of their national past into the remotest periods of antiquity and, if possible, to the mythological beginnings of things.

In the present case the legend starts with the fact that Gudrun is the wife of Attila, and, in order to combine the Siegfried-legend with the story of the Burgundians, already fixed, invents a previous marriage of Gudrun. At the same time it became necessary to explain and to excuse this invention. Consequently we are told in the Scandinavian version that Gudrun was given a magic potion before she became Attila's wife, and in the Nibelungenlied we hear that Kriemhilt consents to marry the King of the Huns because she is thereby given an opportunity of avenging Siegfried's death. While thus in the Nibelungenlied a sufficient reason is given for Kriemhilt's second marriage, no such motive is suggested by the Scandinavian version, since here Gudrun, after her marriage to Attila, avenges her *brothers* and not her former husband. I conclude, therefore, that the potion, which is to make her forget Siegfried, is a poor, though early device to find an excuse for the two marriages of Gudrun, a device dating back to the time when the first attempt was made to connect the Siegfried-legend with the story of the Burgundians, with Gudrun as the wife of Attila. In other words: the Siegfried-legend was combined with the story of the Burgundians at a period when the historical facts of their annihilation and the subsequent sudden death of Attila had been transformed into a saga, in which Gudrun, the avenger of her brothers, had become the central figure. The earliest trace of this transformation is found in Marcellinus Comes who, writing between 518 and 534, relates that Attila rex Hunnorum Europae orbator provinciae *noctu mulieris manu, cultroque confoditur.*

It seems quite improbable, therefore, that the combination of the two legends in question took place previous to the middle of the sixth century.

One of the most important manifestations of the poetic imagination is the invention of the *μύθος*, (*σύνθεσις τῶν πραγμάτων*) as Aristotle calls it, or the "Fabel" (plot) as it is named in German. By this I understand the joining together of characters and actions or events into the organic unity of the epic or the drama, in conformity with the laws of cause and effect. I have thus far been trying to show how gradually, upon the basis of two given legends, a new "Fabel" is developing out of the combination of the two sagas. Before I proceed further I wish to point out as a characteristic feature of this new "Fabel" that it transforms, into family

affairs and feuds, events of history, and that from the personal relations thus established result the poetic motives which actuate the characters. It is owing to the absence of the historical viewpoint that the memory of the great actual occurrences of history, upon which the Germanic hero-legend is doubtlessly based, has almost entirely vanished, and at best only the names of the historical personages, as in the case of Attila and Gunther, have been preserved. Hence the difficulty of tracing the heroic characters of the saga to their prototypes in history, a difficulty which becomes especially great in the case of the Siegfried story, the historical basis of which seems to lie in the time prior to the migrations of the German peoples.

Nor are the poetic motives which incite the characters and cause the action of the new plot definitely established or arranged with the idea of an organic unity. On the whole it may be said that the Scandivavian version of the Nibelungen story shows the saga in the state of evolution in which both "Fabel" and motives are still being invented and combined.

It is at this point where I disagree with those investigators who consciously or unconsciously assume the preexistence of a complete and uniform saga from which the single poets drew their material. Aside from the fact that this assumption lacks all documentary basis, it is disproved by the very nature of the song material of the Edda which, in its oldest and best specimens, is that of the single, independent heroic lay complete in itself. Had the authors of these single lays been bound by the fixed tradition of a complete saga, the confusion of motives and the numerous contradictions in the structure of the new "Fabel" would be inexplicable. They will, however, become intelligible if we recognize the fact that the singers were free to combine certain legendary elements, to add to them and to embellish them and thus gradually to create the whole of the saga, which in its artistically completed form we possess in the Nibelungenlied.

Viewed in the light of these observations, the problematical character of Brynhild, too, may become more intelligible. That she, like Gudrun, serves as an important link in the chain which binds the Siegfried-legend to the story of the Burgundians is clear at the first glance. Is she, like her great rival and antagonist, the product of motive-finding imagination, or is she, though there is

no trace of her in history, a character which originally belonged to one or the other of the two legends?

There are, in the Norse version, clearly distinguishable two conflicting accounts concerning Brynhild, the one ascribing to her human ancestry, the other seeing in her a mythological being. To the careful reader of the sources, unbiased by mythological theories and predilections, there can be little doubt as to the authenticity of the first account, according to which Brynhild is the daughter of Buþle and Attila's sister. Not only is her relationship to Attila claimed in two of the oldest Siegfried lays of the Edda, the *Brot af Sigorþarkvipo* (8^1, 14^1) and the *Sigorþarkvipa en skamma* (15^2, 30^1, 55^5, 69^4), but also in the productions of later poetasters such as the *Grípesspǫ* (27^3) and the *Helreiþ Brynhildar* (4^1) in which the confusion resulting from her supposed mythological origin has already set in. To be sure, no historical fact warrants this version of her descent, but it is evident that Brynhild serves here as a second link to bind together the two legends. She is needed as such for the purpose of furnishing a motive for Attila's treacherous invitation to the Burgundians and for their subsequent destruction. Again it is in two of the oldest lays that this motivation appears. It is implied in the prophesy of the raven in *Brot af Sigkv. 5:*

Ykr mon Atle eggjar rjóþa

and clearly expressed in Attila's reproach, *Atlamǫl* 52 (Sijmons):

sendoþ systr heljo: slíks ek mest kennomk

In view of the fact that the version of the fall of the Burgundians contained in the Attila lays corresponds to the facts of history more closely than any other poetic account of the same story and is, therefore, of great antiquity, I conclude that the invention of the motive for Attila's revenge is equally old. A product of the poetic imagination, the character of Brynhild is at the same time endowed with traits which are foreign to the nature of Germanic womanhood, traits which may, however, have had their prototype in the environment of the semibarbarian ruler of the Huns. The family resemblance between the voluptuous, jealous, and revengeful virago and the avaricious, treacherous, and ferocious Atle of the Edda lays is indeed unquestionable, and there seems strong justification, therefore, for the assumption that the uncanny woman, whose career is thus summed up by Hagen: "she has been born ever to evil, a grief to the heart of many a man,"[1] played a

rôle in the story of the fall of the Burgundians *before* it was connected with the Siegfried-legend.

However, soon after the poetic combination of the two legends had begun, Brynhild was assigned an additional rôle in the new "Fabel"; she was to cause the death of Siegfried. If, as I believe, Brynhild's connection with the murder of Siegfried presents a later development of the "Fabel," then we must assume the existence of an earlier version of the plot which accounted for Siegfried's death in a different way. Such a version we undoubtedly have in *Guþrúnarkviþa* II 3, in which Gudrun accuses her brothers of the murder of Siegfried because "they begrudged me a husband who was foremost of all." She could not have given this reason for the crime had Brynhild already figured as the instigator of it. If there was, however, a time in the development of the Nibelungen story when Brynhild, who belongs originally to the Attila-legend, had not yet made her fatal entry into Siegfried's destiny, then all the stories of her previous betrothal to the hero, of her following him to the funeral pyre etc. must be pronounced later inventions.

Nowhere does the unfinished and fluctuating state of the new "Fabel" become more apparent than in the various accounts concerning Brynhild. Had this character been an old, essential part of the Siegfried-legend, as most scholars believe, these various and conflicting accounts could not have been possible, owing to the deep-rooted conservatism of ancient folk-lore. If, on the other hand, the imagination of the poets was unfettered by conservative tradition when shaping this character, a multiformity of statements and versions would result. Here, if anywhere, may we observe how the poets were the creators of new sagas.

Their principal effort in this direction, still traceable in its various steps, is the gradual creation of the valkyrie myth in connection with Gunther's wooing of Brynhild. According to the account of *Sg. sk.* 37–39, supported by similar passages in *Odrúnargrátr* 17 and in Vǫlsungasaga, Chap. 29, 7 ff. (Ranisch), the Giukings and Siegfried were besieging Attila's castle in order to win Brynhild, his sister, by force if necessary. Finding himself hard pressed, Attila concludes to submit and threatens to disinherit Brynhild

[1] *Sg. sk.* 45: hón krǫng of kvamsk fyr kné móþor
hón's æ boren óvilja til
mǫrgom manne at móþtrega.

if she will not consent to the marriage. She deliberates for a time whether she should follow Buþle's advice and become a wishmaid (óskmær)[2] and fell warriors, or acquiesce in Attila's demand. Attracted by Siegfried's appearance and still more by his gold, she consents to a compromise, hoping she might win his love. By the deceit and scheming of Attila, however, she is finally compelled to marry Gunther. Neither a previous acquaintance or meeting with Siegfried, nor the notorious marriage by proxy of later accounts, is mentioned in this story. Attila is the cause of all the woe that befell her, as Brynhild tells us herself in *Guþrúnarkvipa I*, 24 ff.:

'Veldr einn Atle ǫllo bǫlve,
of borenn Buþla, bróþer mínn,
þás vit í hǫll húnskrar þjóþar
eld á jǫfre ormbeþs lítom.
þess hefk gangs goldet síþan
þeirar synar sǫomk ey.

Consumed with jealousy and sensual desire at the sight of Siegfried's conjugal happiness[3] she instigates Gunther to the murder of Siegfried.

This homely tale which presents the earliest motivation of Brynhild's connection with Siegfried's death evidently did not satisfy later poets of a romantic and mythologic bent of mind. The first change which they introduced was to transform Brynhild, the wishmaid and sister of Attila, into a valkyrie. This transformation would suggest itself all the more easily since the occupation of the wishmaids, who were a sort of Germanic Amazons such as the Romans, according to Cassius Dio,[4] found fully armed among the dead of the battlefield, coincided with the activity ascribed to the Valkyries. Hence we hear in a later Edda lay that Brynhild is one of the wishmaids of Oþinn, who, stung by his sleep thorn and clad in full armor, lies asleep on a mountain and is surrounded by a wall of fire (vafrloge). Here she rests until Siegfried with the help of his steed Grane rides through the flames and awakens her, whereupon they pledge their troth.

[2] Odrúnargrátr 15.

[3] The same motive crops out in the Nibelungenlied (592 Lachm.) when Brünhilt weeps as she sees Kriemhilt sitting next to Siegfried at the wedding feast.

[4] Cassius Dio, Epitome 71, 3, 2: *ἐν μέντοι τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ*

Whether or not the new motive was fashioned after the story of Dornröschen or some similar fairy-tale, its introduction created endless confusion in the "Fabel" as it had developed up to that time. Since the poets who cultivated the new motive were, on the whole, mediocre talents, no longer sharing the naïve mythological beliefs of the heroic age and lacking the plastic power of constructing a new uniform "Fabel," which would displace the old plot, we notice that the old and the new tale are intermingled or run side by side, with the result that Brynhild, to the despair of the interpreters, has from now on a double. A classical example of this confusion is the much discussed poem *Helreiþ Brynhildar* in which the ogress recognizes and addresses her as Buþla dótter, while Brynhild in reply chides her ignorance and tells her the valkyrie story. Another method of dovetailing the two versions was to transfer the vafrloge from the mountain of the sleeping valkyrie to Brynhild's castle. For obvious reasons this could not be Attila's castle, so a foster-father and brother-in-law, named Heimir, had to be invented, near whose home Brynhild occupies a hall (salr) surrounded by the portable fireworks which seemingly are set off whenever a suitor appears.

Still greater became the confusion of motives and contradictory statements when Brynhild's mythological double began to share the responsibility for Siegfried's tragic death in the remodelled new "Fabel." It will be seen that on the whole it resulted also in an important change in Siegfried's character. Not to its advantage, for no longer is Attila, as formerly, the cause of all the woe, but Siegfried, whose faithlessness and deceit bring about the final catastrophe.

I have already stated that, in my opinion, Brynhild's connection with the murder of Siegfried presents a later invention of the saga, superceding the older version according to which Siegfried fell by the hands of avaricious relatives who covet his treasure. Not only is this the version of the Seifriedlied and of several passages of the Nibelungenlied,[5] but also of *Guþr. I*, 21, and of *Sig. sk.* 16, where Gunther expresses it in unmistakable terms when he says to Hagen:

Vildu okr fylke til fear véla
gótt's at raþa Rínar malme

γυναικῶν σώματα ὡπλισμένα ἐυρέθη. Inter interfectos barbaros etiam mulieres repertae sunt armatae.

[5] Nibelungenlied (L.) 717, 813, 934.

ok unande auþe stýra
ok sitjande saélo njóta.

The fact that the motive of the avaricious relatives persistently recurs in documents separated from one another by centuries, proves how deep-rooted the tradition must have been. That the relatives who caused Siegfried's death became identical with Gudrun's brothers seems only natural after Siegfried had been connected with the Burgundian family through his marriage.

With the entrance of Brynhild, however, an important change takes place. She, now, becomes the instigator of the murder, which the brothers commit at her behest, and as long as she is considered merely as Attila's sister, avarice and jealousy, resulting from unrequited love, are the motives which prompt her. As soon, however, as the wishmaid at Attila's court was transformed into a valkyrie, these motives must have seemed crude and unsatisfactory in their undisguised frankness. A more dignified cause for her jealousy than mere sensual desire had to be found, and the story of a previous betrothal was invented. Inasmuch as the valkyrie myth was not able, as we have seen above, to displace the tradition of Brynhild's human origin, we hear in fact of two betrothments of Siegfried, one to the valkyrie on the mountain and one to Brynhild, the sister of Attila. The details, with which the story of the last betrothal is told in the Vǫlsungasaga on the basis of Edda lays now lost, clearly show the influence due to the rise of German chivalrous poetry, as do also the various efforts of exalting the character of Brynhild and of casting the entire blame upon Siegfried. While it is difficult to separate what belongs to the age of old heroic poetry from the later romantic elements because of their close admixture, it is not impossible to detect the latter elements even in some of the oldest lays. The story of the strong maiden living in a castle surrounded by a magic wall of flames, through which only Siegfried can ride, the marvellous steed which alone can perform this feat, the miraculous disguise of Siegfried, due to his having changed forms with Günther, and the account of the remarkable marriage by proxy, during which our hero passes three nights at Brynhild's side, placing, however, his wonderful sword between them as a bar of separation—[6] all disclose a delight in the

[6] I fear that Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* 168 ff. was mistaken in considering this feat of self-inflicted asceticism an ancient Germanic custom. The oldest passages which he is able to quote in support of his theory outside

miraculous and the fanciful, which has its parallels in chivalrous poetry, but which is foreign to the austere simplicity of motivation of primitive heroic poetry. Neither the Attila lays nor the oldest strophes of the *Brot af Sigkv.* need the aid of the supernatural or the fabulous to attain their poetic grandeur.

The efforts of later poets to explain and to mitigate the realistic expression of the motive of jealousy in the older sources, did not entirely succeed, however. Through the superficial veneer of courtly demeanor Brynhild's original nature bursts forth when, hearing that her revengeful designs were carried into effect, she laughs aloud at Gudrun's frantic grief or, when seeing the wounds of the slain Siegfried "fire is kindled in her eyes and she spirts venom from her mouth." In the face of such outbreaks of truculent passion the stories of her subsequent melodramatic sorrow and of her spectacular suicide seem weak and artificial. They belong without question to a time when the creative power of heroic poetry was already very much on the decline.

In conclusion, the question suggests itself whether the valkyrie myth and the various tales sprung from it are of Scandinavian or of German origin. In proof of the latter assumption it is pointed out that the Thidreksaga, while lacking the vafrloge and other miraculous incidents, has an account not only of Brynhild's betrothal to Siegfried but also of the deceitful marriage by proxy. As no other German source knows, however, of a previous meeting between Brynhild and Siegfried, much less of a betrothal, the account of the Thidreksaga must be dismissed as one of the cases in which the compiler of the saga followed Scandinavian reports. Not so, however, in the case of the story of the happenings in the bridal chamber which, in a somewhat modified form, appears also in the Nibelungenlied. In view of the fact that the

of those from the Edda and the Vǫlsungasaga are all taken from poems belonging to the age of chivalry, such as Tristan and Isolde, Orendel and Wolfdietrich. The fact that the custom is mentioned in the Talmud (S. Singer, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 2, 299) and that it occurs in oriental fairy-tales seems to point to the Orient as its real source. From here it may have migrated westward during the crusades to the delight of perverse chivalrous society. It is, moreover, quite significant that neither Brynhild nor Frau Brîde in Orendel know of this supposed old custom, for both ask in naïve diasppointment what their bedmates mean by the strange performance. The similarity of the two scenes in the bridal chamber is indeed so striking that one feels impelled to conjecture some sort of an indebtedness on the part of the Edda poet.

coarse humor of this story is in the taste of early German minstrel poetry, many scholars are of the opinion that it was invented and spread by gleemen. Like other portions of the Nibelungen saga, it was in all probability carried to Norway at the time when the valkyrie myth was in the making and there transformed, after the model of similar tales in the legends of Tristan and of Orendel, into the story of Siegfried having passed several nights at Brynhild's side with a sword between them. Traces of the original minstrel story we find, however, in the fact that Brynhild, according to *Grîpesspǫ* 47 and Vǫlsungasaga Chap. 29, accuses Siegfried of having robbed her of her *meydômr*.

While thus the Thidreksaga does disprove rather than establish the existence of the Valkyrie myth in Germany, most scholars believe that a large, bed-shaped rock on top of the Feldberg in the Taunus mountains, which in a document of the year 1043 is mentioned as lapis qui vulgo dicitur lectulus Brunihilde, corroborates the story of the valkyrie, sleeping on a mountain and surrounded by a wall of flames, which is told in the lay *Sigrdrîfomǫl*. In the absence of evidence other than that existing in the imagination of those who make this assertion, it seems well to recall to one's mind the caution, with which no less an authority than Wilhelm Grimm (*Heldensage*,[3] 169) viewed the legendary names of places and localities such as Sîfritsbrunne, Hagenbrunno, Brünhildenstein etc. as trustworthy sources of our knowledge of the hero legend. If the lectulus Brunihilde in question was at all named after our Brynhild it was on account of its shape and size, and the name would, therefore, prove only that she was known in the middle of the 11th century, the very time when minstrel poetry flourished, as an amazon of extraordinary figure and strength. Moreover, the term lectulus which often means lectulus matrimonialis might well be a witty allusion to the ludicrous scene in Brynhild's bridal chamber about which the gleemen were fond of singing.

II

An attempt, apparently old and simple, of combining the legend of Siegfried with the story of the Burgundians is contained in the so-called Seifridlied, a popular ballad preserved in much deteriorated form in several prints of the 16th century. As it is the purpose of the present study to follow the growth of the Nibelungensaga only from the point of view of the history of the "Fabel,"

a critical discussion of the many problems, which the text and the incredibly confused composition of the ballad offer, must be excluded. Nor can the question be considered here whether the poem represents a certain form of a presumed Erlösungs- and Werbungssage or not. The very fact that we have in this ballad, which consists of two distinct divisions, partly contradictory in contents, a form of the plot, and hence of the saga, which differs from that of the various Scandinavian versions as well as from that of the Nibelungenlied, precludes the theory of a preexisting, definitely established legend. Divesting the story of the Seifridlied from the mass of fabulous embellishments which in the course of time were added, we arrive at the following: Siegfried rescues Kriemhilt, the daughter of King Gibich of Worms, by slaying the dragon who had carried her to a mountain where he guards both the maiden and a large treasure. Returning with her to King Gibich's court he marries her, but is finally killed by her brothers who are jealous of his political power and covet his treasure.

It has been frequently pointed out that the similarities between the descriptions of Siegfried's dragon fight in this ballad and in Beowulf make it highly probable that the present ballad goes back to an original of great antiquity. There are other features of the story which seem to confirm this view. The absence of the character of Brynhild and the fact that Siegfried's murderer, Hagen, still appears as one of Kriemhilt's brothers, disclose a form of the "Fabel" which antedates at least the plot of the Nibelungenlied, great as otherwise the influence of this poem may have been on the Seifridlied in numerous details. I see in the "Fabel" of the lost original lay a very old attempt at combining the Siegfried legend with the story of the Burgundians, an attempt, the purpose of which is quite obvious. Siegfried's greatest deed is chosen to bring about the connection of the stories. By slaying the dragon he obtains both Kriemhilt and the treasure. The invention of this story, which deviates essentially from all the other versions, would not have been possible had there been a definitely established tradition of how Siegfried was to win Kriemhilt, or had the character of Brünhilt been an original part of the Siegfried-legend.

While the purpose and the method of the composition of the plot of the Seifridlied may still be discerned, the question, nevertheless,

remains how the strange story could have originated. The advocates of a preestablished Erlösungssage will, of course, see in the Seifrid story a confirmation of their theory. But even if we accept R. C. Boer's and Friedrich Panzer's interpretation of Fáfnismǫ́l 41–42 and of Grípesspǫ́ 14, according to which the maiden sleeping on the mountain is really Gudrun the daughter of Giuki, and is identical with the Kriemhilt of the Seifridlied, who is held in captivity on a mountain by the dragon, we do not escape the realm of the miraculous. Paradoxical as it may sound, of the two stories, the one told in the Seifridlied is, despite its phantastical elements, the more reasonable from a human point of view, for, if the enchanted maiden described by the birds in Fáfnismǫ́l is really Gudrun, she must be a valkyrie; and what has been said above in criticism of the Scandinavian valkyrie myth concerning Brynhild must then be applied also in the case of Gudrun. The story of the rape of a maiden by a dragon or griffin has, on the other hand, many parallels in folk lore, especially in so-called Entführungssagen, where the dragon, who jealously guards the maiden, can easily be recognized as a symbol of the father or rival opposed to the suitor.[7]

I venture to suggest that the Seifridlied is a late and greatly deteriorated version of an old lay which told how Siegfried, under extraordinary circumstances, heroically rescued and won a maiden guarded either by her father or by a powerful abductor who afterwards treacherously caused his murder. A lay such as this may well have been sung of Arminius, the liberator of Germany and greatest hero of German antiquity who, according to Tacitus Annales I, 55,[8] abducted Thusnelda,[9] the daughter of Segestes, his political adversary, through whose hatred and treachery he afterwards fell.

[7] Discussing this symbolic meaning of the dragon Wilhelm Müller in his *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage* 75 ff. points out the identity of the jealous father and the dragon in a number of legends. See also, O. Jänicke, *Deutsches Heldenbuch* 4, xli ff.

[8] *Ann.* 1, 55: Segestes . . . auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam ejus alii partam rapuerat: gener invisus inimici soceri; quaeque aput concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum aput infensos erant.

[9] According to R. Much, *Anzeiger f.d. Altert.* 36, 205 the second part of the name Thusn-elda is Germanic heldī(z) = Hilde, while the first part is to be explained by O. N. þausn. þausk, þyss "Getümmel" or þeysa, þysia "vorwärtsstürmen."

When, later, the Siegfried-legend was combined with the story of the Burgundians, Gudrun-Kriemhilt, the daughter of the Burgundian king, took the place of the kidnapped maiden of the old lay, while at a subsequent period, when the dragon symbol had replaced the irate father or rival, the combination between the dragon-fight and the rescue of the maiden, discussed above, was made. It is significant to note in this connection that according to the Danish Siegfriedslied (Rassmann, *Deutsche Heldensage*, 1, 300; W. Grimm, *Altdänische Heldenlieder*, 31), Brynhild (Gudrun?) was placed on the mountain by her father because he did not wish her to get married. Moreover, it is equally significant that the dragon in the Seifridlied is in reality an enchanted man, who, according to strophes 21 and 25, rests with his head in the maiden's lap and announces that as soon as he has regained his human form he will take her magthumb, or, in other words, make her his wife. Commenting on the similarities of the two stories, W. Müller, *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage* 77 ff. remarks: "Nehmen wir hinzu, dass der die Tochter hütende Vater [in anderen Sagen] merhfach als ein grimmiger Heide geschildert wird, wie Macharel im Ortnit, Aaron im Oswald, so werden wir ungeachtet der verschiedensten geographischen und historischen Anknüpfungen, welche in den einzelnen Sagen bemerklich sind . . . in dem angeblichen Vater nur den eifersüchtigen Hüter der Jungfrau sehen, der sie selbst zur Gattin haben will, so dass wir hier dieselbe Gestalt erkennen, welche . . . im Siegfriedliede als der vom Helden bekämpfte Drache erscheint, der nach Kriemhilts Besitze strebt."

The combination of the Siegfried-legend and the story of the Burgundians attained its final shape in the "Fabel" of the Nibelungenlied. Here, as in the versions mentioned thus far, Kriemhilt is the connecting link between the two legends. In accordance with the chivalrous character of this epic poem, little is told of Siegfried's dragon fight. Kriemhilt, too, appears as a court lady of the 12th century, and Siegfried's courtship is described with the subdued colors of the Minnesong. The refined circles of twelfth century society evidently would no longer tolerate the old story of how Siegfried won her by slaying the dragon. Nevertheless the gigantic characters and the wild passions of the old heroic age loom in their former grandeur behind the pomp of

courtly ceremonial, especially in the second part of the Nibelungenlied. For Kriemhilt is the connecting link also between the Burgundians and Attila, who annihilates them because Kriemhilt seeks revenge for the murder of Siegfried. No longer do we hear of Brynhild, the sister of Attila, whose death the King of the Huns avenges. Kriemhilt has become the centre of the entire plot, and in consequence her character has risen to overtowering greatness. An account of the year 1131, which mentions the existence of a song treating of Kriemhilt's notissima erga fratres perfidia seems to indicate that the transformation of the "Fabel" with Kriemhilt as the central figure of the epic had been accomplished at the beginning of the 12th century.

Whatever the causes of this change may have been, it is certain that the sympathies of the German poets, whether for ethical or for patriotic reasons, were with the character of Kriemhilt far more than with that of the Hunnish princess. Compared with the Scandinavian version, her rôle in the Nibelungenlied is, in consequence, rather limited. In fact she only seems needed to cause the death of Siegfried, after which she drops out of sight. Moreover, the description of the land over which she rules and of her surroundings is so colorless and vague that we can still notice the effort which it cost the poet to localize her. The claim of the orthodox believers in a Brynhild myth that the original features of her character had been forgotten at the time when the Nibelungenlied was written, is evidently but a makeshift. The real explanation of the haze which enshrouds the character of Brunhilt in the Nibelungenlied is to be found in the shifting of motives which characterizes the evolution of the "Fabel." While at an earlier period in the development of the saga which reflects more faithfully the facts of history, the character of Brunhilt, Attila's sister, seemed necessary to explain the annihilation of the Burgundians, this motive was dropped as soon as Kriemhilt's revenge became the motive for the fall of her brothers. Brunhilt might thus have been entirely eliminated from the new "Fabel" had it not been for her relations to Siegfried, which, at an earlier period of the fusion of both legends, had also been developed. Brunhilt, the sister of Attila, is forgotten, but the memory of her connection with Siegfried's death survives.

The treatment of this tragic event in the Nibelungenlied still further supports my contentions. It is obvious that it had to

be emphasized far more than in the other versions if it was to furnish the motive for Kriemhilt's revenge. But, although Brunhilt plans the murder, the original motive of the jealousy and greed of the Burgundians is not forgotten. Siegfried is killed not only because Brunhilt has determined his death, but also because Gunther and Hagen covet his treasure. And strangest of all: while we expect that Kriemhilt should direct her revenge first of all against Brunhilt as the prime instigator of the crime, she turns her hatred against Hagen and Gunther, who had only been the tools of Brunhilt. It seems to me evident from the fact that Brunhilt is thus overlooked and entirely dropped, that the poet, after all, subconsciously followed the old tradition of the murder through treacherous and avaricious relatives.

Summing up my observations, we arrive at the following results: The so-called Nibelungensaga, by which I understand the story of Siegfried and the Burgundians, is a combination of both legends. The history of the Siegfried-legend is the history of the shifting and moulding of motives and characters, by which this legend is blended with the story of the Burgundians. Since all the versions of the combined legends show the tendency of developing such motives and characters, it would be an absolute mistake to see in any one of these versions the original form of the combined story. A combined story never existed outside of, or independent of the versions which have come down to us. It lived only in these versions, each of which represents a different attempt to connect the two legends, which, prior to these attempts, stood in no relation to one another.

While we may look for the original form of the story of the Burgundians in the facts of history, no historical basis of equal certainty can as yet be assigned to the Siegfried legend, although there are indications which strongly point to Siegfried's identity with Arminius. The oldest form of the legend of Siegfried is contained in the account given in Beowulf. To this story of the Dragon fight, doubtlessly symbolic of an extraordinary heroic achievement, there must, however, be added the event recorded in the original version of the Seifridlied as well as the fact of Siegfried's tragic death. The oldest version of his death was that of his murder by treacherous and avaricious relatives.

Concerning the links which bind the two legends together, we notice a state of fluctuation and change. Kriemhilt as well as

Brunhilt are characters created by the poetic imagination for the purpose of combining both legends. The history of changes which these characters undergo is the history of the fusion of both legends into one work of art. Before the final and most artistic combination was accomplished, we must assume the existence of single lays in which poets of various talents and at various times treated various parts of the combined story, or the combined story as a whole, with great freedom. Such freedom is shown in the transformation of motives and of certain characters, a license which would have been impossible had the motives and characters been guarded by conservative, fixed tradition.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that it will be chiefly the business of philological criticism to reconstruct out of the various versions of our legends their historical development as I have attempted to mark out. Thus there should be eliminated by the critical method all mythological elements in apparently late and artificial productions of the Edda, such as Grípisspǫ, Reginsmǫl, Fáfnismǫl, Sigrdrífomǫl and Helreiþ Brynhildar. At the same time new light will be thrown upon the question concerning the age of the various manuscripts of the Nibelungenlied. Lachmann's idea of reconstructing the old lays which constitute the basis of the Nibelungenlied may be revived on a new foundation, for we shall possess a criterion by which we can determine the age and the authenticity of the various songs. Since all of these songs tended, however, toward the fusion of both legends, and hence there must have been poets who treated the combined stories as an artistic whole, prior to the existence of the Nibelungenlied, new light will be shed on the authorship of this epic.

We shall finally be in a position also to determine with approximate certainty the age of the various versions of the Nibelungensaga. Thus it would seem beyond doubt that the Edda version, with its confusion of motives and characters, presents a very early period in the combination of the two legends. During this period, which we assume to have been not earlier than the 8th century, the stories in their incomplete state of fusion as reflected in the oldest Edda lays seem to have been carried to Scandinavia.

Julius Goebel

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF LANGUAGE

Introductory Remarks

This article is condensed from a larger treatise not yet published, which I hope to put into a book after the war under more favorable conditions. I have dealt with this subject before, but from different points of view in a book on "Schallnachahmung, Wortshöpfung und Bedeutungswandel,"[1] and in a short summary under the title of "The Main Source of Speech-sounds and the Main Channels of their Spread."[2]

The title of the present article may perhaps seem somewhat too comprehensive inasmuch as it treats only of the main roots of a vocabulary and the main currents of their semantic development, but does not go into detail about certain minor sources of words. It deals, however, with the basic concepts upon which our world of images and ideas in all its essential parts is built up. Moreover, the general principles laid down here hold good for all sources of words.

The argument involved, in spite of its generalizing form, is the outgrowth of a definite problem, namely, to find an explanation for the evident interrelations of certain types of German and English words. Back of it is the concrete evidence of material collected from about seventy dictionaries of German and English dialects. Unfortunately, the limited space at my disposal here does not permit of adducing this material. It will be found in the book on "Schallnachahmung, etc.," just mentioned. The test as to the correctness of my views, however, may be made with the vocabulary of any language, for the underlying laws are universal, although considerable material may be necessary before the truth will become apparent.

Attempts to solve the problem of the origin of language have met with but little success thus far; in fact, there seems to be a tendency among philologists rather to discredit them; and the belief is quite prevalent that nothing definite can be found out anyway. This attitude is perhaps in not a small measure due to

[1] Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle a/S, 1914.
[2] Flügel Mèmorial Volume, Stanford University, 1916.

the fact that the science of philology is apt to overemphasize the historical point of view and, in accordance with this, to attach too much importance to the speech-sound as such. In tracing the fate of the speech-sound it tends to neglect the concept—the study of its content and nature and, what is most essential, of the relative importance of different concepts. But it is the concept and not the speech-sound that really counts. For the so-called relationship of words is not due to speech-sounds but to the associations of concepts. The solution of the origin of language, therefore, depends on the question whether there are universal laws according to which the concepts, as they arise in the mind, are associated with each other in certain definite orders of succession. If there are no such laws, then the problem cannot be solved; if there are such laws, then it can be solved; and to what extent it can be solved is contingent on the extent to which such laws prevail.

The first serious attempt to approach the problem from this point of view has been made not by a philologist, but by W. Wundt, the psychologist.[3] While Wundt deserves the credit of having broken the ice, yet the direct result of his investigation has turned out to be entirely negative. This is largely due, I think, to the peculiar definition he gives as to what constitutes a concept. It is not easy to say exactly what he conceives it to be, for his discussion of the subject is very obscure and full of contradictions.[4] This much however may safely be asserted, that back of it all lurks the idea, that a concept is the last divisible element of a thought-complex, that, therefore, all concepts are co-ordinated in the mind, and hence, that a speech-sound as it becomes associated with different concepts may be transfered in any direction, backward as well as forward. For instance, a speech-sound transferred from concept A to concept B might just as well have traveled in the opposite direction from B to A. If this were so, if no definite order of successions of concepts can be established as fundamental anywhere, then, indeed, any attempt to find a thread through the maze of semantic changes would be futile and doomed to failure from the outset. This seems in fact the position that Wundt finally arrives at. Fortunately for the science of philology he is mistaken.

[3] Cf. Völkerpsychologie, Erster Band; Die Sprache II, 1904, p. 484 ff.

[4] An analysis and criticism of Wundt's views on this subject will be found in Hilmer, "Schallnachahmung, etc." p. 39-48.

Preliminary Considerations

I

The association of a speech-sound with a concept may either be "original" (primary), in which case the speech-sound stands for no other concept at the time this association comes about; or it may be due to "transference," in which case the speech-sound is bound up with another concept at the time the new association is made.

Associations by transference take place through the medium of a sentence. The term "sentence," as used here, signifies not merely the syntactical structure so called, but any expression in language which conveys a complete thought. It may consist of a single word, its meaning being fixed more definitely by the circumstances under which the word is uttered. By means of a sentence it is possible to define or limit the meaning of a word in such a way that its concept changes. For instance, the verb "to grasp" in its earlier meaning signified no doubt, "to take hold of a physical object." By using the word in the sentence "he grasps the problem" it takes on an entirely different signification, namely, "to understand." If the new meaning of a word thus determined becomes established in the minds of the people of a community independent of a sentence, then the process of associating the speech-sound with the new concept may be said to be completed. Along with the new association older meanings of the speech-sound may continue to persist. Most words as one finds them listed in a dictionary stand for quite a number of different concepts.

After a language has developed a certain vocabulary, it is possible to name any concept by any speech-sound that one may wish to choose, even by an entirely new coinage, for the sentence makes it possible to define whatever meaning one may desire to assign to the speech-sound. It is merely a question of using sufficient words in the definition. But it is very rare that words, even technical terms, are thus deliberately coined, for the method is too cumbersome. As a rule it is much more natural and convenient to take some existing word which suggests something contained in the new concept to be named, and then modify it in a sentence so as to cover this new meaning.

This consideration leads to the conclusion that original associations will occur as a rule only under the condition that no other words are required to describe the new concept. (For in any other case it would be more convenient to select a word which suggests part of the new concept, as has been pointed out.) *Such a condition exists only in the case of physical things and actions* (*happenings*), which may be pointed out in naming them by a motion of the hand or some other similar means, and whose concepts therefore do not need any verbal description.[5] All other concepts must be named by transference. If there are exceptions to this rule, they are very rare.

The fact that original associations occur only with concepts of physical things and actions does not imply, of course, that *all* physical things and actions must be named that way. As a matter of fact, but relatively very few concepts, even of visible phenomena, are originally associated with speech-symbols; the vast majority are named by transference. In the nature of the case, it could not very well be otherwise.

II

A single speech-sound can become the bearer of but a limited number of meanings, else intelligible language would become impossible. In other words, no single speech-sound can mark a long chain of associations of concepts, except in fragments. The speech-sound will either become differentiated as it passes from concept to concept, or it will disappear in spots, usually in the older associations, yielding its place there to new symbols. About this last point a few words later on.

To point out absolutely reliable examples of such fragmentary chains is, of course, impossible. For it cannot be taken for granted, that words, which on account of their phonetic structure and the nature of their concepts may easily be associated with each other, must on that account go back to a common source. They may not be related historically at all, and only appear so because they started from similar (not necessarily identical or historically connected) sources and underwent similar semantic developments.[6]

[5] Whether the one who first associates such concepts with speech-sounds is aware of the fact or not, does not affect the issue. It is not contended that these original associations must needs find expression at once in language. They may lie dormant in the subconscious mind to be brought out only under the stimulus of favorable circumstances.

[6] Cf. Hilmer, "Schallnachahmung, etc." p. 20 ff, p. 176 ff.

But this fact that language offers only unreliable fragmentary evidence of semantic changes must not mislead us to the conclusion that on that account the general trend of associations of concepts cannot be traced. For the order of succession of concepts, as they arrange themselves in the human mind under the conditions of human experience, is entirely independent of speech-sounds; and nothing that happens to the speech-sounds can affect it. To be sure, in order to get on the track of these chains of associations we need the historical evidence that language offers. But it is needed merely for the purpose of calling our attention to the concepts involved, irrespective of individual words. For the final judgement as to whether this or that association could have occurred in this or that order of succession, does not depend on the evidence of identical or similar phonetic structures of speech-symbols, but on the evidence of human experience and reasoning power as stored and reflected in the human mind. Of this everybody individually is a judge, inasmuch as the fundamental associations of concepts in the minds of all sane persons proceed in the same order.[7] It is therefore not essential as far as the principle is concerned, from what language or languages we select our material, although it is advantageous to take it from a number of related dialects (the more the better) because the historical connections between them offer more suggestions than a single language or a number of unrelated languages, and thus make the task easier.

Fundamental Concepts

Original associations occur only with concepts of physical things and actions. Among these, then, we have to look for points of departure for an investigation of the origin of language. It would not be difficult to point out in any language a number of concepts of this kind which from all evidence must have received their speech-symbols through original association. But in most cases it will also be obvious, that the same thing or action which has received its name through original association in one locality, has elsewhere been named by transference. For instance, the English

[7] An exception are concepts which arise in consequence of historical developments which are not universal, especially changes brought about by man. These, of course, cannot be judged by everybody. But these, as will appear further on, do not affect essentially the fundamental issues involved in this investigation.

dialect word "knock, a clock," has evidently originated from an imitation of the sound of such a clock. But the same thing, or practically the same thing, is called in German "Uhr," from the latin "hora," taken from a concept that is far removed from any original association. Furthermore, such a clock, for all we are able to tell, might just as well have been called a "dial," a "time-piece," a "chronometer," possibly a "watch," or even a "timer," an "hour-teller," a "day-divider," or by some other name not yet found in the dictionary. The explanation is, of course, that the knocking sound is not the only characteristic of such a clock, but that the clock may conjure up many different concepts and the speech-sounds bound up with them. Hence, either the sound-imitation or any one of the different other speech-sounds might become the name of the clock, according to whether the sound-sensation or one of the concepts predominates at the psychological moment in the mind of the person responsible for the name. As the circumstances controlling this condition cannot be known afterwards, being too numerous and unstable to admit of analysis, the origin of such a word as "knock, a clock," must be considered as due to accident. But accidents cannot be made the basis of an investigation that aims at universal laws.

This brings up the question whether there are really concepts which receive their speech-symbols only through original association and in no other way. For if there are no such concepts, if all original associations are merely accidental in the sense just mentioned, then no definite laws as to the origin and growth of language can be established; and any further pursuit of this investigation would be futile.

If there are such concepts, they are possible only on the basis of sense impressions pure and simple, obtained in a way that precludes any analysis, so that the mental activity of all persons undergoing them, from the most inexperienced child to the wisest man, would be at zero. Such absolutely ideal conditions are of course impossible—excepting in the very first stages of the development of man and language, before he had really learned to think and speak—[8] for there is nothing within human ken that might not be analysed and associated with previously conceived concepts, and

[8] It is of course taken for granted that the fundamental conditions under which language originated still persist, although civilization may have modified and obscured them to some extent.

named accordingly. Nevertheless, there are a few concepts, which arise under conditions which approach this ideal very closely. These concepts are of two kinds—leaving certain sound-concepts which do not affect the issue, out of consideration:— first, the three most fundamental concepts of outline, (or of things, inasmuch as the outline establishes the material existence of a thing), namely, a "*mass*," a "*projection*," and a "*depression*," all these being of rather indefinite shape, but as a rule within moderate limits as to size; second, the most fundamental concepts of action, namely, *short, relatively quick motions*, as *of a blow or fall.*

These concepts, it will be noted, are very vague. They must be so of necessity, as the impressions on which they are based must be fleeting and of no particular interest to the person experiencing them. For as soon as a thing or an action arouses the interest of the observer, he will analyse it, and the chances that the resulting concept will be named by original association become less in the measure that he does so.

This consideration leads to the question, why concepts depending on such fleeting and uninteresting impressions should be associated at all with speech-sounds, for nobody, it would seem, will give a name to something in which he is not interested. The answer is, that such associations suggest themselves without any mental effort, inasmuch as the phenomena which induce the concepts in question are bound up with sound—namely, the sound of a body striking an other one. The imitation of such sounds become the symbols for the concepts thus induced.

In this manner arise three kinds of words—namely, names for the sound itself, names for the motion, and names for a "mass," or a projection," or a "depression." The following words taken from English and American dictionaries will illustrate this: 1) "dump, the sound of a heavy object falling," 2) "dump, to strike with a dull, abrupt thud," and 3) "dump, a pile or heap of refuse or other matter 'dumped' or thrown down"; or 1) "bump, a blow, somewhat heavy but rather dull in sound," and 2) "bump, a protuberance, such as is caused by a blow or collision"; or 1) "pit, the sound of something small striking, as a raindrop," and 2) "pit, an indentation like that made by a raindrop in the sand." Phenomena which may give rise to such words are very frequent. They must have been among the very first which human beings

perceived, and they are still the most common occurrences, as any living language shows, if that evidence is needed.

It is of course not contended that the original associations of the sound-imitation of a blow or fall with the most fundamental concepts of outline and of action must of necessity find expression in language the moment they have been perceived. Some of them no doubt do. But others may remain dormant in the subconscious mind of the observer. As occasion arises some thing or motion with which no sound is connected, may conjure up the original association and the speech-sound involved may thus become associated with this new thing or motion. A semantic change may thus take place within the mind of a single person, without his being aware of it. As Paul points out, many psychical processes occur without clear consciousness of them, and everything of which we have been conscious remains as an effective factor in the subconscious mind.[9]

The number of speech-sounds that may be felt as adequate imitations of the sound of a blow is very large.[10] The best imitations are monosyllabic roots with short vowels and final stops. There is, however, some latitude in this respect. Differences in the sound perceived are to some extent graded in the imitations. This is particularly true in reference to the vowels. A dull, heavy sound, such as proceeds from a heavy body striking, is generally represented by the "u" vowel, possibly by the "o," while a light sound is preferably indicated by an "i." Differences in the consonants, as indicating different kinds of blows, are not so easily accounted for, although in some cases even that is possible. The speech-sound actually chosen depends of course on the language in which it is used. A German will not use the symbol "thud," or an Englishman "krach," for the simple reason that he is not in the habit of pronouncing such a sound.

Speech-sounds that are already associated in the minds of the community with definite concepts will naturally not be allowed to enter the language as new imitations, as long as the old associations persist. This is the principle stated broadly; but the matter is more complicated than may be considered here. The principle, however, may be reasoned out. If, for instance, one perceives

[9] Prinzipien, vierte Auflage, p. 25.
[10] Cf. Hilmer, "Schallnachahmung, etc." p. 17 ff.

that something makes a "depression," a hole, in the ground, quite a number of sounds may suggest themselves as adequate imitations of the sound bound up with this phenomenon. Any-one of them might therefore become the name for the hole; for instance, "track," "tack," "pat," "tap," etc. Let us now suppose that "tap" becomes the name for the hole. It is then plain, that as long as "tap" stands for this definite concept, no other imitation can take root in the community with exactly the same meaning. But if the symbol "tap" is transferred to another concept; if, as easily may happen, it becomes the name for a "large hole in the ground serving as a container" and finally for a "vessel," as in the Bavarian dialect, where "tapp" means a "gefäsz, in welches milch zum rahmen gegossen wird,"[11] then the path would be clear for some other imitation, say "track," to become associated with the concept of a hole in the ground. The speech-sound "tap" on the other hand, as long as it remained in the language of the community, would prevent a new imitation "tap" from entering, because this symbol had already a meaning. But let us suppose furthermore that the word "tapp, a vessel," underwent a phonetic change, that it changed to "tapf" or "topf," which latter symbol stands in modern German for a vessel like the Bavarian "tapp," then, it is plain, the path would be clear again for "tap" to enter the language anew, other circumstances permitting. Thus the same sound imitation may enter the language again and again and even become associated repeatedly with one and the same concept.

The origin of a word from sound imitation is not always evident, even if no semantic and phonetic changes have taken place. This may sometimes be due to the fact that the speech-sound is a poor imitation. But, far more important in this respect is the meaning of the word. Other conditions being not unfavorable, original associations due to sound-imitations may easily be recognized as such when the word designates the sound itself. If the word points out a motion such as is apt to produce a sound, its onomatopoetic origin is likewise evident. But if it refers to a thing, especially to a silent and motionless thing, then its origin from a sound imitation is not easily recognizable. The following words will illustrate these different cases: 1) "Dump, the sound of a heavy object falling." Seeing that the speech-sound corresponds

[11] Semantic changes from a "hole in the ground" to a "vessel" are indicated very frequently in the dialects of German and English.

to the sound that the meaning points to, this word will be easily recognized as a sound imitation. 2) "Dump, a fall of a heavy object producing a dull sound." Here the concept has reference no longer to the sound, but to a motion; but since the sound is a determining factor in the description of the motion, this word, too, will impress most English-speaking persons as onomatopoetic. 3) Less apparent is this in "dump, to throw in a lump or mass, as in tilting something out of a cart," although the image of a heavy body or mass thrown to the ground is very apt to conjure up the sensation of a sound, such as is bound up with such a fall, especially since the speech-sound "dump" reminds of it. 4) With the word "dump, to unload," where the concept has reference to a falling and striking mass only indirectly and remotely, one would need special circumstances to remind one that the word might easily have arisen from a sound-imitation. 5) Least of all is one likely to connect the idea of a sound with the image of a dead mass which suggests neither sound nor motion, such as is indicated by the word "dump, anything short, thick and heavy." To get on the track of the possible onomatopoetic origin of such a word, it is necessary to realize, that it may have its origin in the same phenomenon which gave rise to the first word of this series, namely, "dump, the sound of a heavy object falling."

The concepts of a "mass," a "projection" and a "depression" and of the "simplest motions," as of a blow, are so readily associated with the sound-imitation of a blow, because of the nature of the phenomena which induce them, as has been shown. But there is another important reason why, as a rule, they are not named by transference. They are the most fundamental of all concepts possible. *They are at the bottom of the structure of associations in the human mind.* Under the categories of a mass, a projection, and a depression, may be grouped all other concepts of form, if not directly, then by means of sub-heads. Hence, any speech-sounds associated with these three form-concepts may be transferred to any other form-concepts, but not vice versa. Similar is the relation between the concepts of the simplest motions (as of a blow) and all other concepts of action, although the matter in this case is somewhat more complicated. Our investigation of the origin of language must therefore start from the concepts of a "mass," a "projection," and a "depression," and the concepts

of the "simplest motions," as of a blow or fall. First, however, it will be necessary to clear up some other problems.

Direct Transference and Composition

Under the impulse given by the founders of the science of modern philology a century ago, the study of words became largely a study of speech-sounds and phonetic changes, and such it has remained essentially ever since. Aside from some more or less mechanical attempts at classification, serious investigations of semantic changes have been pursued only in so far as it could be done on the basis of previously established phonetic laws. In fact, some very prominent philologists have denied the existence of laws governing semantic developments in the sense that there are phonetic laws. It has remained for Wundt to insist that semantic changes proceed according to definite laws, although he has not succeeded in establishing them, as has been said.

In reality it is far more justifiable to speak of semantic than of phonetic laws; for the former are universal, having their foundation in the nature of man and in human experience, which is fundamentally the same the world over, while the latter are subject to the accidents of climate, of special physical and mental traits, and of previously established habits of speech—accidents which do not permit of logical judgments. As a matter of fact, the fundamental laws underlying semantic changes may not only be readily recognized, but they are as simple as they are incisive. Their very simplicity is perhaps the reason that they have escaped recognition so long —the truth nearest at hand is apt to be most easily overlooked.

There are two main processes by which speech-symbols or their roots may be shifted or "transferred." Some minor means of transference are likewise not without significance, but they do not affect the main issue under consideration in this article and will not be discussed here.

One of these two main types has already been touched upon in connection with the discussion of fundamental concepts. It depends on the fact, that the mind under the conditions under which it functions, groups certain concepts on a principle of subordination. In this process, a new concept is recognized as belonging to a general category, and thus associated with the speech-sound of that category. But this is done merely for the purpose

of naming the new concept. In reality its dominant element is entirely different from that of the more general category after which it is named. The element which suggested the general category comes to the fore only under the stress of the necessity of finding a name for the new concept. As soon as the transfer of the speech-sound is accomplished, the element which suggested the general category pales and disappears before the real dominant part of the new concept, which now enters in its full right. Hence the contact between the old and the new concept, established at the moment of transference, is lost. The speech-sound, then, has changed its concept entirely. As its new meaning becomes established and fixed in the community, its old signification is very apt to be forgotten. In that case, the concept with which this speech-sound was first bound up, will in its turn acquire another symbol, either by original association or by transference from some other source, as the case may be.

In this kind of transference, which I call "direct transference," the speech-sound travels from a less complex to a more complex concept, and from a concrete to an abstract one,[12] but *it cannot go back over the same route.* For instance, one may readily refer to a "group of trees" with a speech-sound that stood originally for a "shapeless mass," such as "clump" or German "klumpen." But one cannot reverse the process and refer to a "shapeless mass" by the name of a "group of trees," because the latter concept is more complex than that of a "shapeless mass." Similarly one may say of child who has learned his lesson, that he has "grasped" it, but it would not occur to a sane person to refer to the act of grasping some physical object by means of the symbol to "learn," signifying a mental process. Or, one might speak of an inexperienced person as "green," because green is generally known as the color of unripe vegetation, but the reverse process of calling a green leaf "inexperienced" would be absurd.

The second main type of tranference I call "composition." It is in fact not a process of transferring a speech-sound from one concept to another one not yet named, but of associating and merging concepts already named, to form a new concept, and of

[12] The terms concrete and abstract are unsatisfactory. All concepts are abstractions. I use concrete as referring to concepts which depend directly on sense impressions and abstract in reference to concepts which do not. But even with these modifications the terms do not cover the case.

combining their symbols in accordance with the more or less complete degree to which the concepts involved have become one.

Compositions occur in many varieties and degrees of completeness. I mention here only a few types.[13] They may be loose, as in the German phrase, "Ein Mann vom Lande," or they may be more closely gathered, as in the German noun "Landmann," or the verb "fortlaufen," or the adjective "haushoch"; or one of the concepts involved may be so general that its speech-sound has no independent existence, but occurs only in composition, as is the case with many prefixes and suffixes. Of the suffixes in German and English particularly those are noteworthy which convey the general concept that the speech-sound to which they are attached, has acquired the function of a noun, or a verb, or an adjective, as the case may be. For instance, the verb "teach" compounded with "er" forms the noun "teacher," or the adjective "black" plus "en" becomes the verb "blacken," or the verb-root "shake" in composition forms the adjective "shaky." Sometimes concepts of this general character are not expressed by a speech-sound at all, but are merely indicated by the position of the new word in the sentence. This is particularly true in the English language of verbs which derive their roots from nouns; for instance, the verb "to house, to put some one into a house" depends on the noun "house, a dwelling." At first glance the change of meaning of the speech-sounds of such words might look like cases of simple transference. In reality, however, they are cases of composition, for the position of the newly formed verb in the sentence has the function of a symbol.

In the case of direct transference, it will be recalled, one and the same speech-symbol stands for more than one concept at the moment the transference has taken place. Hence, the old meaning of the speech-sound is apt to pale and to disappear in the measure that the new signification of the speech-sound becomes established and fixed in the community. In the case of composition the speech-symbol which names the new concept is different from the individual parts of which it is composed. In other words, composition does not bring about associations of one and the same speech-sound with

[13] For further suggestions I refer to Wilmanns, "Deutsche Grammatik," II. Abteilung, Wortbildung. Cf. also, Roswadowsky, Wortbildung und Wortbedeutung, Heidelberg, 1904. Under composition must also be classed the formation of participles, gerunds, etc., as well as all kinds of inflections.

different concepts. Hence, the new word does not interfere with the continued existence of the old associations from which its speech-sound was taken; and the old and the new are quite likely to persist side by side. From this results that transferences by composition are generally much more easily traced by the evidence of speech-sounds than those by "direct transferences."

But while semantic changes by composition are as a rule easily traced in a language, yet the conditions under which they occur are such, that they offer a very insecure basis for logical judgments, independent of speech-sounds. For the possibilities of making the most varied combinations of concepts and accordingly of shifting speech-sounds in this or that direction cannot be known and analysed beforehand. In the case of direct transference just the opposite is true. The evidence of the changes that have actually occured is very likely to become quickly obscured if not obliterated; but the conditions underlying them are simple and stable and may easily be analysed, so that it is possible to foretell the direction in which the speech-sounds concerned must travel. [14] For not only can they be transferred in but one direction, namely, from a less complex to a more complex concept or from a concrete to an abstract one, as has been pointed out; but this path itself is comparatively narrow, being confined to the grammatical category in which the speech-sound starts, that is, a noun remains a noun, a verb a verb, and an adjective an adjective, no matter how much the meaning may change in other respects.

Direct transference depends on impressions which do not require deliberate or conscious analysis. Composition, being a process of deliberate synthesis, depends on analysis and preconceived notions about the new concept to be formed and named. Accordingly the two groups of concepts named by these two fundamentally different processes are fundamentally different too. This is of the utmost importance for a just appreciation of the forces which build up a language. The matter calls for a most exhaustive treatment, but the space allotted to this article does not permit it. I confine myself here to a few statements pointing out the essential differences between the two kinds of concepts named by direct transference and composition in each of the fundamental grammatical categories of words.

[14] That is to say, given a number of concepts, it is possible to say which ones would have to be named first.

1) The *concepts of things* named by *direct transference* are essentially *concepts of form*, that is of outlines conceived as units—the most general concepts of things possible. Other ideas may cluster around the form-concept thus named, but they are in the background at the time the speech-sound is transferred. If named by *composition*, the thing-concept has for its dominating element not the image of the form of the thing (although this must be in the background, however pale it may be, else there could be no thing-concept) but some *special characteristic*, physical or mental, or some other idea about the thing, for instance, its purpose, utility, or service. By direct transference are named particularly the general concepts of things made by nature, which one is apt to encounter without preconceived notions about them. By composition are named particularly the tools, implements, utensils, etc. which man makes for a definite purpose, and about which he has formed an opinion before they actually come into being.

Many things, however, give rise to both kinds of concepts, namely, a general concept of form on the one hand, and on the other, a number of concepts of special characteristics in which the image of the physical form stands vaguely in the background. The most conspicuous example of this kind is the thing "man." In the dialects of English and German (no doubt, in other languages as well), human beings, especially small children are very frequently named by "direct transference" after the general form-concept of a mass, piece, etc. This is quite natural, for a small child is to the community at large little more than a "bit" of humanity, undeveloped and without special characteristics, however much he might mean to his parents and to those about him. Hence there is hardly a better and more natural way of referring to a child (if the established name for this category does not occur at the moment) than by a speech-sound that stands for the general form-concept of a "mass" ("lump," "piece," "bit," "bunch," "bundle," etc.). I believe that most words of the type "child," "boy," "girl," "chap," "chit," "brat," etc.; German "kind," "knabe," "maid," "knirps," "kerl," "bube," "stift," and many others, are of this origin; also "knight," "knave"; German "knecht," "knappe," and quite likely the most general term "man" itself.[15]

[15] Cf. the word lists in Hilmer, "Schallnachahmung, etc."

But after the child has grown up and developed and differentiated himself from his fellows, he will need a specific name to characterize him. This can be done most conveniently by composition. Thus arise words like "huntsman," "farmer," "sailor," "warrior," "thinker," etc. Or, a man might be classed according to his color, as a "negro," a "redskin," a "white" (man). Or, he might be named after the country he hails from, as an "American," a "Chinaman," etc. Or, some other distinguishing concept might furnish the means of differentiating him from the general genus "man."

While thus, as a general rule, "direct transference" will name the generic concept of a thing after a form-concept, and composition specific concepts, yet the two processes might overlap. For the speech-sound, as it becomes associated with a concept, names a phenomenon as well, and on that account it might be transferred from the concept of one aspect of the phenomenon to that of another aspect of it. For instance, the generic name for a child might become the specific term for a special kind of a man, inasmuch as the child grows into a man. Thus, the English word "knight" which I think is due to direct transference from a form-concept, has practically the same meaning as the German "ritter," which is formed by composition. The opposite process, that a speech-sound due to composition comes to stand for a generic concept, is also possible. Thus the German word "adler," meaning an eagle, is composed of the adjective "adel" (edel) and the thing-word "ar," which originally meant practically the same thing as the composition "adler." Even the three most general concepts of form may be named in a round-about way by composition, as the terms "accumulation," (mass), "projection," and "depression" show.

2) *Concepts of actions named by direct transference* contain as their dominating element the image of a motion The matter is however complicated by the fact that sometimes the moving thing is as important in these concepts as the motion itself. Moreover, there are not infrequently involved in the dominating elements of these concepts ideas of purpose, service, etc. In fact, many of the most important transferences of this kind depend on the idea that one and the same thing moves with different purposes in view, so that the image of the motion is crowded almost entirely into the background. This is particularly true of the actions of

hand and foot. Due to direct transference are as a rule, such words as "to beat," "hit," "slap," "touch," "feel," "grasp," "grip," "catch," "clutch," "hold"; or, to "step," "stamp," "strut," "tramp," "walk," "stalk," "march," "leap," "spring," "jump," "limp," "halt," and many others, as far as they are not original associations. *Concepts of actions named by composition* emphasize that something is done in reference to a thing or a physical characteristic of a thing. Of this type are words like "to house, to put something into a house," "to ship, to send something by means of a ship," "to motor, to travel in a motor (automobile)," or, "to blacken, to make black," "to fatten, to make fat," "to enlarge, to make larger," etc. These concepts, it will be noted, are not exactly concrete in the sense that "to hit" is concrete. They are somewhat removed from concepts of directly sensible phenomena. Yet, they are not abstract in the sense that "to think" is abstract. For the sake of simplicity I call them concrete.

Seeing that the phenomenon of a motion must include the image of a moving thing (altho this may at times be extremely vague), it is plain that from some of such phenomena two different types of concepts might be derived. For instance, the phenomenon of somebody walking might give rise to a concept in which the idea of the motion is dominant, in which case the speech-sound would be derived from a concept of motion by direct transference, as in "to walk," "stalk," "tramp," etc. But it might also happen that the dominant factor in the concept is the image of the thing, in which case the speech-sound would be derived from the thing-concept by composition, as in the slang phrase "to foot," or "to hoof." Compare also "to catch," "to touch," "to feel," on the one hand, and "to handle," "to finger," on the other. These two types of concepts on the basis of one and the same phenomenon correspond to the generic concepts of form and the specific concepts of things pointed out above under 1.

3) *Concepts of physical characteristics* (*adjective-concepts*) are not named by original association, because it is impossible to point out such a concept without the aid of verbal explanations. For if verbal explanations have to be used, it is very inconvenient and cumbersome to resort to an entirely new coinage for the new concept. The natural way is to take a word with a meaning that might be used to hint at the new concept by conjuring up an aspect

of it and then to modify this word in a sentence so as to cover the new meaning to be conveyed. Even the brilliant color of the sun, which to an untaught mind constitutes practically all that there is to the sun, could not be pointed out without the help of previously existing words. All that could be indicated without resorting to verbal explanations would be the glowing body, which is a thing and not the concept of a characteristic.

On the other hand, no adjective could be named by any kind of transference unless there existed first a definite form for adjective-concepts. To name it by direct transference after a thing-concept would be impossible, for in the case of direct transference the speech-sound does not leave its grammatical category, hence the name for a thing could not become by this means the name for an adjective-concept. Nor could the form of an adjective be developed by composition, for composition presupposes that the form for the type of concept to be named exists previously.

The first names for adjectives, therefore, can have been derived only from names of things by a process of comparison and abstraction—by referring to a characteristic in one thing by means of the name of another thing which has that characteristic in a marked degree. For instance, the colors of a certain American university are called the "maize and the blue." Here the word maize means no longer, what it originally meant, "a kind of grain of a yellowish color," but this color itself. Similarly is the adjective "olive," i. e. the "color of the fruit of the unripe olive," derived from the thing-name "olive, the fruit of the olive tree." At the present stage of the English language, with a definite form for adjectives existing, such transferences are practically compositions and simple enough.

But it was an entirely different matter to name the first adjectives in a language. For this marks the most momentous stage in the history of man. Between the creatures who could only recognize and differentiate between things and actions and perhaps call each other's attentions to them by signs and sounds, and the human beings who were able to convey to each other adjective-concepts, which could be done only by words, there is a vast gap in mental equipment. Only after man had learnt to distinguish and name adjective-concepts had he truly become a man. For this marks the first step in analysis, in other words, the first stage in the development of the thinker.

With the form of an adjective once fixed in the mind, the formation of adjectives becomes merely a process of composition, that is, of combining a speech-root for a thing-concept (or for a concept of action) with the symbol for the general concept of an adjective. This general adjective-concept may be represented merely by the position or function of the new word in the sentence. In this way have developed, no doubt, most of the names for the principal colors, and also most of the names for physical characteristics, such as "big," "large," "small," "thick," "round," "stout," etc., or, in German, "dick," "stumpf," "spitz," "scharf," "schwer," "fett," and many others. Sometimes the adjective-concept is represented by a speech-sound. Frequently this is a suffix conveying the general idea of "like some thing," and evidently evolved from what must have been originally full-fledged adjectives. Of this formation are words like "child-like," childish," "massy," "bulky," "stony," etc. Or, the root-symbol may be taken from existing adjectives to form compositions to express slight differentiations of them as in "greenish," "stoutish," etc. Furthermore, adjectives may be formed by composition with speech-roots taken from concepts of actions, as in "shaky," "trembly," "jumpy," German "wackelig," and so on. These last words, it will be noted, convey concepts that are somewhat removed from immediate sense-impressions, yet, they are so closely bound up with them, that they may be classed as concrete for the sake of simplicity. In addition to combinations with adjective-suffixes proper, there are in German and English yet other means of naming adjective-concepts, for instance, participles, such as "pointed," "tottering." But the process involved is fundamentally the same as in any other composition.

A few concepts of physical characteristics are likely to be named by direct transference, in other words, directly after adjective concepts previously named. This is due to the fact, that adjectives of physical characteristics have only relative value, being determined in each case more definitely by the noun they modify. A thin elephant, for instance, is much thicker than the thickest rope, but between a thin and a thick elephant there is about the same relationship as between a thin and a thick rope. In a similar manner may different things be round, or sharp, or heavy, or something else in different ways and degrees. If, therefore, an adjective is used in regard to different things, it is not impossible that its

concept may take on a somewhat different content (or, to be more exact, that the speech-sound is transfered to a somewhat different concept), even if its significance is relative. For instance, the adjective "large" referring to size measured in all directions, may come to mean finally merely as much as "tall," or "long," that is, referring to size measured in only one direction. Excepting for such cases, however, the rule holds good, that *within the realm of concepts of physical characteristics* speech-sounds are not shifted by direct transference.

4) *Abstract concepts.* The term is unsatisfactory, as has been said, not only because all concepts are abstractions, but also because no sharp dividing line can be drawn between concepts depending directly on sense impressions, which might be called concrete concepts, and those which do not directly depend on them, which might be called abstract concepts. Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity of statement I retain the terms. As concrete I consider all concepts whose speech sounds refer directly to a definite thing, or a definite physical action, or a definite physical characteristic. As abstract I consider all concepts whose speech-sounds have no such reference. As concrete I consider, for instance, such words as "thinker, a man who thinks," or "to house, to put something into a house," or "black, the darkest color," as well as "blackness, a state or condition where the darkest color or absence of light prevails." But concrete, according to this definition would be also such adjectives as "manly, having the traits of a noble man," a concept which really has no content of a sensible nature. The dividing line between concrete and abstract in this case is therefore purely mechanical and has no reference to the concept itself. The adjective "brave," for instance, with about the same meaning as "manly," would be considered as abstract. The test as to whether a word is concrete or abstract would therefore in some cases depend on the knowledge of the origin of the root of the speech-sound in question.

But this division, mechanical as it is, enables one to state that *abstract concepts can be named after concrete concepts only by direct transference* and not by composition. Thus one may call a difficult problem a "knot," because it suggests the difficulties of undoing a hard knot in a string or similar thing. Or, one may call the process of comprehending something in a clear and definite manner "to grasp," because it suggests the definite way in which

physical things are grasped If one takes hold of an idea but darkly, feebly, and hesitatingly, one is apt to call this mental process "to feel," as in the phrase: "I feel that this is not good English, but don't know exactly why," because it recalls the somewhat vague sensation of feeling a physical thing. Or, one might call an evil-minded person a "black" character because his sinister intentions suggest the uncanny sensation which blackness—the absence of light—is apt to conjure up.

While the *root-symbol* for abstract concepts can be derived only from concrete concepts by the process of direct transference, this does, of course, not imply that the concepts so named may not enter into compositions to form new abstract concepts. Such compositions are not only possible but very frequent in English and German. Compare for instance: "smart" and "smartness," or "to hope" and "the hope"; German "hoffen" and "Hoffnung." Through composition, moreover, a speech root which through direct transference has become associated with an abstract concept, may become again the root-sound of the name of a concrete thing. Compare: "to think" and "the thinker."

5) In the foregoing discussion it has been emphasized that speech-sounds can be shifted between different grammatical categories only by the process of composition. It ought to be borne in mind, however, that not all compositions involve such a change of grammatical function on the part of the root-symbol. In a large number of cases, embracing many varieties, the root-symbol is merely modified and does not leave its grammatical category. Compare for instance, "door" and "barn-door," "green" and "bluish-green," "to run" and "to run away"; or "cottage" and "cottager," "dark" and "darkish," "to tell" and "to foretell." In this group belong also diminutives, iteratives, inflectional changes, and other modifications of a slight nature. In principle all these compositions are not different from those which do involve a change in grammatical function, and, of course, they must not be confused with direct transferences.

Basic Concepts Named either Originally or by Direct Transference

The concept named by direct transference within the realm of sense (sight) impression are essentially concepts of forms (i.e. of the outlines of things conceived as units, although other ideas

about the thing may vaguely be in the background) and concepts of actions in which the idea of a motion is a determining factor. These two types of concepts are the basis on which practically the entire further development of language depends. For the world of more complicated concepts cannot be built up unless there are symbols ready to which to fasten them, and the symbols cannot be provided unless a sufficient number of these basic concepts of forms and actions have been named first.

The names of the most fundamental of these concepts are due, as a rule, to original associations with the imitations of the sounds of blows, as has been shown. But a large number of basic forms and actions cannot very well be named in this manner, because no sounds or motions suggestive of sounds are bound up with them. Nor could they, as conditions are, be named from any other original source. The most convenient and natural way of providing them with speech-symbols is by direct transference after the most fundamental concepts, (i. e. "mass," "projection," "depression," and "simple motion," as of a blow or fall.)

Of this kind are, within the realm of concepts of form, the many forms and shapes which the eye encounters in nature, ready made, so to speak, as mountains, hills, trees, shrubs, plants, etc. Within the realm of concepts of actions, they are particularly the many activities of hand and foot which have a definite purpose, such as grasping, holding, catching, running, walking, and do no longer suggest *merely* the motion of a blow. In the case of these actions, however, the speech-sound does not change its original concept entirely, as is the case with the form-concepts, for every physical action depends on motion, even if in the concept the image of the motion sometimes stands very vaguely in the background.

If now, as has been stated, the basic concepts of forms and actions are either named originally or by direct transference after originally named concepts, it ought to be quite easy to trace the origin and growth of a language by means of the types of concepts found in the vocabulary. For all the basic concepts of forms and actions one would expect to be associated with speech-sound directly derived from original sources, while all other con-

crete concepts, emphasizing special characteristics and aspects of things[16] and actions ought to be named by composition.

In reality, however, the matter is not so simple. This is due to some extent to the fact that imitations of the sounds of blows are not the only source of language, that the fundamental concepts of forms and actions are not the only concepts of things and actions which may be named originally, and that there are some other processes of shifting speech-sounds besides direct transference and composition. However, none of these factors are fundamental, none of them would affect essentially the broad aspect of the vocabulary, altho they might change some details.[17]

The real difficulty arises from the fact that concepts do not exist in the mind as detached and independent entities, but are bound up with the phenomena back of them. This factor, which has been only touched upon but not emphasized[18] thus far, in order not to complicate matters, will now be briefly considered.

Concept and Phenomenon

A speech-symbol in becoming associated with a concept names thereby also a phenomenon (or any other experience, as the case may be). But a phenomenon may give rise to more than one concept, and, hence, it may be named in more than one way, in accordance with the concept which may happen to be uppermost in the mind at the time the process of naming takes place. Some phenomena in fact are the source of a large number of different concepts and names in one and the same language, as has been pointed out.

It has been shown that concepts of things in which the dominant element is a special characteristic, and concepts of actions with the content that something is done in reference to a definite thing, are named by composition and not by direct transference. But such specific concepts may nevertheless be reached by speech-sounds directly transferred from original sources (that is, without the process of composition) through the medium of the phenomena back of the concepts in question.

[16] Including adjective-concepts, which are really detached part-concepts of things.

[17] Phonetic changes, of course, must also be considered as obscuring agencies.

[18] Cf. pp. 36 and 37.

A number of cases suggest themselves: Sometimes a thing which originally induced no other concept than the image of its outline, may gradually change so that its essential aspect in the minds of the community is no longer its form, but some specific characteristic or an idea of service, function, utility, etc. In other words, the speech-symbol naming this thing, which first was associated with its form-concept, has been transferred to a specific concept which otherwise would be named only by composition. This is particularly frequent with generic names for children, which at first stood for little more than the mere physical form and were indeed transfered from the concept of a "mass," but which, as the child grew into a man with specific functions, changed their concepts accordingly. Words like "knight," "knave"; German "knecht," "knappe," are very likely of that origin. Sometimes implements may be developed gradually from primitive forms made by nature, and their speech-symbols may be transferred accordingly. This seems to have been the case with a large number of "containers," such as "tubs," "vats"; German "butten," etc., of which I shall have occasion to speak more in detail later on. Some things, which in a more primitive civilization suggested only form-concepts, may acquire specific values in the measure that they are utilized for one purpose or another, although no change of their physical structure is involved in this process. This is particularly the case with certain trees, shrubs, grasses, fruits, etc. Sometimes, of course, even things with a generally recognized specific value may possibly be named according to their form-concept, because it is conceivable that conditions may arise when such a form-concept is uppermost in the mind of the person responsible for the name of the thing.—Similarly as with things, is the case with physical actions. A speech-sound first bound up with a concept in which the idea of a motion dominated, may become finally associated with a concept which emphasizes the image of the moving thing rather than the motion as such. In all these changes, it will be noticed, no change of phenomena is involved, but otherwise the development does not differ from direct transferences, that is, the speech-sound moves from a less complex to a more complex concept and cannot go back over the same route.

More important as tending to obscure the fundamental trends in language growth, than the changes just discussed, is the opposite development, the cases where speech-sounds first associated with

specific concepts (by means of composition) are shifted through the medium of phenomena to basic concepts of forms and motions. Even the most primitive form-concepts may thus become bound up with compositions. For instance, a "lump" of matter, or a "bump" on a surface, or a "hole" in the ground may be conceived as due to a definite process of making them. Hence they may be called an "accumulation," a "concretion," etc., or a "projection," a "protuberance," etc., or an "excavation," a "depression," etc. We therefore find frequently side by side as names for concepts of forms and motions, both the monosyllabic speech-roots characteristic of imitations of sounds of blows and pollysyllabic symbols which could have come about only through composition.

As civilization becomes more complex, it is likely that composition will assume a larger and larger rôle in building up a vocabulary, at the expense of direct transference on the basis of concepts of forms and motions. For phenomena (things and actions) will tend to be evaluated and named more and more on account of some special distinguishing mark, particularly on account of some value, purpose, or service assigned to them rather than on account of the mere image of a form or a motion which they may conjure up. New or renewed speech-roots made from imitations of sounds of blows will, no doubt, continue to gain entrance in a language through the medium of concepts of forms and motions. But as over against the body of the old vocabulary they will become more and more insignificant in number; and those that do gain entrance will not spread as far as they would have in a more primitive stage of civilization.

It is therefore not impossible that in some languages the fundamental trends in semantic development have become very much obscured, especially since phonetic laws may entirely change the structure of the original roots derived from imitations. However that may be in the case of some languages, this stage has not yet been reached in modern English and German, at least not in the dialects of these languages. If sufficient material from these sources is selected, it is quite easy to trace the semantic development proceding from original associations of sound-imitations of blows with the fundamental concepts of forms and motions through wide stretches of vocabulary. Abundant material of this sort will be found collected, arranged, and explained in my

book on Schallnachahmung, etc., mentioned before. In the following chapter I confine myself to merely pointing out in a general way the main types of the concepts involved in this development.

Direct Transference on the Basis of the Concepts of Forms and Motions in the English and German Languages

As has been pointed out, the names of the fundamental concepts of forms (mass, projection, depression) and of motions (as of a blow) are due, as a rule, to one source, namely imitations of sounds of blows. Hence the speech-roots originally associated with any one of these concepts might just as well be bound up with all the others. To be sure, there is originally a difference in the character of the imitations, due to differences in the force of the blow and the weight and texture of the bodies colliding, but such differences quickly disappear in the subsequent semantic changes.

The currents of semantic development, moreover, issuing from these fundamental concepts, are at first not clearly separable from each other. For the phenomena back of the concepts are frequently inter-connected. Moreover, one and the same phenomenon may give rise to more than one form-concept, depending on the point of view. A mass lying on the ground may be conceived as a projection; and, vice versa, a projection may suggest a mass. Or, a bend, an angle in an outline, or a dent, may be considered both as a projection or a depression, according to the position one takes in looking at it. In addition, there are other more complicated ways in which these fundamental concepts may be associated with each other, which it would lead too far to discuss here.—After the semantic developments issuing from these fundamental concepts have proceeded a certain distance, the lines of cleavage become more definite.

In accordance with these general tendencies the speech-sounds which originate from imitations of the sound of blows[19] will be found associated in the German and English languages and dialects with the following types of concepts:

I

In the realm of thing-concepts: With a large number of form-concepts which belong to the category of a "mass," as,

[19] Allowance must, of course, be made for phonetic changes.

lumps, pieces, clods, rocks, chunks, blocks, of all shapes and sizes. Furthermore, with "projections," from the tiniest speck to the mightiest mountain; from the gently rounded knoll to the sharpest cliff; from the point to the edge, the ridge, the range (of hills and mountains). In the same manner are named projections which lie in a plain, as curves in the shore-line, (German "bucht," "hafen," etc), bends and angles formed by rivers, projecting necks, spits, juttings, jetties, etc. Other projections are parts of larger units, as the buds, knobs, knots, nodes, knurls, cones, fruits, on plants; or, the knuckles, joints, bones, warts, pimples, and other protuberances on animals and human beings; or, the corners, edges, tops, points, tips, angles, etc., on buildings and other things made by man.

Hardly less numerous are the forms which fall under the category of a "depression," ranging from the small speck (which might be conceived as a depression just as well as a projection) to the pit of all sizes, to the water-hole and the vast lake (cf. German and Scotch "loch"). In fact, many projections in nature are matched by corresponding depressions.

In not a few cases the original form-concept according to which a thing was named, has given way to some other concept, so that the word in question is not easily recognized as due to direct transference of an imitation of the sound of a blow, especially when the speech-root has undergone a phonetic change. Of this type are words like "cloud," originally conceived as a "mass," a "bank" in the sky (Cf. clod, clot, to clout, etc.) and German "wolke" with the same meaning. Furthermore, "bone," originally conceived as a projection, and German "knochen," or in German dialect, "bunken," with the same history. Another illustration is the word "lake," originally a hole, a depression filled with water. Other examples will readily suggest themselves by inspecting the vocabularies of the German and English tongues.

Some speech-sounds transferred in this manner may reach concepts which in their turn may become the starting points for further developments. Thus after the concept of a mass are frequently named all sorts of chubby animals, particularly of human beings not yet fully developed. The names of children in their turn may then become designations for grown up man and even for special classes of man. Instances of such developments have been mentioned before in words like "knight," "knave"; German

"knecht," "knappe." The possibilities in this direction are however limited by the fact that special aspects of man, as well as of any other things, are more conveniently named by composition, as has been explained.

A very far-reaching semantic development by direct transference starts from the concepts of either a mass or a projection. The speech-sounds are transferred from this basis to a number of concepts which might roughly be classed as 1) a "heap," 2) a "bundle," 3) a "bunch," "cluster," "tuft" 4) a "group or number of things." The whole series presents the picture of a mass or a projection gradually unfolding and finally breaking up into fragments. The speech-roots, as they pass on from the basic concepts of a mass or a projection, may either proceed by stages through different degrees of complexity of outline, or they may reach the more complex concepts without touching intermediary groups. For detailed illustrations of this I refer to the word-lists mentioned before. I believe that most of the following words in modern German and English are of this origin: English: heap, stack, stock, bunch, bundle, tuft, sheaf, shrub, bush, brush, reed bent, grass, hedge, tree, hair, shock (of hair) clump (as of trees etc.), group, and many others. German: haufen, pack, bündel, büschel, garbe, hecke, baum, wald, haar, schopf, wipfel, heer (number of men), gruppe, schock (a measure), and so on.[20] In fact, most of the things grown by nature, as far as they are not named to emphasize some special characteristic, fall under these groups.

From the concept of a "depression," a hole in the ground, have been transferred the names of a large number of "vessels" (containers) of all shapes and sizes. The dialects of German and English, in fact of all the Germanic languages, as far as I have been able to judge, offer abundant evidence for the frequency of such transferences; and there can be no doubt but that the underlying causes are not the accidental notions of a few individuals but are rooted in the conditions of civilization prevailing at one time among these peoples.

[20] The fact that some of these words may go back to other than Germanic sources does not affect the argument involved, for the same laws that operate in German and English are also at work in other languages. To be sure, the possibility that some of the words mentioned may actually go back to another origin than the imitation of the sound of a blow must be reckoned with. But that does not effect the principle.

Under modern conditions it will not easily occur to any civilized person to associate the mere form-concept of a hole in something with a thing like a "container" made for a specific purpose. If a name for such a thing is not in the mind beforehand, it will most likely be named in accordance with a concept of its purpose, service, utility, etc.; or it might be named after its designer or manufacturer; or even according to some quite fanciful idea that might happen to come up at the psychological moment. But whatever this might be, one of the least likely concepts to arise in this connection would be that of a mere hole.

But if we picture to ourselves the conditions under which civilization must have arisen, it becomes quite clear that among the first implements that man used must have been "containers," and that these, therefore, must have been very crude things. In fact, they can have been little more than "holes" more or less accidentally dug into something. It would, therefore, have been quite natural to name them accordingly, especially since the purposes for which they served were at first quite likely also accidental. From such crude beginnings the first "containers" have no doubt developed. Of course, within this general development there may be specific cases and variations. For instance, a hole might have been dug in the ground for the purpose of holding water. From this might have developed the idea of sinking into the ground an artificially made vessel to form a cistern. Such a vessel might then have been placed above the ground, and after this model movable small containers might have been made. Or, some vessels might have been developed on the model of suitable shells, husks, pods, etc , from fruits and plants; and the names of these things (which are frequently derived from imitations of sounds of blows, as has been explained) might naturally have been transferred to the vessels thus made. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the possibilities of naming "containers" after a "depression" must have been very great under primitive conditions of civilization.

Names for containers, are the most notable and important exception to the general rule that implements deliberately made after a preconceived plan are named by composition[21] rather than by

[21] Of course, there are other exceptions, for instance the German "bank," English "bench," but such cases are rather isolated and do not involve a large category as is the case with "containers."

direct transference on the basis of concepts of form. Words in the English language with this meaning and evidently harking back to imitations of sounds of blows are:[22] "vat," "tub," "pot," "pit," "butt," "knop," "bunk," "bink," "bing," "cask," "flask," etc.; or, German "butte," "back," "tappe," "bunge," "topf," "kufe," "fasz," and many others.

From the concept of a container the speech-sound is not infrequently transferred to that of a floating container. Thus we have in English the double meaning for "vessel," as "container" and "ship"; or in German the word "kasten" with the same double signification. Confer also "tub" in English. A number of words signifying a ship go apparently back in a direct line to imitations of sounds of blows; in the English language "ship," "boat," "barge," "punt," shell," in German "nachen," "kahn," "kogge," "kuff," etc. More specific names of ships, emphasizing certain characteristics are, of course, due to composition, as "steamer," "Cunarder," "Uboat," "cruiser," and so on.

II

In the realm of concepts of physical actions, the speech-sounds due to imitations of the sound of a blow, either originally or through direct transference, cover practically all the phenomena involving simple motions, as, to beat, hit, strike, drop, fall, etc. Important groups are particularly the motions of the hands of human beings and to lesser degree those of the feet. As in most of these motions the purpose is the essential factor in the concepts formed of them, the original association of the speech-sound with the concept of a blow is not always immediately evident. The following meanings of the speech-root "tapp" in German dialects show how the image of a moving hand becomes less and less important as the purpose involved takes a more and more prominent part: 1) "tapp, ein klappender schlag," 2) "tappe, ein schlag mit der hand," 3) "tappen, ungeschicktes zugreifen," 4) "tappen, ertappen, erwischen, ergreifen," 5) "tappen, sich suchend an einen ort finden, durch fühlen mit den händen." Or, 1) "tapp, interj. zur bezeichnung eines tappenden schrittes." 2) "tappen, derb auftreten." 3) "tappen, plump und ungeschickt schreiten." 4) "tappen, tastend gehen."

Motions of hands and feet, or of any other definite thing for that matter, may, of course, also be named after the thing itself.

[22] Cf. the foot-note on page 48.

If that is the case, the resulting word is a composition (in accordance with the definition of a composition given above). In as much as most of the things that produce motions like a blow, particularly hands and feet, are very frequently named by speech-roots which go back directly to imitations of sounds of blows, it is sometimes impossible to say whether a name for the motion of such a thing is an original association, or due to direct transference, or to composition. Compare for instance with reference to the series of words just mentioned the following: 1) "tapp, interj., zur bez. eines durch tappen hervorgebrachten lautes"; 2) "tappe, ein schlag mit der hand"; 3) "tappe, eine plumpe breite hand." Or, 1) "tapp, interj., zur bez. eines tappenden schrittes"; 2) "tappen, derb auftreten"; 3) "tappe, ein plumper, breiter fusz;" 4) "tappe, der tritt mit einem solchen fusz."

Examples of words meaning a physical action and going back to imitations of sounds of blows have been adduced before. Others will readily suggest themselves.

Short Outline of the Preceding Argument

The main points discussed or implied thus far may be summed up as follows: 1) Barring a few concepts of sound, smell, taste, and touch, which are practically negligible in the world of thought expressed by language, there are only two kinds of concepts which do not depend on analysis, but are obtained from sense impressions pure and simple, namely, concepts of form which comprehend things as units, and concepts of motions of things. These concepts, therefore, are the only ones which may be named without the help of verbal explanations, which do not presuppose an existing vocabulary at the time they are named, but may be pointed out and thus associated with a newly coined speech-sound. Language cannot develop to any extent unless a number of concepts of such forms and motions have been named first.

2) The simplest concepts of forms and motions, and therefore the most fundamental concepts in the entire language, are the concepts of a mass, a projection, and a depression on the one hand, and the concepts of simple motions like a blow on the other. These concepts are frequently induced by the phenomena of one thing striking another. As such phenomena are bound up with the sound of a blow or habitually conceived as being bound up with it, the vocal imitations of such sounds are easily associated with the concepts in question; and occasionally, in accordance with certain

laws, these original associations enter the language as words.

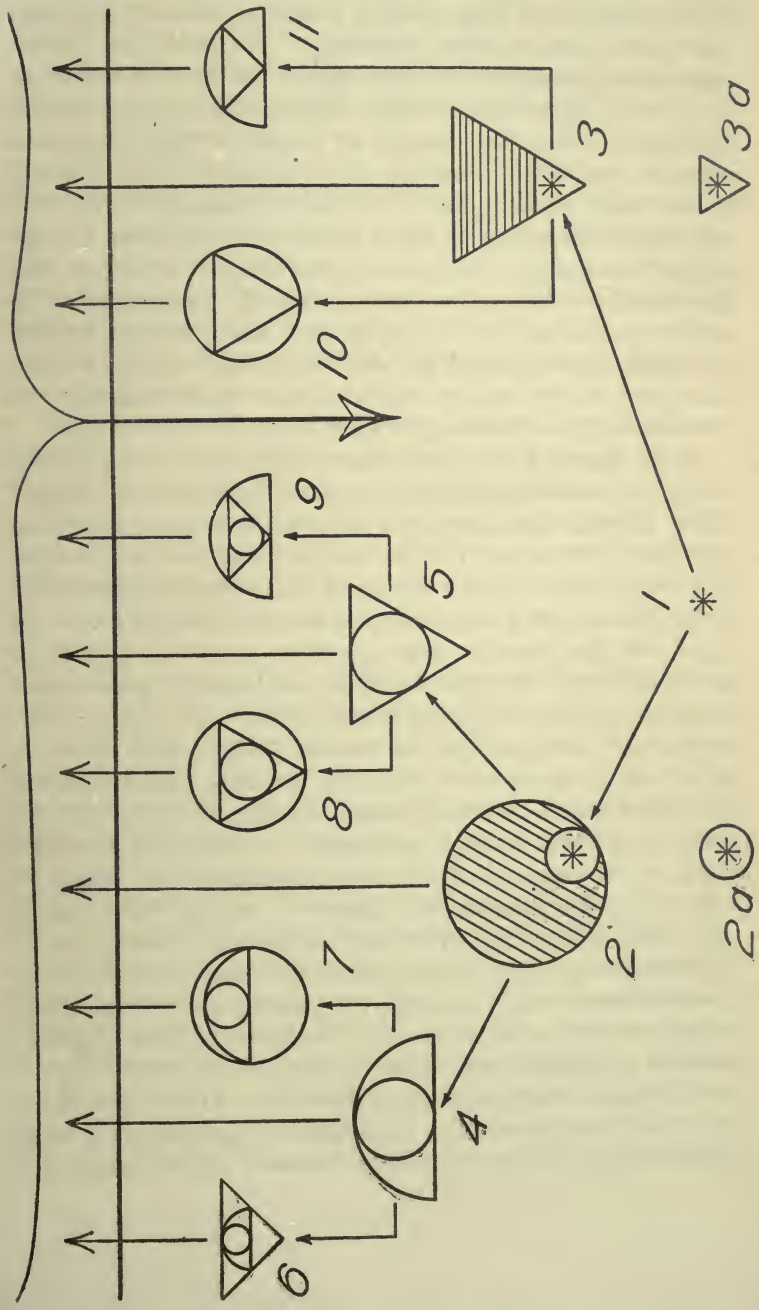
3) In accordance with the laws governing "direct transferences" the speech sound originally associated with the concepts of the three fundamental concepts of form may and are readily transferred to more complex concepts of form, but the process cannot be reversed. These transferences occur all the more easily because large categories of more complex concepts of form are obtained under conditions which practically preclude associations with speech-sounds of original coinage. In a similar manner and for the same reason are the speech-sounds which originally named the motion of a blow transferred to more complex concepts of action.

4) After a sufficient number of concepts of forms and actions have been named, the basis is prepared for a further development of language through composition. Composition presupposes analysis, and analysis is the foundation of thought. It may, therefore, be said that no real language, as an expression of thought existed before the advent of composition, and as a corollary to this, that language begins with the creation of the adjective. The first adjectives must have been named after concepts of things through a process which fundamentally depends on comparison and abstraction, but which practically amounts to composition after the idea and the form of adjectives have once taken root in the mind. Thus have arisen from names of things most terms for physical characteristics, as shape (conceived not as outlines comprising units in their entirety, but as part-aspects of things), weight, size, etc., and the principal colors.

5) General concepts of things in which the image of the outline of the thing predominates, and concepts of actions of a general type which do not emphasize that something is done in reference to a definite thing or characteristic of a thing, are generally named by "direct transference," except, of course, original associations. All other concrete concepts are more naturally named, by "composition. Abstract concepts receive their speech-sounds by direct transference from concrete concepts, irrespective of the origin of the speech-sounds thus transferred.[23] Speech sounds associated with abstract concepts may become again names (or roots for names) of concrete things through composition.—These

[23] The specific sense in which the terms "concrete" and "abstract" are used in this discussion has been defined before. (Cf. p. 32, footnote; pp. 37, 39 and 40.

fundamental tendencies in semantic development starting from imitations of sounds of blows, are illustrated graphically in the following drawing:



The star at the bottom stands for imitations of sounds of blows, such as are bound up with the phenomena of one thing striking another. Concepts are represented by geometrical figures, a circle indicating a thing-concept, a triangle a concept of action, and a semi-circle an adjective-concept. The circle and the triangle with a star inside stand for original associations of imitations of sounds of blows with the most fundamental concepts of form and action, namely the concepts of a mass, a projection, and a depression on the one hand and the concepts of simple motions, as of a blow, on the other. The shaded enlargements of these two starred figures indicate direct transferences on the basis of the original associations involved. Combinations of geometrical figures indicate the results of transferences by composition. The outside figure stands for the concept with which the speech-sound in question is associated at the time being, while the figure inside refers back to the concept with which the speech-sound (or its accented root) was bound up before it acquired its new meaning.

In the following illustrations the numbers refer to the geometrical figures in the drawing above: A sound imitation like "*plump*" arising from the phenomenon of a heavy body falling would be represented by the star 1. The association of this speech-sound with the concept of a heavy body, as a "*mass*," would be indicated by 2a, and the direct transference of the speech sound thus associated with the somewhat more specific concept of "*a body of full and rounded form*" by figure 2. From this basis the speech-sound might travel on by the process of composition to an adjective concept, as in "*plump, of full and rounded form,*" which would be represented by figure 4 in the drawing, the circle (inside the semicircle which stands for the adjective-concept) referring back to the thing-concept after which it was named. A further development might be the composition with a verb-concept, as in "*plump, to make plump,*" represented by figure 6. On this basis, again, one might form a composition with a new thing-concept, as in "*plumper, one of a pair of balls, kept in the mouth to give the cheeks a rounded appearance,*" the graphic representation of which would be figure 6 with a circle around it.—Transferences from adjective-concepts to thing-concepts, as for instance in the word "*negro,*" would be represented graphically as from figure 4 to 7. (Provided, of course, that the adjective in question is named after a thing which, in its turn, has received its name by direct transference

from an original association of speech-sound and concept.) A development like "*knot, a lump*" or "*knot, an enlargement in something*" to "*knot, to make a knot*" to "*knotted, full of knots,*" would appear in the drawing as from 2 or 2a to 5 to 9. The series "*heap, a pile or collection of things,*" "*heap, to make a heap,*" "*heaper, he who or that which heaps*" would have their graphical equivalent in 2a or 2 to 5 to 8.—Through the medium of original associations of speech-sounds with concepts of actions (motions), transferences like the following could develop: from "*hit, to strike something*" to "*hitter, he who strikes,*" which would be represented as from 3a or 3 to 10; or from "*jerk, to move abruptly, to come to a sudden stop*" to "*jerky, characterized by abrupt motions,*" indicated graphically as from 3a or 3 to 11. These illustrations, which, of course, would be extended still further, need not correspond in each case to actual facts. They are merely meant to show the principle involved.

The arrows in the drawing pointing upwards across the horizontal line, indicate possible direct transferences from any concrete concepts (concrete in the sense defined) to abstract ones. The heavy arrow pointing downward is meant to symbolize that speech-sounds associated with abstract concepts may possibly, (and in many cases do actually) become names (or roots of names) for things with which the abstract concept in question has become associated.

6) In the measure that civilization becomes more and more complex, and that abstract concepts and compositions play a larger rôle in a language, the fundamental currents of semantic development tend to become more and more obscure. Other factors, too, enter as obliterating agencies, especially phonetic changes and the leveling forces of analogy. In this connection it must also be recalled that our argument takes into consideration only the processes of direct transference and composition and leaves out a number of other semantic changes, which, altho relatively unimportant and not affecting the fundamental issue, yet complicate the details. Finally, no attention has been paid thus far to other sources of language in addition to imitations of sounds of blows. These will be dealt with shortly in a special chapter further on. In spite of all these disturbing elements, however, the fundamental tendencies in language origin and growth, as outlined in the graphical representation above, are quite easily and distinctly

traceable in modern German and English, and stand out in the dialects of these tongues with astonishing vividness.

7) In order not to complicate matters more than absolutely necessary for the illustration of the principle involved, quantitative differences in the groups of concepts represented by the different geometrical figures in the drawing, are not indicated, although these groups are in this respect of very different values. The most important fact, however, is obvious and indeed brought out automatically through the very nature of the matter which the drawing represents, the fact namely, that the speech-roots transferred by way of the fundamental concepts of form, have far greater possibilities of spreading than those which pass through the medium of fundamental concepts of actions. In accordance with this it is also evident that the adjectives and verbs, represented graphically by the figures 4 and 5, and depending immediately on the basic concepts of forms, are the most important groups among the compositions.

Other Sources of Language

The theory of the origin and growth of language put forth in this article rests on the postulate that imitations of the sounds of blows are the by far most important source of language, that, in fact, all other sources are negligible as far as fundamental principles are concerned. There is, of course, nothing particularly meritorious in these sound-imitations as such. To be sure, they are simple and they occur under conditions which are universal both as to time and place. But that much might be said also of some other sounds in nature which as sources of words are practically negligible, for instance, the howling and singing of the wind. The imitations of the sounds of blows are so important because they arise under conditions which make them particularly liable to become associated with the most fundamental concepts of forms and actions and hence with the basic concepts on which the whole structure of images and ideas is built up. If they are associated originally with other concepts (for instance, as may happen, with the concepts of a complicated implement which produces the sound of a blow and is named accordingly), they have no particular significance.

The relative importance of the speech-sounds originally associated with the fundamental concepts of forms and actions as

over against the speech-sounds originally associated with any other concepts, may be illustrated by the picture of the system of pipes supplying a city with water. If a fluid of a certain color, say green, should be forced into the mains at the pumping station, and at the same time other colors into a number of small branch-pipes, then these other colors would of course reach a number of outlying districts before the green color could get there, but the area of these districts would be insignificant compared with the territory covered by the green. The speech-sounds originally associated with the fundamental concepts of forms and actions would correspond to the green fluid.

This consideration furnishes the standard by which the relative importance of different sources of language may be measured. The questions to be answered, then, is this: "What are the chances of a given newly coined speech-sound to become associated with the fundamental concepts of forms and actions?" As the space allotted to this article does not permit a detailed analysis of the possibilities involved, I confine myself here to a mere outline which may serve as a guide for a more specific investigation.

For the purpose under consideration the sources of language may be grouped under four heads, namely, first, imitations of the sounds of blows; second, all other imitations of sounds, excepting of voices of human beings and animals; third, imitations of voices of human being and animals; fourth, sources which do not depend on sound-imitations.

The first group, as the basis of this investigation, has been discussed in detail.

In the second group there are some cases which are as important as those in the first. This is particularly true of the imitations of the sound of something breaking, cracking, etc. Such sounds are frequently perceived together with the pieces of the things broken; or with projecting parts resulting from a break; or with chinks, fissures, flaws, etc., due to a crack; or with entering or projecting angles formed by the parts of things which did not snap asunder entirely. As such phenomena are apt to be observed accidentally, that is, without particular interest in them on the part of the observer, the concepts induced by them are frequently very vague, amounting in fact to nothing more than general images of pieces, projections, and depressions; in other words they fall under the categories of the three fundamental concepts of form.

The speech-sounds most naturally associated with such concepts are of course the imitations of the sounds bound up with the phenomena on which they depend. These speech-sounds, however, are as a rule not different from those due to imitations of the sounds of blows, excepting, perhaps, for the fact that the "r" sound is apt to occur more frequently in the former than the latter. But no clear differentiation between the two sources is possible. As far as the fundamental concepts of form are concerned, they might therefore be treated as one. It is different with the fundamental concepts of motions. For such motions are not very likely to be associated originally with imitations of the sound of something breaking, excepting, of course, for the concepts of the actions of breaking themselves.

Yet other sound-imitations resulting from the collision or friction between solid bodies, are of the noises of rolling, crunching, scraping, grinding, scratching, and others. These, too, have chances of becoming associated with the fundamental concepts of forms and actions. Compare for instance, the meanings of the speech-roots "roll" and "scratch" in the English language. The original difference in the physical structure of such words on the one hand and imitations of the sounds of blows on the other, may be obliterated through phonetic changes.

The rest of the sound-imitations of the second group are words referring to noises of wind, waves, thunder, and other sounds not connected with solid bodies, which therefore have very little chance to become originally associated with the fundamental concepts.

The third group of sources comprises imitations of voices of human beings and animals. This source furnishes, as is self-evident, frequently names for the voices in question, sometimes also for the animals themselves,[24] and possibly, in a few cases, for the activities bound up with uttering such sounds. But it is not likely that they have played an appreciable rôle in naming basic concepts of forms and actions.

[24] Cf. Winteler, Naturlaute und Sprache, Aarau, 1892, and Hauschild, Zfd. Wortforschung, Bd. 11, s. 149 ff.; Bd. 12, s. 1 ff. An illustration of how a sound-imitation may enter a language again and again, whenever the old word has changed its original form and content, is the history of the word "kuckuck" in the German language. Cf. Hilmer, "Schallnachahmung, etc." p. 165-166.

In the last group of sources—those which do not depend on sound-imitations—are comprized a number of speech-sounds which arise in a more or less accidental manner. For instance, sounds uttered under the stress of physical pain or mental excitement and hence liable to be associated with the rather vague concepts of the feelings that caused them. Or, sounds uttered as a warning such as "sh," "ss," "mum" etc., to call attention to some thing or some happening, or to order silence, or for some other reason. Or, sounds uttered without any special cause but applied to the listener (especially in the case of children) to some concept that may occur to him. Or, words deliberately coined, as children sometimes do in a playful way. Furthermore, it is possible that some words have actually arisen in the manner of the type of "hey-and-a-ho-and-a-hey-nonino" and the "tarara-boom-de-ay," as Jespersen puts it;[25] or, in accordance with Wundt's theory that every sense impression is a potential source of language.[26] But that any of these sources have had an appreciable influence in building up the body of a language, seems to me most unlikely.

Concluding Remarks

The limited space at my disposal compelled a rather condensed treatment of my subject, which might be challenged in some of its details. Thus, the semantic changes which I call "direct transference" and speak of as one process comprise in reality a number of different processes, according to whether thing-concepts, concepts of actions, or abstract-concepts are involved. Even in the case of thing-concepts conditions may vary widely. For instance, the conditions under which a "group of trees" is named after a "mass," are not the same as those under which the word "knecht," originally the generic name for a boy, takes on the meaning of "servant" or "farm-hand." But to explain all this in detail would have required several subdivisions, which the narrow frame of this article hardly admits. The same might be said as to the discussion of "composition."

[25] Jesperson, Progress in Language, p. 362.

[26] Wundt, Völkerpsychologie, Bd. I, pp. 317 ff. Cf. also Hilmer, Schallnachahmung, etc." pp. 28 ff.

However, these are matters of secondary importance, as far as the purpose of this article is concerned. Its aim is confined to pointing out along broad lines, the main sources of words, the main channels of their spread, and the laws governing these developments. No special claims are made as to minor points and details.

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CHARMS AND EXORCISM IN THE WRITINGS OF HANS SACHS

Although distinctly a man of the people, thinking their thoughts and living their life, Sachs was far above the general average of intelligence by which he was surrounded. Even when Luther was expressing his belief in the supernatural powers of some persons in league with the devil[1] and the wonderful manifestations of the powers of darkness on earth, Sachs was deriding and attacking this same belief. In one of his early rhymed tales he writes:

Der Teufel lest ein Weib sich zwingen,
So ferr ers in unglaub mûg bringen.
Auch wo man schetz weisz unuerhol,
Die grebt man on den Teufel wol.
So ist der Cristallen gesicht
Lauter gespenst, Teufels gedicht.
Ir warsagen ist warheit lehr,
Das zutrifft etwan ungeuer.
Das wettermachen sie bethort,
Schlûg sonst gleich wol auch an das ort.
Des Teufels Ee und Reuterey
Ist nur gespenst und fantasey.
Das Bockfaren kompt ausz miszglauben.
Der Teufel thuts mit gespenst betauben,
Das sie leit schlaffen in eim qualm.
Meint doch, sie far umb allenthalbm
Und treib disen und jehnen handel
Und in ein Katzen sich verwandel.
Disz als ist heidnisch und ein spot
Bey den, die nicht glauben in Got.[2]

This moral was written in 1531 when Sachs was comparatively young and before he had developed the full breadth of his humor. He later found a subtler means of attacking these superstitions, one that lent itself well to his particular type of humor. This was by the use of conjuring and exorcism scenes designed to drive out the evil spirit that was causing trouble. Sometimes the

[1] Cf. *Luther und der deutsche Volksaberglaube*, by Erich Klinger. Palaestra 56. Berlin 1912.

[2] *Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des* 16. *und* 17. *Jahrhunderts*. No. 110-117, Schwank 13, 79-98.

charm was in German verse and sometimes in maccaronic form, a combination here of German and Latin. This latter form, Sachs' own invention as applied to charms he uses but sparingly, and it does not appear at all in his earlier work. The first maccaronic conjuration appears among the Fastnacht plays in 1552 and in a Schwank first in 1556. In both the German and maccaronic forms of the charms Sachs found a good means to heighten the humorous effect, using it as he did with jocular seriousness.

Sachs makes infrequent use of his invention, employing it but five times, while he uses strictly German conjuring and exorcism scenes twice as many times. Treating first the purely German charms we find the first such scene in a story taken from Boccaccio. To save her lover who has knocked while her husband is at home the wily wife has the latter cough to show there is a man in the room and then conjures the evil spirit in the form of her lover thus:

Dw pôes gespenst alwegen,
Hast an der Pfincztag nacht dein raûm!
Ge hin unter dem pfirszing paûm,
Da wirstw tobisûmpto hinden
Und etlich chacharilli finden
Und dein münd an den strosack secz!
Far hin mit gueter nacht zw lecz!
Las mich und mein Johannes schlaffen!"[3]

The spirit needed no further directions to discover the provisions alluded to in terms unintelligible to all save the initiated.

Husbands were remarakbly dense and incredulous as to the power of a charm. Although one of them saw his wife's lover jump from the window and noted well that he had neither horns nor beard, a goat in the garden took away all doubts in the matter when supported by the following charm:

"Las dich effen albegen,
Dw esel, narr und dropff!
Das hiren in deim kopff
Wert unsinig und wûetig!
Das geb dir got der gûetig!"[4]

To cause amusement for his guests a practical joker gave his maid instructions as to how she might make herself invisible.

[3] *Neudrucke*, Schwank 62, 48-55.
[4] *Neudrucke*, Schw. 120, 46-50.

The process was simple. Her instructions were as follows:

"Nemb den wuerffel in den münd
Und ker dich drey mal umb und umb
Und sprich zu yedem mal Mûmb, mûmb!
Kûmb, pûecz and deck mich vorn und hinden,
Das ich thw wie der wind verschwinden!"[5]

The thieves who try to slide down a ray of moonlight from the roof of a house into the chamber below employ a very simple charm, merely repeating seven times the mystic word "sûlem."[6]

An elaborate Schwank resembling a Fastnacht play with only one actor describes the method of conjuring by which the evil spirit throws from the pot containing the knives of all the company, those belonging to adulterers. The charm could scarcely have been taken seriously by the most credulous.

"Kom Beltzenbock, wie du denn heist,
In disen Topff, du bôser Geist,
In beysein diser Biderleut,
Das ich dir hie ernstlich gebeut
Bey aller Alraun grosz andacht
Und bey der Frôesch geschrey zu nacht,
Bey aller Sperling Stadelgsang,
Wellichs den Bawern machet bang,
Und bey dem vierbleterten Kle,
Darzu auch der Zigeuner Eh,
Fûnffzincket Weinraut musz da sein,
Zwen Håndleshåller grosz und klein,
.
Zum ersten, andern, zum dritten mal,
Kom in den Topff und rûr dich ball!
Wûrff der Ehbrecher Messer rausz,
Dasz jederman sech in dem Hausz!"[7]

When the spirit still hesitates to comply, the conjurer forces obedience by the threat that he will "Bald kuri muri mit dir machen."[8]

Turning to the Fastnacht plays we find six occasions on which Sachs has used German conjuring formulae. An old woman who finds difficulty in compelling the devil to give her the shoes he has promised her for services rendered speaks the following brief charm with the desired result:

[5] *Neudrucke*, No. 126-134. Schwank 256, 78-82.
[6] Schwank 331, 77-78.
[7] Schwank 364, 47-58; 65-68.
[8] *Ibid.*, 84.

"Ich gebeüt dir, du bôser Gaist,
Bey deinem Namen, wie du haist,
Wôlst kommen beym Hôllischen flûch,
Mir bringen mein verdiente Schûch,
Zum ersten, andren, dritten mal!
Komm und mich meiner schuld bezal!"[9]

In a later Fastnacht play an ironical rollicking charm is spoken in all seriousness by a priest to exorcise the evil spirit from a peasant who is trying to hatch calves from cheese. The priest draws out his book and reads:

"Ich beschwer dich auff diesen tag,
Du Teuffl, bey aller betlers blag,
Bey aller Pfaffen reinigkeyt,
Bey Schwiger and Schnur einigkeyt
Und bey aller Ehbrecher trew,
Bey aller schwartzen Magdt nach rew,
bey aller Mûnich Geistligkeyt,
Und bey aller Lantzknecht frûmkeyt,
Und bey aller Spiler unfal,
Und bey aller Juden jrsal,
Bey aller schônen Frawen huldt,
Bey aller beginnen geduldt,
Bey aller Kauffleut warhafft schwern!
Du wolst von diesem Man ankern
In ein wildt rhôrich in Behmr walt,
Und fahr baldt ausz durch diesen spalt!"[10]

Even this powerful charm is ineffective until physical force is also applied and the peasant is dragged off his basket of cheese.

Again a quick-witted wandering scholar saw a chance to procure a meal for himself by playing on the credulity of a peasant and conjuring in the form of the devil the village priest who has been disturbed in his secret love affair. Making a circle with his sword he recites:

"Nun rûff ich dir zum ersten mal:
Komb her ausz dem Hellischen Saal!
Bring mir in kreis ein kandl mit wein,
Wûrst und newbachen Semmelein!
Zum ander mal so rûff ich dir,
Das du kompst in den Kreis zu mir.
Zum dritten mal beschwer ich dich,
Du wolst mit lenger saumen mich,
Und komb in den kreis zu mir her

[9] *Neudrucke*, No. 31-32, *Fastnachtsp.*, 18, 196-201.
[10] *Neudrucke*, 39-40, *Fns.*, 34, 217-232.

Und bring mir, was ich hab beger!
.
Teuffel, nun hab wir dein genung.
Thu nur bald ausz dem kreis ein sprung
Und schmitz denn hinden ausz dem hausz
Oder far zu dem First hinausz
Oder im Kůhstal durchs Kůhloch,
Das jederman on schaden doch!"[11]

On one occasion Sachs causes the prince of practical jokers. Eulenspiegel, to employ a charm in his work of deception. Promising the old women of a village that he would make their furs as good as new he boils these in milk after speaking the following charm:

"Ich peschwer euch, ir pelcz uralt,
Das ir verwandelt euer gstalt!
Darnach ob haises fewers glůet!
Und euch alle verjůngen thůet!
Und last von euch die alten har,
Verjůngt euer haůt gancz und gar,"[12]

One more German charm is used in a Fastnacht play written toward the end of his period of greatest production and shows that Sachs' feeling for the absurly humorous did not relax in later life. This is a charm spoken by a doctor in collusion with the devil to drive the latter out of a rich Jew:

"Gaist, ich peschwer dich pey pix pax,
Pey flederwisch, hering und lax,
Und das dw arger Belzepock
Ausfarest uber stain und stock
In das wild gerôrich hinaůs
Und raům mir eillent dieses haůs!"[13]

No less effective than these ridiculous charms were the German-Latin combinations. All were able to grasp the meaning, and the Latin endings on familiar German words simply added piquancy to the whole. Only one is this form of charm employed in a Schwank. A wandering scholar finds a credulous peasant and proceeds to teach him how to conjure up evil spirits. He must take two companions and after various mysterious rites speak the follow-charm, after which the spirits would appear:

"Venite, ir unhuldibůs,
Pringt pruegel her uns stultibůs!

[11] *Neudrucke, Fns.*, 37, 243-252; 255-260.
[12] *Neudrucke*, Nos. 60-61, *Fns.*, 72, 251-256.
[13] *Neudrucke*, Nos. 63-64, *Fns.*, 76, 300-305.

Die semper mit uns spentibûs
Sûeb capite et lentibûs!"[14]

Needless to say the spirits appear at once in the form of the wandering scholar and like rascals and proceed to obey the instructions in the charm.

This maccaronic variety of charm is found four times in the Fastnacht plays and all within a very limited period of time, between 1552 and 1556. The instance already quoted from the Schwank is from the year 1555. The earliest instance among the Fastnacht plays depicts a priest using this form for purposes of mystification. A miserly peasant has had a side of pork stolen from him and the thieves proceed to make him think he has stolen it himself. The priest comes to their aid with this charm:

"In Narribus phantastibus
Nequamque et in diebibus
Hanges in galgare Fane
Rabiquenagare pame!"[15]

This style of charm was equally effective in domestic quarrels. A husband who spends all his substance with companions in the tavern employs the following with good success in making his exasperated wife speak:

"Male Bestia in spelunckes
Thabes kûmaulque et munckes
Pengel que sub schulter et lentes
Facit dein rûesel hie loquentes!"[16]

On the only occasion on which an old woman appears in the light of a benefactor she tells the young wife of a "wunderlich man," how to call the goddess Alraun. This is done by the charm that follows:

"Truez, aigensinn und clauibus
Wider pellen und muffibus,
Venit prûegel et fawstibus,
Sueb capite et lentibus!"[17]

After gathering up the coins thrown to the goddess the old woman dispenses some very sensible advice to the young wife about the best means of restoring harmony in the household.

Most characteristic of Sachs in its deliciously humorous wording is the exorcism of the evil spirit of suspicion in the husband by

[14] *Neudrucke*, Schwank 164, 55-58.
[15] *Fns.*, 41, 221-224.
[16] *Fns.*, 64, 309-312.
[17] *Fns.*, 63, 225-228.

his wife and mother-in-law. They throw him down on a bench and the old woman speaks this charm over him:

"In doribûs et lappibûs
In dôlpis et dildappibûs
Dich effen mulieribûs!
Dw semper pleibst ein asinûs.
Sûrge et stampf hin fûes fûr fûs,
Dobsûcht nûnqûam dich lasen mûs."[18]

Here as elsewhere the charm was effective. In fact it was part of Sachs' humorous stock in trade that such buffoonery should always make a tremendous impression on the simple victim.

A glance at Sachs' sources for the Schwänke and Fastnacht plays mentioned above to determine how much he was influenced by them in this type of humor will be of interest. The five cases in which Sachs uses a maccaronic charm are his own contribution to the story, as the source gives the words of no charm or conjuration. In one case[19] the source has not been discovered. In the other four cases[20] the source of two is Pauli and of the other two, *Steinhöwel*.[21]

An examination of the sources of the stories in which German charms appear gives very similar results. Of the ten instances in which well-developed or rudimentary charms are found the source has not been discovered in four cases.[22] In two other cases[23] the source shows no charm, indicating that the latter is Sachs' own contribution. In two of the remaining four places the charm in Sachs and in the source is merely rudimentary as in the first charm quoted above (Schw. 62). Here the source has simply "O fantasma . . . ge in den garten under den pösen pfersig paume . . . ". Similarly in another Schwank the charm[24] con-

[18] *Fns.* 74, 379-384.

[19] Schwank 164.

[20] *Fns.*, 63, source, *Schimpf und Ernst.*, no. 135 (Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 85); *Fns.*, 64, source, *Schimpf und Ernst* no. 124.

[21] *Fns.*, 41, source, Boccaccio, *Decam.*, 8.6 (Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 51); *Fns.*, 74, source, *Aesop* (Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 117) p. 336.

[22] Schw. 256 and 364; *Fns.*, 34 and 76. In the last case the source is probably oral from old tales found in Romance literature.

[23] *Fns.*, 18, source, Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem* 15. *Jahrhundert*, no. 57, Stutt, Lit. Ver. Vol. 29; cf. Kirchhoff, *Wendunmuth I*, no. 366, Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 95; *Fns.*, 72, source, *Eulenspiegel*, no. 30; *Neudrucke*, nos. 55-56.

[24] Schw. 331, source, *Beispiele der alten Weisen* (Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 56) Chap. 1, p. 12; cf. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, no. 628.

sists in repeating seven times the word "sûlem". Of the remaining two cases of German charms Sachs has in one[25] transformed a simple statement into a well-defined charm. Rosenblut simply writes:

"Und er do von dem pawrn begert
Das er im einhin trug ein schwert
Da er die stuben umbreisz
Und macht damit ein kerisz
Und stellet sich und den pawrn darein
Und redet lang in der lapartein.[26]

Sachs' more vivid imagination has supplied the words of the clever scholar. It is significant to note that in this case the analogues[27] also show a rudimentary charm though not apparently related to that used by Sachs.

In one source only does Sachs seem to have found a charm[28] which he could follow somewhat closely although he condenses it into half the number of lines. With the lines quoted from Sachs above (p. 3) compare the following from Hugo von Trimberg:

"Lâ dich effen, narrengûl!
Wölte got wêr dîn houbet fûl,
So gewünne ich wil armez wîp
Nach dînem tod nôche froen lîp!
Du bist sinne und witze ein slûr,
Worte und werke ein vilzgebûr:
Disen segen setze ich dir ze buoze;
Und daz du sterbest vor mînem fuoze
Oder daz dîn hirne vürbaz wüete,
Des gewer mich got durch sîne güete!"[29]

The conclusion to be drawn from Sachs' use of the charm, after comparison with his source, is that in maccaronic form it was his own invention, while as purely German formulae he greatly enlarged the scope of his predecessors in this field.

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[25] *Fns.*, 37, source, Rosenblut, Keller, *Fastnachtsp.*, no. 3, p. 1172, Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 28.

[26] P. 1174.

[27] Montanus, *Gartengesellschaft*, no. 101, Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 217, p. 398f; Waldis, *Aesopus*, IV, 42; *Deutsch. Dichter des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 17, pt. 2, p. 234 lines 139-146.

[28] Schw. 120, source, *Hugo von Trimberg*, Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vol. 248, lines 12231-12240.

[29] Lines 12231-12240.

ÜBER DEN ZWECK DES SCHULDRAMAS IN DEUTSCHLAND IM 16. UND 17. JAHRHUNDERT

Es sei mir erlaubt aus der Schlussbetrachtung eines Aufsatzes über den Zweck des Dramas in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert[1] folgende Zeilen herauszuheben: "In zwei Worten lässt sich die ganze Lage zusammenfassen: Moral und Didaktik. Diese bezieht sich auf Methode und Absicht; jene, entweder abstrakt oder konkret angehaucht, verteilt ihre Mahnungen zwischen Individuum, Familie und Staat." "Moral und Didaktik": diese Worte können mit ebenso vollem Recht auf das Schuldrama, das in jenem Aufsatz aber unberücksichtigt blieb, wie auf irgend eine andere Dramagattung bezogen werden. Schuldramen sind zuvörderst Dramen, und als solche teilen sie mit der gesamten dramatischen Produktion eines Zeitalters dessen grundlegende Züge. Zudem besitzen sie jedoch auch, im ausgesprochendsten Masse, die Merkmale einer besonderen Gattung. Ihre Zwecke sind fast ausschliesslich praktischer Natur und ihre Mahnungen richten sich fast nur an den Schüler. Überhaupt ist ihr specifischer Zweck ein pädagogischer, den Zeit, Umgebung, Konfession usw. zwar verschiedenlich färben und gestalten aber nicht wesentlich ändern können.

Schon mehrere Forscher haben die speziellen Ziele des Schuldramas für pädagogische oder bühnengeschichtliche Zwecke zusammengefasst.[2] Jedoch wird es wohl nicht überflüssig erscheinen, wenn wir jene Zwecke etwas ausführlicher, auf Grund zeitgenössischer Belege, zu bestimmen versuchen.

Direkte Belehrung war immer ein Zweck des Schuldramas, wie auch des Dramas überhaupt. Namentlich mit Bezug auf den Religionsunterricht:

> So ist doch warlich grosser nutz dahinden
> Das sich die jugend fein gemach thut finden

[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Bd. XXXII, S. 430 ff.

[2] Z. B. Paulsen, *Gesch. d. gelehrten Unterrichts*, 2. Ausg. Bd.1. S. 355 f.— Exp. Schmidt, *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas* usw. Berlin 1903; auch Creizenach, *Geschichte d. neueren Dramas*, Halle 1893-1904. Bd. 2, S. 92 f. Das Wesentliche findet sich schon bei Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, L. VI, Kap. IV.

Die gschichten aus der Bibel fein zufassen
Sich so gemehlich [*sic*] unterweissn zu lassen.[3]

Nicht nur Bibelgeschichten, sondern auch allgemeine Kenntnisse, sollen durch Aufführungen am leichtesten vermittelt werden können, da wir, meinte man, "so in den Schulen viel jar gelehret, dieses vielfältig erfaren haben, das viel *Ingenia* so man weder mit worten noch mit rutten zur lehre hat bringen können, die sind also durch lustige Action in Comoediis bewogen worden, das sie zu den Studijs ein lust gewonnen haben."[4] Als extremes Beispiel wäre zu nennen Is. Gilhausens "Grammatica, d.i. eine lustige Comödia vor die angehende Jugend, von dem Schlüssel aller Künsten, *Grammatica*, darinnen die *Rudimenta grammatices* kürtzlich und artig beschrieben und verfasst sind."[5] Dass die Benutzung der Schulbühne zu direkter Belehrung einen wesentlichen Teil in Comenius' pädagogischem System bildete, ist bekannt. Stücke wie sein *Abraham* (1641) oder sein *Diogenes Cynicus* (1662-63) zeigen dies schon zur Genüge, aber am deutlichsten tritt es hervor in seiner *Schola ludus Seu encyclopaedia viva. Hoc est linguarum praxis Scenica*[6] wo uns, nach dem Vorgang eines Seb. Macer, "scholae in Polonia Lesnensis Rector," in einer Reihe von Examina, unter Vorsitz des Ptolemaeus, Plato, Eratosthenes u.a. alles, was nach Comenius für den Schüler wissenswert ist, in Frage und antwort erörtert wird.[7] Morhof meinte dies "wäre kein übler Vorschlag des Comenii gewesen,"[8] und Weise hat Comenius bekanntlich nachgeahmt, wo er in seiner *Complementir Comoedie* "alle Actus Conversationis Civilis" in ein Schauspiel brachte.[9] Weise betrachtete ja die Komödien als "ein *Exercitium*, da sich die *qvinta essentia* der Oratorie, der *Poeterey* / ja wohl auch der *Logica* zu erkennen giebt."[10]

[3] Crüginger, *Lazarus*, Dresden 1605, zuerst 1543. Kein eigentliches Schuldrama, jedoch bezieht sich der Prolog teilweise auf Schuldramen.

[4] Breslauer Schulordnung, 1570, Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des 16. jarhhunderts*. Gütersloh 1860. Bd. 1. S S . 199 ff. S. auch die *Disciplina et Doctrina Gymnasii Gorlicensis*, ap. Creizenach Bd. 2. S. 93.

[5] Franckf. 1590; Gottsched, *NöthigerVorrath*, Bd. 2. S. 236.

[6] Vorrede 1654. *Opera didactica omnia*, Amst. 1657 fol., Sp. 830–1040.

[7] Cf. R. Windel, *Zur Geschichte d. Schuldramas*, Neue Jahrb. f.d. klass. Altert. Gesch. u. Lit. u.f. Pädagogik. Bd. XXXXVI, SS. 428 ff., 1915.

[8] *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie*, Kiel 1700 (1682) S. 664.

[9] Es wäre leicht, weitere Titel anzuführen, wie z.B. Christian Zeidlers *Paedia Dramatica*, Dresden 1675, u. a.

[10] *Comoedien Probe*, 1695.

Zur Zeit wo die lateinische Sprache völlig den Unterricht beherrschte, den Schlüssel aller Bildung und das Mittel eines regen politischen und internationalen Verkehrs bildete, erscheint die Aufgabe, die sich Joh. Grünpeck bei der Aufführung seiner Komödien stellte, als überaus wichtig. Nicht nur latein, sondern das beste Latein lehrten seine *Comoedie vtilissimi. omnem latini sermonis elegantiam continentes. e quibus quisque optimus latinus euadere potest.*[11] Lochers *Judicium Paridis*[12] bezweckt die Beförderung des reinen Latein und die Austilgung der Solöcismen, und Nikod. Frischlin strebt demselben Ziele zu in seinem *Priscianus vapulans*, mit dem er gegen die mit sprachlichen Irrtümern angefülten Schulbücher seiner Zeit zu Felde zog. (1584) Überhaupt lag im ans Herz, dass die Jugend "facundiam / Inprimis Romanae hauriat eloquentiae."[13] In Strassburg dienten die Aufführungen selbst gelegentlich dazu "die . . . griechische Sprache desto besser zu ergreiffen."[14] Und auch anderswo, z.B. in Zürich[15] oder in Chemnitz.[16] Als die deutsche Schulkomödie sich ihren Platz neben der lateinischen erobert hatte[17] und die lateinische Sprache als Mittel des allgemeinen Unterrichts und als Sprache der Gelehrsamkeit mehr und mehr verdrängt wurde, verloren namentlich die Bestrebungen zu Gunsten des Lateins allmählich ihren Grund.

Die Stärkung des Gedächtnisses infolge des systematischen Auswendiglernens wurde häufig erwähnt.[18] Dass dabei auch "etliche gutte sprüch behalten wurdend" war erfreulich.[19] "Non enim tantum prodest," so versichert Steph. Riccius, "ad parandum latini sermonis proprietatem & elegantiam: verum etiam, ad formandos mores plurimum affert momenti." Die Theorie erklärte dies hierdurch, dass "In animis discentium velut

[11] 1497 Augsb. aufgef.

[12] 1502. Cf. Creizenach, Bd. 2. S. 41.

[13] *Helvetio-Germani*, Helmst. 1589.

[14] 1607. Cf. Jundt, *Die dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg*. Strassburg 1881, S. 37.

[15] Cf. Jörg Binder, *Acolastus*, Vorrede, 1535.

[16] Cf. Hayneccius, *Almansor* (Deutsch) 1582, Vorrede.

[17] Cf. die Magdeburger Schulordnung 1553, Vormbaum S. 418. Auf den Streit für die Verwendung der deutschen Sprache im Drama können wir jetzt nicht eingehen. Wichtiges bietet schon Michel, *Knaust*, SS. 203 ff.

[18] Zwickauer Schulordnung, 1523, Binder, *Acolastus*, 1535 u.ö.

[19] Binder, *l.c.*

aculei quidam inhaereant,"[20] oder mit Hinweis auf die bekannte Horazianische Formel: "Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu."[21] Schottel und Kindermann[22] hoffen, dass auch der Verstand dadurch geschärft werde.

Schon früh wird auch die von den jugendlichen Schauspielern erlangte Kühnheit und Ruhe im öffentlichen Vortrag als einen wertvollen Vorzug gepriesen. Die Fähigkeit "coram plebe et in coetibus audacter loqui"[23] wurde nicht unterschätzt und schien sicherer und vollständiger durch die Schulbühne erreichbar als durch Schülergespräche und Rednerübungen. Cicero wurde öfters als Beispiel angeführt: "Eloquentiae parenti Romanae Tullio, quantum soccus & cothurnus histrionicus adjumenti oratoriam ad facultatem attulerit, quantum ipse in Rostra sua e Scena delectamenti transtulerit, notum est ex certaminibus illis, quae cum suo Roscio indefesso studio exercuit."[24] Für den Redner wäre keine bessere Schule als das Drama, meint Pontanus, namentlich die Tragödie: "Studiosis eloquentiae plus multo prodest tragoedia, quam comoedia: quanquam haec quoque non modice prodest. Hauriunt inde verborum delectum, splendorem, grauitatem, maximum, sententiarum pondera, amplificationum rationes, affectuum varietatem, & magnitudinem, omnis denique generis praeclara, & ad docendum, delectandum, permouendum summa idonea ornamenta."[25]

"Für die Gemeinde zu reden, lernen frei aus dem Munde reden," war auch für das gesellige Leben nicht ohne Wichtigkeit. Die Knaben "lernen sich auch bei den Leuten fein schicken."[26] Sie lernen gute Manieren:

> Die jugend lernt auch wie sie an geperden
> Fein steiff und ehrlich sol erzogen werden /
> Das manche werdn in solcher ubung geschlieffn
> Die sonst dem Grobiano stets nachlieffen.[27]

[20] *Eunuchus*-Übers., 1586.

[21] Greg. Wagner, in Willichius' *Terenz*-Ausg. 1550 u.ö.

[22] *Friedens-Sieg*, 1648. S. 12; Der Deutsche Poet, 1664, S. 244.

[23] O. Brunfels, *Catechesis puerorum* etc., s.l. 1529, fol. 74, ap. Jundt, S. 15; N. Frischlin, *Dido*, 1581.

[24] H. Kirchners Bearbeitung von Bircks *Sapientia Salomonis*, Marpurg 1591.

[25] *Poeticarum Institutionum* L. III, 1594. S. 116.

[26] M. G. Praetorius, ap. Holstein, *Die Reformation in Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Dichtung*. Halle 1886, S. 39.

[27] Crüginger, *Lazarus*, 1605 (1543).

Die Aussprache wurde nicht vernachlässigt, da in diesen Dramen

> " . . . sich vben junge knabn /
> In lernen / reden vnd auszsprechen.[28]

Rist erwähnte als spezifische Vorzüge das Stärken der schwachen Stimme und die Vorbeugung oder Genesung des Stammelns.[29]

Nicht nur beherztes sondern auch gewandtes und zierliches Auftreten wurde angestrebt. Die Knaben, meint Merck, sollen "im reden behertzt gemacht/und endtlich in Sitten und Geberden desz Leibs zu ziehrlicher Gebühr gewehnet werden."

> "Euch Eltern," *ruft er aus*
> "oder die ihr seit
> An deren statt und schawet heut /
> Euch alle letz ich fragen will:
> Mein / saget mir ohn allen schertz /
> Ob euch nicht im Leib springt das Hertz?
> Thut ihr nicht gnaw und fleiszig eben /
> Auff ewre Söhn achtung geben /
> Und zusehn wie sie im gehn /
> Im sitzen / ligen und im stehn /
> In der Red / im bucken und neigen
> Artig und zierlich sich erzeigen?[30]

Der Schulvorstand der Strassburger Akademie behauptet, dass die Jugend lerne "die Geberde, motus und gestus fein und geschicklichen zu moderiren"[31] und Marcus Pfeffer freut sich über die

> zierlich geberd, sprach förmlich wort,
> Vnd was sonst mehr dazu gehört.[32]

Diesen Zweck, den Weise später häufig betonte,[33] hatte Johannes Sturm schon folgenderweise hervorgehoben: "Tragicae et comicae actiones in exercitatione corporis numerandae sunt; idcirco enim δράματα nominatae sunt."[34]

Wenn nun von der "Geschicklichkeit des Leibes," trotz Tittmann und Creizenach, in der Zwickauer Schulordnunung keine Rede

[28] Is. Gilhusius, *Grammatica*, 1597.
[29] *Perseus*, 1634.
[30] *Beel*, Ulm 1615.
[31] 1607, ap. Jundt, *l.c.* S. 37.
[32] *Esther*, 1621.
[33] "Was helfen die rauhen und harten Geberden" usw. *Masaniello*, 1683.
[34] *Judicium de instituendis collegijs Praedicatorum* etc., ap. Jundt, *l.c.* S. 18. Sturm mahnt Goelius zum genauen Studium der dramatischen Karaktere. Cf. *Epistolae.*

ist,[35] so unterliegt es jedoch keinem Zweifel, dass diese "Geschicklichkeit" wirklich einen Platz hatte unter den für die Schuldramen beanspruchten Vorzügen. Nur muss man darunter wohl bloss "Gewandtheit des Leibes" verstehen, wenn auch Sturms Worte auf körperliche Übung hinzudeuten scheinen. Eine freie Haltung setzt ja einen wohlgeübten Körper voraus. Auch könnte man sich diese Absicht bei den Jesuiten mehr ausgebildet denken, was zu ihrer Pflege der Fechtkunst und der häufig auf ihrer Bühne benutzten Tanzkunst vortrefflich stimmen würde. Eine wichtigere Frage ist aber diese: In wiefern ist hieraus auf schauspielerische Ausbildung der Schüler zu schliessen? Binders Schüler sollten ja "der red(die sust an jro selbs tot) ein wäsen unnd läben gäben mit der action und uszsprächen"[36] und Weise betont die Wichtigkeit eines "leutseligen Mienenspiels." Auch darf man das Bestehen theoretischer Anleitungen wie etwa Willichius' *Liber de pronunciatione rhetorica* (1540) und bei den Jesuiten sogar eines Handbuchs über die Beredsamkeit der Finger[37] nicht ausser Betracht lassen. Aber schon Quintilian hatte die Wichtigkeit der Handbewegungen für den Redner hervorgehoben und ihnen eine liebevoll-eingehende Besprechung gewidmet, denn, wie er betonte: "Andere Körperteile sind dem Redenden behilflich, aber diese, wie ich fast sagen möchte, reden selbst."[37bis] Auseiner fünfzigjährigen Bühnenerfahrung heraus fordert der Jesuit Franziskus Lang vom Theaterleiter, er solle selber ein hervorragender Schauspieler sein.[38] Aber Lang selbst stellt das Auftreten seiner Schüler in bewussten Gegensatz zur Bühnentechnik der Berufsschauspieler, die er, vermutlich auf die Münchener Hofbühne hinüberschielend, verächtlich als *ludiones* bezeichnet. Die Strassburger Akademie bezweckte nur das "moderiren" der Geberden oder, wie Crüginger sagte,"das schleiffen" der Manieren. Dazu ist die Abneigung gegen das Schauspielerische bei

[35] Wie Exp. Schmidt, *l.c.* S. 16 ff., ausführlich dargetan hat.

[36] *Acolastus*, 1535.

[37] *Voellius, Generale Artificium orationis cuiusque componendae.* Köln, 1590. Cf. Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte* usw. Berlin 1914. SS. 262; 276.

[37bis] *Instit. Orat. XI, 3.*

[38] *Dissertatio de actione scenica*, Mon. 1727. Cf. Scheid in *Euphorion*, Bd. VIII, SS. 59 ff.

gewissen Schulmännern vollgültig belegt.[39] Die Lage wäre also die folgende: neben der unverkennbaren Abneigung gegen das Schauspielerische hat aber auch eine bestimmte Neigung zur rednerischen Ausbildung der Schüler bestanden. Inwiefern letzterer etwas Schauspielerisches anhaften konnte, ist schwer zu ermitteln. Bei den Jesuiten wäre der Unterschied wohl kein bedeutender. Dort war übrigens das Schuldrama nicht ausschliesslich als Bildungsmittel für die Schüler beabsichtigt, sonder vielmehr, wie die ganze Tätigkeit des Ordens, "ad majorem Dei gloriam."[40] Placotomus, der Protestant, meint aber: "Scholastici non agunt propter spectatores, sed propter se ipsos." Bestimmter gesagt, war die Absicht bei den Jesuiten, der katholischen Religion möglichst viel Konvertiten zu gewinnen, bei andern den Glauben zu vertiefen oder dem Orden Gönner zu bringen, eine Wirkungsart, die, wie viele Bekehrungsgeschichten und sonstige Berichte erweisen, häufig erfolgreich war.[41] Um solche Zwecke zu erreichen musste jedoch das Jesuitentheater dem Geschmack des Publikums zurecht gemacht werden, was somit eine freiere Dramaturgie und besser ausgebildete Schauspieler voraussetzt. Die *Ratio* vom Jahre 1591 schreibt denn auch vor: "accomodentur . . . actiones omnes ad finem a societate intentum, ad motum animorum."

Bei Weise ist der Einfluss der Jesuiten unverkennbar. Rednerische Übung, wobei eine freimütige Haltung und eine gewisse "vornehme Gelassenheit" als Vorbedingung erscheinen, war für ihn das Hauptmittel zur Erstrebung eines sehr praktischen Zieles: die Ausbildung eines "politischen," diplomatisch-ausgeglätteten Weltmannes. Besonders wird bei ihm die Verbindung zwischen Theorie und Leben betont: "Es ist gut / wenn der Anfang zu guten Wissenschaften ordentlich gemacht wird. Es ist noch viel besser / wenn das *Judicium*, das Gedächtnisz und die

[39] Cf. Creizenach, *l.c.* Bd. 2, S. 93 und in den *Berichtigungen*; Exp. Schmidt, *l.c.* SS. 35 ff.

[40] Cf. die *Ratio studiorum* von 1586. Pachtler, Bd. 2, S. 178.

[41] Die Erzherzogin Eleonora zog sich nach dem beiwohnen eines Jesuitendramas in Graz 1603 in ein Kloster zurück. Die Jesuitenaufführungen von 1581 und 1583 in Köln brachten dem Orden reiche Schenkungen ein. Cf. K. v. Reinhardstöttner, *Zur Gesch. d. Jesuitendramas in München*, Münchner Jahrbuch, Bd. 3, S. 143 (1889); Nessler, *Das Jesuitendrama in Tyrol* (II) 1906, S. 17.

Zunge wohl auffgemuntert / und zu einer gelehrten *Praxi* genau verbunden werden. Allein das ist auch nicht zu verachten / wenn sie das nöthige Stück von der gelehrten[42] *hardiesse* das ist / ihre freye *action* und *prononciation* nicht zurücke lassen denn es kömmt doch einmal dahin / dasz sie vor die Leute treten / und ihre Kunst mit einer politischen *courage* durchbringen sollen. Solches aber können sie gleichsam spielende gewohnen / wenn sie bald von ihrer zarten Kindheit / so viel Köpffe / so viel Augen ja wohl auch ein unverhofftes Geräusche / klug und gedultig ertragen lernen."[43] Bei Weise erreicht die Auffassung der Schulbühne als einer Art Mikrokosmus zur Ausbildung praktischer Tüchtigkeit, namentlich in "Regiements-Sachen" einen Höhepunkt. Man übte sich in diesen Dramen "im judicio negotiorum & personarum, consiliorum & eventuum."[44] Schon der Rektor Joh. Förster hatte beteuert dass in seinen Dramen die Schüler Gelegenheit hatten "sese ad actiones humanas feliciter accomodare paulatim magis & magis."[45] Aber viel deutlicher lässt sich die Neigung spüren bei Weise und selbst früher bei Chph. Kormart[46] und Joh. Riemer. Nur erscheint der Zweck beim streitbaren Zwickauer Rektor oft bis zur Vorbereitung zum Strebertum herabgewürdigt.

Geldlicher Vorteil, namentlich zur Aufbesserung der kargen Lehrerbesoldungen mag bisweilen—Belege sind vorhanden—als Anregung zur Aufführung von Schuldramen gegolten haben.[47] Aber dieser Antrieb wäre leicht zu überschätzen und war wohl nicht viel mächtiger als das Bier, das gelegentlich "dem Scholmeister und Actoribus" von Ratswegen verehrt wurde für Aufführungen ausserhalb der Schule.[48] Nicht selten wurde ausdrück-

[42] Das heisst hier natürlich "nicht angeborene."

[43] *Curieuser Körbelmacher*, 1705.

[44] *Comoedien Probe*, 1695.

[45] *Vrsi ultores Elisaei*, in *Theatron Christianae Iuuentutis nouum*. Lips. 1604.

[46] Letzterer hatte "geheimste Staatsregeln" und "Regiements-Sachen" "zu einer nützlichen Unterrichtung unter den Geschichten verborgen." *Maria Stuart*, 1672. Cf. auch Jok. Riemers *Standes - Rhetorica Oder Vollkommener Hoff- und Regenten- Redner*. Leipzig 1685.

[47] Cf. Creizenach, *l.c.* Bd. 3, S. 374; Exp. Schmidt, *l.c.*

[48] Im Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasium zu Neuruppin bekamen sie im Jahre 1577 "3fl 4 gr ahn 1 Viertel Bier"; 1584 "3 fl 7 gr und zwei Tonnen Bier." Cf. Begemann, *Annalen des Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasiums zu Neuruppin.*

lich betont dass nicht Gewinn den Anlass gegeben habe. Obwohl Johann von Dalberg die jungen Schauspieler, die ihm Reuchlins *Scenica progymnasmata* vorgeführt hatten, reichlich beschenkte, so versichert jedoch die Didaskalie des Stückes: "comicos hos ludos . . . ingenii exercitandi tantum ac nullius lucri aut quaestus gratia instituimus." (1497). Dagegen bekennt Martin Hayneccius dem Rat und den Bürgern ganz offen, dass er "auff Gedancken und sinn Comoedien zu schreiben / nie kommen were / wo [er] nicht . . . zu Cempnitz / durch [der Honoratioren] begern / und besonder lust und zuneigung / auch vorgeltung angewandter meiner arbeit / angereitzt were worden. . . ."[49]

Deutlicher tritt die Absicht zu Tage durch Dramenaufführungen zu bewirken dass "beid gelert vnnd ungelert / Burger / Bawr vnd alle man den Profectum w a c h s v n n d z u n e m e n d e r S c h u l e n / sehen und erfaren / Auch ein jeder deste mehr lust die seinen zur Schulen zu halten / haben müge."[50] Nur zu viele Eltern sagten:

> . . . min sun dorff nit stellen
> nach groszer kunst, könndt er nur zellen
> das einmal eins, ein buchstab schryben
> zinszbrieff läsen, daby solls blyben.[51]

In Strassburg gesteht der Vorstand der Akademie in einer "Supplication" an den Magistrat, dass die erbetene Erneuerung der Schulbühne im Predigerkloster nicht "principaliter um der schueler oder studiosen willen begehrt" sei, welche im Notfall "auch in classibus oder anderswo könten geübet werden," sonder um der "spectatoren und gemeiner bürgerschaft willen."[52] Es braucht kaum dargetan zu werden dass diese Besorgnis um die "gemeine bürgerschaft" auf verständiges Interesse für die Schule beruhte. Städte, wo die Schuldramen nicht auch vor dem Rat und den Bürgern aufgeführt wurden, sind Ausnahmen.

Selbstverständlich bestrebten sich die Schulmänner die Eltern für die Schulbühne zu interessieren, aber nicht immer ausschliesslich um der Schüler oder der Schule willen. Greff hatte schon die

Berlin 1915, S. 8. So wurden auch 1571 in Spandau "22 Quart. Bernauisch bier in der Kirche [!] vertrunken, da die Schulgesellen eine comoediam daselbst agiert." Cf. Bolte, *Märkische Forschungen*, Bd. XVIII, S. 203 f.

[49] *Almansor*, in *Drey newe, schöne und Lustige Comoedien*, 1582.

[50] Joh. Baumgart, *Juditium Salomonis*, 1561.

[51] J. Funkelin, *Lazarus*, 1550.

[52] Ap. Jundt, *l.c.*, S. 28 f.

Meinung geäussert, dass die Schuldramen durch Vermittlung der Kinder Einfluss auf die Eltern auszuüben vermochten. Er fragt den Vater, ob nicht "solche Spectakel [ihm] zuweilen . . . ein gros hertz gegen seinem sone [machen] / so er jn sihet so fein dapffer und unuerschrocken für den leuten reden." Dabei bleibt es aber nicht, da "also die elltern / nach dem sie von jren kindern solche gute lahr gehort / solche feine ubung von jren kindern gesehen / auch ein wolgefallen dauon haben würden / das sie solchs auch nachmals inn jren eigen heusern köndten widderumb lesen / und des / das sie gesehen und gehört / sich köndten erinnern / daraus beweget würden / das sie jre kinder als denn vleissiger denn zuuor / zu guter zucht und lahre halten und ziehen möchten."[53]

Jos. E. Gillet

University of Illinois

[53] *Aululariа*-Ub., 1535.

TWO LETTERS FROM JACOB AND WILHELM GRIMM

The originals of the following letters are to be found in the Fiske Icelandic Collection. The first letter, from W. C. Grimm to R. K. Rask, is an answer to the latter's letter of June 3, 1823, which is printed in E. Schmidt's *Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Grimm mit nordischen Gelehrten*, Berlin 1885 (pp. 112–114), but Schmidt did not know the present letter, although Rask's reply of March 27, 1824, is printed there (pp. 115-116).

The second letter, from Jacob Grimm to Leopold Karl Wilhelm August Freiherr von Ledebur (1799–1877), acknowledges the receipt of Ledebur's first book *Das Land und Volk der Brukterer* (1827), which called the attention of the Prussian authorities to his scholarly attainments and brought about his appointment (Jan. 11, 1829) as "Vorsteher der Abtheilung für vaterländische Alterthümer," and afterwards (Feb. 27, 1832) as director of the Royal "Kunstkammer," a position which he occupied for 43 years (to Dec. 13, 1875).

I

Cassel 11ten Febr. 1824.

Werthgeschätzter Freund, es war mir eine Freude, als ich Ihren Brief vom 3ten Juni v. J. erhielt und Ihre wohlbekannte Handschrift wieder erblickte. Unsere besten Wünsche hatten Sie auf Ihrer gewiss gefahrvollen Reise[1] begleitet; nehmen Sie den zwar späten aber herzlichen Glückwunsch über die glückliche Vollendung derselben an. Möge Ihnen nun die Musse bestimmt seyn zur Ausarbeitung Ihrer Sammlungen und zur Ausführung Ihrer längst gehegten Pläne für die nordische Litteratur, alle Freunde derselben in Deutschland werden Ihre Arbeiten mit Freude empfangen. Ich danke Ihnen für die näheren Nachrichten über die isländ. Litteratur Gesellschaft[2] so wie für die Berichtigung über Hammarskölds Jómsvikinga Saga, die ich wirklich nicht vor Augen hatte, als ich sie aufführte.[3] Ich werde dies alles zu benutzen Gelegenheit haben in der Fortsetzung jener Abhandlung im Hermes, die ich in kurzem auszuarbeiten gedenke.[4] Ich glaube mich dazu verpflichtet bei

[1] Rask had returned to Copenhagen from his Asiatic journey on May 5, 1823.

[2] Hið íslenzka Bókmentafélag was founded in 1816. The Grimms were made honorary members of the Society in 1824 (cf. *Briefwechsel*, p. 116).

[3] He had mentioned this edition in the essay in *Hermes*, referred to below.

[4] This continuation of his essay "Die altnordische Litteratur in der gegenwärtigen Periode" (*Hermes* 2. Jahrg; I, Bd., 1820, pp. 1-53) seems not to have been written, at least, it never was printed.

dem freundschaftlichen Verhältniss, in dem wir mit mehrern dänischen Gelehrten stehen, und bei der Theilnahme und Güte, die sie uns erzeigen. Ihre Schriften, die Sie in Ihrem Briefe nennen, sind sämmtlich längst in unsern Händen und schon oft gebraucht, namentlich Ihre Snorra Edda[5] und die schwedische Ausgabe der altnordischen Grammatik;[6] auch die Übersetzung der ältern Edda von Finn Magnusen[7] ist bei uns angelangt. Liljegrens neuste Abhandlung über die Runen[8] fehlt mir aber und doch möchte ich sie, da sie gerühmt wird, gerne haben; ist sie besonders abgedruckt, so würden Sie mir einen Gefallen erzeigen, wenn Sie mir sie aus Schweden wollten kommen lassen. Eine Schrift von Brunnius[9] kenne ich nur aus Citaten und hätte sie auch gerne Sie wären wohl so gütig und legten Bautastene samlede af Blicker Odense 1823[10] bei, denn ich denke mir, dass das etwas neues ist; die Kosten könnte ich Ihnen durch eine Buchhandlung erstatten. Ich sehe auf jede Kleinigkeit die in diesem Fache erscheint, da ich einen Nachtrag zu meiner Schrift über Runen vorhabe und manches Merkwürdige dazu sich wieder bei mir gesammelt hat.[11] Vielleicht ist Nyerup, dem ich ein paar Worte noch schreiben will.[12] mit gewohnter Gefälligkeit so gut noch etwas hinzufügen; ein neuer Band der Antiqu. Annalen[13] hat schon lange erscheinen sollen.

Mein Bruder arbeitet fleissig an dem 2ten Band seiner Grammatik von welcher 6-8 Bogen schon gedruckt sind, da er nichts vorher zum Druck fertig macht, so ist er nun sehr angebunden. Er grüsst Sie herzlich.

Hammerstein[14] wohnt auf seinem Gute Equord bei Hildesheim; er war eine Zeit lang kränklich, da in dem russischen Feldzug auch seine sonst eiserne

[5] Stockholm, 1818. It was reviewed together with the Sæmundar Edda of the same year, by Jacob Grimm in *Gött. gel Anz.* 1820.

[6] *Anvisning till Isländskan*, etc. Stockholm, 1818. W. Grimm mentions the Danish editor of 1811 in his essay in *Hermes*, and it had been reviewed by J. Grimm in *Allgem. Lit.-Zeit.* (Halle), 1812, Nos. 31-34.

[7] Reviewed by W. Grimm in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1825.

[8] Doubtless Liljegren's article "Anteckningar vörande versar skrefne med runor" (*Skand. Lit. Selsk. Skr.* 1820).

[9] Thus for Brunius. The work referred to must be Liljegren and Brunius' *Nordiska fornlemningar* (1823) which W. Grimm afterwards reviewed in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1826.

[10] St. Blicher's *Böjtastene*, a collection of poems which, as Rask says in his reply, has nothing to do with the real "Böjtastene."

[11] See his "Zur Literatur der Runen," in *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Wien), XLIII. Bd. 1828, pp. 1-42.

[12] This letter is not known now, but Nyerup acknowledges the receipt of it in his letter of March 27, 1824 (see *Briefwechsel*, p. 82).

[13] *Antiquariske Annaler* (Kjøbenhavn, 1812-27).

[14] Hans Georg Freiherr von Hammerstein (1771-1841), adventurer, student and soldier, was in command of the Westfalian army corps during Napoleon's Russian campaign in 1812. He wrote a history of the Hammerstein family (1806), and several articles from his pen on history and antiquities appeared in the Hanoverian *Vaterländisches Archiv* and elsewhere. He was a friend of the Grimms and visited Copenhagen in 1811, where Rask made his acquaintance (see Rask's letter to W. Grimm of April 2, 1811, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 85-88).

Gesundheit gelitten hatte. Jetzt ist er wieder hergestellt und noch vor kurzem hat mir ein Verwandter von ihm einen Gruss und die Nachricht gebracht, dass er sich mit einer jungen und schönen Gräfin verheiraten will.

Ich muss schliessen, da ich nur dieses Blättchen einlegen kann. Leben Sie wohl u. gesund werthester Freund. Mit aufrichtiger Hochachtung

Ihr ergebenster
Wilhelm C. Grimm.

An Herrn Professor Rask
Wohlgeboren
Kopenhagen.

II

Ew. Hochwohlgeboren werden kaum noch meinen dank für Ihr gütiges geschenk, das ich vor länger als einem viertel jahre empfangen habe, annehmen. So gehts mit dem aufschieben; erst wollte ich lesen, bemerkungen niederschreiben und Ihnen mittheilen. Gelesen hab ich zwar grösstentheils und mich der glücklichen entdeckungen gefreut, die Sie auf diesem felde machen; aber eine krankheit von sechs wochen, mit deren nachtrab ich noch handgemein bin, hat mich um meine weihnachtsferien gebracht und eine menge von geschäften und arbeiten aufwachsen lassen. Was ich Ihnen also von bestätigungen oder einwürfen etwa zu schreiben hätte, dazu bin ich heute, wo es mir schwer aufs herz fällt, dass ich noch gar nicht geantwortet habe, keineswegs gesammelt, muss auch erst wieder ausgehen dürfen und auf der Bibliothek nachschlagen.

Nehmen Sie also mit dieser kahlen entschuldigung vorlieb und erhalten mir bis auf künftige gelegenheit Ihr wohlwollen.

Mit ausgezeichneter hochachtung
Ew. Hochwohlgeb.
ergebenster Diener
Jac. Grimm.

Cassel 12 Jan. 1828.
Sr. Hochwohlgeboren
Herrn von Ledebur II
Leutenant im 2 Garderegiment zu Fuss.

Halldór Hermannsson

Cornell University

THE CAUSATIVE USE OF *HĀTAN*

I

When it does not mean 'promise,' 'call,' or 'name,' Old English *hātan* is turned into Modern English by the translators and by the glossary makers as 'ordain, direct, bid, order, command.' *Hātan* is, indeed, a frequently used verb of ordering in Old English; and 'ordain, direct, bid, order, command' is a correct translation of this verb in a large number of the instances in which it was used by Old English writers; but this meaning, assigned *hātan* almost without exception,[1] fails to cover the extension of *hātan's* imperfective 'order' sense into its perfective 'cause' sense. The contention that the function of *hātan* is frequently causative is maintained by the facts presented in this article.

Before I set out to show that the use of *hātan* as both a verb of ordering and a verb of causing is a natural coalescence of functions, and that the sense 'cause' is inherent in the primitive meaning of the word, let me at once give specific examples in which *hātan* may be looked upon as having causative, rather than mandatory, signification. The following examples from *Beowulf* will serve well.

ll. 198–199: Hēt him ȳðlidan gōdne gegyrwan=he caused a good ship to be made ready for him.

ll. 1035–1036: Heht ðā eorla hlēo eahta mēaras / fætedhlēore on flet tēon[2]=the protector of warriors caused eight horses . . . to be led into the hall.

ll. 2190–2191: Hēt ðā eorla hlēo in gefetian / heaðo-rōf cyning Hrēðles lāfe=the protector of warriors . . . caused the relic of Hrethel to be brought in.

l. 3110: Hēt ðā gebēodan byre Wihstānes=the son of Wihstan caused to be announced.

It is apparent that in all of these cases the writer, who lived in an age which had so great respect for authority that it considered the issuing of an order by an *eorla hlēo* equivalent to its consumma-

[1] Exceptions: Pancoast and Spaeth (*Early English Poems*, p. 51) translate Hēton mē heora weargas hebban (*Dream of the Rood*, l.31) "*made* me bear their criminals"; and Napier renders þā fēorwertiȝæ ȝēare timbriæn hēt ðæt mucele tempul (the Old-Middle English *Holy Rood Tree*, p. 27, l.17) "he then, during a space of forty years, *caused* the great temple to be built."

[2] Cf. Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, l. 2031, Duk Thēseus *lēēt* forth thrēē stēdes bringe.

tion, desired to record results accomplished by the giving of commands. The interest uppermost in the writer's mind, when he set down the sentences quoted above, was not upon the pronouncement of commands, but upon acts brought about by the publication of orders. It is more reasonable to consider the function of *hātan* in these instances causative than to look upon it as mandatory.

The difference between a verb of ordering and a verb of causing is but a slight difference. Fixing the narrow distinction between these verb classes by defining the function of each class[3] emphasizes the ease with which a causative meaning may be assumed by a word generally used as a verb of ordering. Consideration, too, of the relation of verbs of forcing and of verbs of allowing to verbs of causing shows that the functions of all these classes of verbs are so variable that coalescence of their specialized functions in a single word should be met without surprise; and furthermore, a semantic study of common Old English representatives of these verb classes suggests an identity of primitive meaning for a number of verbs that in later use are particularized as verbs of ordering, causing, forcing, or allowing.

II

The verb of ordering expresses the idea that will or power residing in one person or thing is exercised upon another person or thing toward the accomplishment of an act. The stimulus to action expressed in the verb of ordering, based upon assumed authority, may not be, however, irresistible; the act ordered may not be carried out, for the will or power of the one commanded may be stronger than the will or power of the one who issued the command. The verb of ordering is an imperfective verb; it does not necessarily produce an effect; it makes no promise that an act

[3] The usual employment of the term "causative" makes no distinction among the various degrees of causation. For instance, Zeitlin (*The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English* [Columbia University Studies in English, II, iii, 3, 1908], pp. 43-49) includes verbs of compelling in his list of Middle English cuasatives. In this syntactical study, Zeitlin is interested, however, only in the construction dependent upon the verb of causing, the single aspect of causative verbs that has caught the attention of students of English syntax; for this sime purpoplse there is, of course, no need to discriminate among the verbs that denote varying degress of emphasis in their causative idea. Zeitlin puts *hātan* in a list of verbs of "*implied* causation."

will result from a command, or has resulted from a command. In this sentence, for instance, *hātan* is an imperfective verb of ordering: Sende Balthild sēo cwēn mycel weorod, and hēt þone bysceop ofslēan;[4] five lines below the position of this sentence in the text it is recorded that þā cwelleras . . . ne woldon hine cwellan.[5] The order was issued; the act ordered was not carried out. A perfective sense is, however, easily established for a verb of ordering, for an order is issued generally only when the assumption that it will be executed can be backed by force, if force is necessary for its execution.

III

The verb of causing predicates the accomplishment of an act that has been brought about by the exercise of an influence of some one or of some thing upon some person or some object. The causative verb affirms accomplished action; it is a perfective verb. The pure causative[6] does not indicate the quality of the influence exerted by the primary actor upon the secondary actor; it leaves the influence general and undetermined beyond the notion that it is sufficiently effective to have brought about an act. It gives no indication of the attitude of the secondary actor; it does not specify whether the agent was willing or unwilling to perform the act he has done.[7]

[4] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p. 456, ll. 4-5. All references to Bede are made to Miller's edition, E.E.T.S., O.S., 95.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 456, ll. 9-10.

[6] In Modern English, *cause* (formal), *have* (informal); *have* is, however, stressed into a verb of forcing; *make* is both a verb of causing and a verb of compelling: "And would fain make themselves feel that they are filled . . ." (Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship* [Crowell edition], p. 163) and "He shall go right against his desire in one matter, and *make* himself do the thing he does not wish" (*ibid.*, p. 101).

[7] The attitude of the secondary actor is frequently considered to be of so small consequence that the agent who performs the will of the primary actor drops out of the representation (cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen, Syntax*, IV, 2. 115 ff.), as in þā hēt sē cyning sōna neoman þone mete (Bede, p. 116, 1.6). As the tendency to omit the agent-actor grows, distinction between the expression of indirect and direct action is lessened (cf. Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, ll. 1045-1047,

> Hē ēst-ward hath upon thē gāte aboue
>
> Dōōn māke ān auter and ān oratorīe [caused
> whom to make it?];

Common causative verbs in Old English and in Middle English[8] are verbs with an earlier meaning 'arrange, make ready, prepare.'

1. O.E. *dōn*: Germ. **dō-*: **dē;* I.E. **dhō-*: **dhē* 'put, place, put in order, arrange'; Lat. *facere*; Gr. τίθημι; Skt. *dhâ* (*dadhâmi, dhâmi*).

Similarly, Lat. *concinnāre*, 'put in proper order, arrange,' has a causative meaning.[9] The common Scandinavian causative *fá* is from a base that means 'arrange, put in order': <Germ. **fanh* <I.E. **pak*, 'ordnen, befestigen'; Lat. *pango*, 'befestigen'; Gr. πήγνυνι, 'mache fest.' Gothic *taujan*, which is sometimes employed as a causative,[10] bears in general the earlier sense 'fertig machen, bereiten, vorwärts bringen.'[11]

2. M.E. *māken* (O.E. *macian*[12]): Germ. **mak-*; I.E. **mēg-*. "The root **mēg-* . . . meant 'measure off, give the (proper) measure to, make even, like, suitable, convenient; lay out, plan, contrive, make.' "[13] Wood compares Gr. μῆτις 'wisdom, skill, plan, undertaking; μητίαω 'plan, intend, devise, bring about'; Skt. *mâti, mimāti, mimīti*, 'messen, abmessen, vergliechen mit; *intr.* dem Mass entsprechend; zuteilen; bereiten, bilden, verfertigen.'

3. M.E. (North.) *gar* <O.N. *gǿra* (?): Germ. **garwian*, **garwa-*; I.E. **gher-*, prepared, made ready,' especially in connection with the preparation of food, and also generally 'made ready.'

with the co-ordinate clause two lines below (l. 1049),

> And west-ward, in thē mȳnde and memorīe
> Of Mars, hē māked hath right swich anōther.);

and from the causative (indirect) function of a verb may be developed an auxiliary (direct) function. For such a development of auxiliary function from causative function in the cases of *dō, lēten, gar, faire*, see my article, "The *Do* Auxiliary—1400 to 1450," *Modern Philology*, XII, 7, January 1915, pp. 189-196.

[8] A larger treatment of causative verbs in Old English and in Middle English I reserve for later publication.

[9] Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 529, Lacrumantem exabitu concinnas tu tuam uxorem; and *Captivi*, 601, Cerebrum excutiam, ut ille mastigiae, qui me insanum concinnat suis.

[10] John 5, 21; John 6, 63; Mark 1, 17.

[11] Cf. the derivation of *order, ordain*<Lat. *ordo* 'arrangement,'—*ordēri*, 'anreihen.'

[12] A rare verb in the causative sense in the Old English written remains. The distribution of *macian* in Old English literature, and its its widespread use as a causative in Middle English, will be considered in a future publication.

[13] Wood, F. A. "Germanic Etymologies," *Modern Philology*, XI, 3, January 1914, pp. 316-318.

IV

The verb of compelling represents the irresistible working of a stimulus toward action exerted upon a secondary actor who does not desire to perform the deed imposed upon him by a primary actor; the power of the primary actor is, however, sufficient to overcome the resistance of the agent. The verb of forcing denotes an act accomplished against the inclination of the actual performer. The attitude of the secondary actor is represented by the causative verb as indifferent; by the verb of forcing, as protesting: the stimulus set in motion in the causative verb is, in a general way, strong enough to have brought about an act; in the verb of forcing, it is powerful enough to have brought about an act in the face of opposition.

A verb in general use as a verb of compelling does not necessarily retain its emphatic perfective sense.[14] It may be so weakened that it expresses merely an incentive to action: a persuasion, an urging, or an entreaty. The use of O.E. *nȳdan*, commonly employed as a verb of forcing,[15] often shows a softening of its meaning of compulsion. *Nēdde* must be translated 'entreated, urged,' and not 'compelled,' in this sentence: Eft sē pāpa nēdde þone abbud Adriaunus, þæt hē biscophāde anfēnge[16] (=Hadrianus ad suscipiendum episcopatum actus est[17]); for the bishop did not accept the office the pope *urged* ('tried to cause') him to take. Bede, again, translates iussit eum Theodorus. . . equitare: þā nēdde sē ærecbiscop hine swīðe, þæt hē rīdan scolde.[18] In *Appolonius of Tyre*,[19] *cohortatur* is rendered *tō-genēōdad wǣre*.

Common verbs of compelling in Old English are derived from bases meaning 'strike, split, cut, shove, push, drive.'[20]

[14] In colloquial Modern English, *force* is often used as a mere causative.

[15] Aelfric (*Grammar*, 28) furnishes only *cōgo* as a parallel of *Ic nȳde*.

[16] p. 254, ll. 12-13.

[17] *Agere* varies from 'impel, incite' to 'cause.'

[18] p. 262, l. 1.

[19] Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, 97, p. 19, l. 7.

[20] Cf. the development of meaning in *compel* and *constrain*: (1) *compel* <(*com*) *pellere*, 'stossend in Bewegung setzen, fortsetzen'<I.E. **pel-*, 'schlagen, klopfen'; cf. Lat. *pulsus*, 'stroke'; *pultāre*, 'stossen'; (2) *constrain*<(*con*)*stringere*, 'stroke, strike.' Cf., further, *move* (O. Fr. *movoir*, 'causer'), derived from Lat. *movēre*, 'in Bewegung setzen'; Skt. *mīvati*, 'drängt', *mūrā-h*, 'drängend' <I.E. *m(i)euā^x-*, 'streichen' (Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *pello*, *stringo*, *movēo*).

1. O.E. *nȳdan*, 'force, compel, constrain'; Germ. **nauþi*, **naudi*; I.E. **nau-ti*, 'strike, cut,' etc.,[21] cf. O.Ch. Sl. *nā-viti*, 'ermüden' (on account of being 'struck, pushed'), *nyti*, 'erschlafen'; Lett. *nāve*, 'tod,' *nāvēt*, 'tötēn'; Lat. *nex*, 'gewaltsamer tod,' *necāre*, töten; Skt. *nudāti*, 'drives forth,' *nemēs*, 'tire'; O. Bulg. *nuditi*, 'obligare'; O.H.G. *nūan*, *nīuwan*, 'pound, crush'; O.N. *nûa*, *bnûa*, 'reiben'; Got. *bnauan*, 'zerreiben.'

2. The I.E. base *tĕr-: tŏ-r: tṛ-*, 'stossen, drücken, reiben,' is represented in Old English by several verbs with the meanings 'urge, press, oppress, compel, constrain.'

a) O.E. (*ge*)*þrēatian*, 'threaten, afflict, trouble, harass, restrain, press, oppress, urge, force, compel'; and O.E. *þrēatnian*, 'urge, force, compel'; cf. O.E. *þrēat*, 'a crowd, compulsion, force'; O.E. *þrēotan* (*þrīetan*), 'make weary'; O.N. *þryóta*, 'break into small pieces'; O.H.G. (*ar-*) *bidriozan*, 'tire, vex, trouble, press'; Got. *usþriutan*, 'trouble, vex'; Lat. *trūdo*, 'strosse, dränge; O.Ch.Sl. *trudŭ*, 'mühe, anstrengung,' *truditi*, 'quälen, beschweren.' Cf., further, O.E. *þringan*, 'crowd, press'; Got. *þreihan*, 'press, crowd'; O.H.G. *dringan*, 'urgere, stipare'; O.N. *þryngva*, 'press, crowd'; Lat. *truncus*, 'mangled'; Lith. *trenkti*, dröhnend stossen'; Zend. *thrakhta*, zusammengedrängt.'[22]

b) O.E. (*ge*)*þrēan*, 'restrain, compel'; cf. O.E. *þrēagan*, 'reprove, rebuke, punish, distress, oppress'; O.H.G. *drauwen*, *drouen*, 'drohen.'

c) O.E. *þrēstan*, 'twist, press, constrain, compellare, coartare.'

Old English verbs of compelling exhibit in their early meanings a greater quantity of force than do Old English verbs of causing. The meaning relation between the two classes of verbs is, however, so close from the beginning—'striking, shoving': 'putting, placing'—that addition in the quantity of force in one class and subtraction in the quantity of force in the other class is an easy semantic process at any time. And the meaning anterior to 'put, place' may have been 'strike, hit.'

[21] For the wide-spread implication of meaning in this base, see Fay, E. W. "I.-The Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs," *American Journal of Philology*, XXV, 4, pp. 379-389.

[22] Cf. the connection of O.E. *bēodan*, 'command', with Skt. *bā́dhatī*, 'drücken, drängen, zwängen'; and O. Bulg. *bĕditi*, 'zwingen' (Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *fido*).

V

Old English *lǣtan* is used as a verb of allowing and as a verb of causing, as are Old High German *lāȝȝan* and Old Norse *láta*. The two meanings easily shade into each other. Causation may be euphemistically concealed in permission: it is represented by the allowing-causing verb that a desire to do something arises in the consciousness of the secondary actor, and that someone who has authority over him grants him permission to do the thing he wants to do; as a matter of fact, the desire to have something done originates with the one who has power over the will and act of the performer. The performer's attitude toward the act is, in reality, as vague and uncertain as it is represented to be by the causative verb; but it is formally and politely represented as being desirous of bringing about the act.[23]

Did the causative function of *lǣtan* grow out of its earlier use as a verb of allowing, from a primitive meaning 'yield, give way (to)'; or is the germ of a causative signification present in the pri-

[23] Synonimity of *lǣtan* and *hātan* is suggested by the evidence of an instance where it is possible to compare the Old English and the Middle English translation of the same Latin original. Alfred's translation of a sentence in Metrum 6, Book II, of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* reads: sē [cāsere Nēron] hēt . . . forbærnan ealle Rōmanburg . . . and eft hēt ofslēan ealle wīsestan witan; Chaucer's translation of the same passage (Hē [Nēro] lēēt brennen thē citē of Rōme and māde slēēn senatōūrs) uses for the first *hēt*: *lēēt*, and for the second *hēt*: *māde*. The Old French translation has *fist* in both cases.

Variant redactions of Middle English compositions show cases of an interchangeable use of *hātan* and *lēten* as causatives. Line 7764 of Laȝamon's *Brut* reads in MS. A:

Hē hehte wurchen āne tūr:

MS. B writes the line:

Hē lette mākie ānne tōūr:

Line 917 of *Floris and Blanchefleur* in the Trentham MS. (*C.* 1440) reads:

And in prisōn lēte hem bē cast;

in MS. Cott, Vitt. D. III (*c.* 1250-1300) it appears:

and in tō ōne prisūn hē hēt hem cast.

Line 898 of the Trentham MS., on the contrary,

Thē Amyral lēte þē clōthes dōūn cast,

is written in MS. Cott. Vitt. D.III:

þē amiral hēt here clōþes adōūn caste.

Again, line 894 of the Trentham MS.,

Thē Amyral late him his swērd brynge,

reads in Camb. MS. Gg. 4.27.2 (1.619):

(þē) Admiral hēt his swērd bringe.

mary meaning of the word? Germ. **lēt-* is usually referred to an I.E. base **lēd-*, which is defined 'lassig sein, nachlassen, yield, bend, weak,' on account of Lat. *lassus*, 'matt'; Gr. ληθεῖν, 'müde sein'; Alb. *l'oð* 'mache müde,' *l'oðem*, 'werde müde'; and O. Ir. *lesc*, 'träge.' In all of the suggested cognates of Germ. **lēt-* only the meanings 'pliable, weak, yielding, bending, tired' are recorded. The meaning 'tired, weary' is found, too, in many words whose earlier meaning probably was 'strike, shove, cut.' The group of words already cited[24] as having developed a meaning 'force, compel' from a primary meaning 'strike, hit, cut' contains members whose signification is 'weary, tired, vexed.' The same semantic relation exists between Gr. κάπτω, 'strike, cut' and κάπης, 'weariness.' Furthermore, the base **lĕ̄-i*: **lĕ̄-u* has been assigned by Fay[25] a primitive meaning 'strike, cut, scrape, rub, crush, beat.' Gr. ληθεῖν is glossed by κοπιᾶν, 'to tire,' with which compare κόπτει, 'cuts, beats,' tires;[26] and κόπος, 'weariness': κόπτει, 'caedit.'[27] From an early meaning 'strike, beat, shove, push, place' may have developed the sense 'cause' in *lētan*: from the same meaning may have grown the sense 'yield, give way (to),' from which the sense 'allow' in *lētan* is derived.

VI

Coalescence of the meanings 'order' and 'cause' in *hātan*[28] is dependent, too, upon the probably primary meaning of the word. The meaning 'order' fixed in Germ. **haitan* is a complex and not a primitive idea. Germ. **haitan* has been referred to an I.E. base

[24] See pp. 86-87.

[25] "II. A Semantic Study of the Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs," *American Journal of Philology*, XXVI, 2, pp. 172-173.

[26] For 'cut': 'strike', see Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ferio*.

[27] Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 184 and p. 196. Cf. also the root of German *streichen*, English *strike*, seen in Latin *stringo*, 'scrape, rub, cut,' and in Old Bulgarian *striga*, 'I shear.'

[28] Confusion in the mind of an Old English writer between *hātan* as a verb of ordering, expressing merely a stimulus to action, and *hātan* as a verb of causing, expressing the completion of an act, produces an interesting example of mixed construction in a sentence in *Beowulf*. Lines 991-992 of *Beowulf* read:

Dā wæs hāten hreþe, Heort innan-weard
folmum gefrætwod;

Editors who perfer to risk all upon the principle of establishing logical consistency in ancient sentence structure have needlessly emended the passage; they have failed to realize that the cause of the interesting syntax is the confused

**kĕ-*: **kŏ-*,[29] which is seen in Lat. *cīere*, 'in Bewegung setzen, rege machen,' and which probably meant 'put in motion, set forward.' The idea of setting forward an action expressed in Germ. **haitan*[30] may, then, be due to a primary meaning similar to that assigned the bases that have produced descendants with the senses 'cause' and 'force.' The tracks of semantic development in all three classes of verbs here considered—verbs of causing forcing, and ordering—may have been similar.

mental processes of the writer, and to remember that similar forms of mixed syntax are found in English writing.

By the time the writer of the sentence quoted above came to putting down *gefrætwod*, his mental image had been shifted from the giving of the order to the completely adorned state of Heort that had been brought about by Hrothgar's command. The writer, consequently, expressed this latest idea in his mind by that form of the verb which indicates completed action, the past participle. The construction is more than "awkward," which Chambers in his revised edition of Wyatt's *Beowulf* calls it; it is syntactically enlightening. When one realizes that the use of the past participle in the place of the to-be-expected infinitive is due to the fact that the writer's verb form keeps pace with the vividness with which his mind is following the course of the action from its inception to its completion, one is impatient with the emenders who have suggested for *hātan hreþe*: *hāndum hreþe* (Trautmann); *hāton hreþre*, or *hāt on hreþre* (Sedgefield); and with Holthausen's (first and second editions) assumption of a gap in the MS. An obvious guess to restore logical consistency is to convert *gefrætwod* into *gefrætwian*. But why should we replace language with logic?

Compare with this construction some of the instances in Middle English in which the past participle is written after verbs of causing: Trevisa, I, 155, Thalestis . . . did wrōōt tō kynge Alexandre; Hoccleve, *Regimen of Princes* 4185, Hē wedded lēēt (MS. R reads *wedden*); Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, 171, han dōn frōūght. Skeat's comment upon this quotation from Chaucer is: "In the Glossary to Specimens of English I marked *frought* as being infinitive mood, as Dr. Stratmann supposes, though he notes the lack of final *e*. I have now no doubt that *frought* is nothing but the p.p., as in *William of Palerne*, l.2732 . . . The use of this p. p. after a perfect tense is a most remarkable idiom, but there is no doubt of its occurence in Chaucer's *C.T.*, E. 1098, where we find *Hath don you kept*, where Tyrwhitt has altered *kept* to *kepe*. On the other hand, Tyrwhitt actually notes the occurence of *Hath don wroght* in *Kn. Tale*, 1055 (A. 1913), which he calls an irregularity. A better name for it is idiom . . . " A still better name for it is mixed construction!

[29] Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *cīēo*.

[30] If Zupitza's reference of **haitan* to an I.E. base **skhaid-* (*Die Germanische Gutterale*, 105) be accepted, the semantic development suggested above will still hold, for **skhaid-* also seems to have had an early meaning 'strike, cut';

The course of the devlopment of meaning suggested for *hātan* is represented in the growth of meaning shown in Latin *jubēre*. This common Latin verb of ordering is derived from a base meaning 'in Bewegung setzen,' according to Bugge[31] and Walde.[32] As cognates of *jubēre*, Walde cites Lith. *jundù, jùsti*, 'geräte in zitternde Bewegung,' *judù, judêti*, 'errege mich, zittere, zanke, schelte'; Lett. *jauda*, 'Kraft'; Avest. *yaozaiti*, 'gerät in unruhige Bewegung.' The parallel does not cease here. Medieval Latin *jubēre* is used in the double function of causative verb and verb of ordering, as is Old English *hātan*. The synonymous use of *jubēre* (=*hātan*) and *facere* (=causative *dōn*) as early as the third century, and a later general confusion of the two verbs, has been fully displayed by Thielmann.[33] As instances of the frequent interchange of *jubēre* and *facere* in Medieval Latin, Thielmann cites, among a great mass of illustrations, these examples:

Arnob. 1, 48, p. 32, 5: an . . . ad tactum morbas *iusserit* ab hominibus evolare, imperio aut *fecerit* emari valetudinum causam.

Ps. Liber, 8, col. 1392[b] M: *iussit* convenire presbyteros; and *ibid.*, col. 1392: *fecit* convenire monasteria et plebem.

Medieval Latin *jubēre* is usually translated into Old English by *hātan*,[34] both when *jubēre* is to be considered a verb of ordering and when it may be taken to be a verb of causing. In the following

cf. Gr. σχίξω, 'spalte'; Skt. *chid*, 'spalten'; Lat. *scindo*, 'scheide' (Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *scindo* and *scīo*.)

[31] Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XVI, pp. 216 ff.

[32] *Op. cit.*, s.v. *jubēo*. Hintner, "Verba des Befehlens," *Prog. der Akad. Gymn.*, Wien, 1893, I have not been able to consult.

[33] Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, III, pp. 177-206.

[34] Where writers of Medieval Latin express subordinately, in an ablative absolute phrase, the order or causative impulse to action, and predicate the completion of the act by the main verb, the Old English translators express the completion of the act caused to be done by a indirect actor through *hātan* plus infinitive. For example:

Quod cum iubente rege faceret . . . (Bede, II, 13)=þā het sē cyning swā dōn;

Haedde episcopatum agente, translatus inde in Ventam ciuitatem . . . (Bede, III, 6)=Hædde biscop heht his lichoman ūpādōn and lædan tō Wintaceastre . . . ;

Et iubente pontifice epitaphum . . . scriptum [est] (Bede, V, 7)=And sē pāpa heht gewrit anwrītan.

Cf. further in Bede pp. 418, ll. 16-17; p. 460, ll. 29-30; p. 470, l. 20.

instances in Bede, *jubēre* may be considered to be a causative verb: 34, 25; 58, 9; 114, 9-10; 136, 12; 138, 10; 166, 5-6; 168, 12; 118, 20; 344, 20, 21, 34; 460, 4-5.[35] Objection to considering *jubēre* and *hātan* causatives in these cases upon the ground that it is very difficult, if it is not impossible, to determine whether it was the intention of the writer of *jubēre* and the writer of *hātan* to express the idea of order or the idea of cause will lend much weight to the contention that the causative function and the order function easily run into each other. In the case of the falling together in the same word of two related meanings, there occur instances of the use of the word which are so ambiguous that we cannot determine which extreme signification the users of the word intended to convey;[36] the meaning faces both ways[37] before it becomes set fast in a specialized signification.

VII

In the foregoing pages it has been set forth that common representatives of the verb of ordering, the verb of causing, the verb of forcing, and the verb of allowing are in their early meanings closely related; and that behind these words lies a general idea of 'putting in place or order' and 'putting in motion'—by inexpressed means or by violent action. The distinction in the manner in which 'putting or placing' is done is only a difference in emphasis; emphasis in a meaning grows and fades with such ease that the shift of a word from the violent to the weak class, or from the weak to the violent group, is a slight transference. Furthermore, extension of the meaning 'put, place': 'strike, shove' into a perfective sense—'getting something done by putting or shoving a person or thing into place or motion'—is an easy semantic step.

The facts presented have made reasonable, it is hoped, the contention, made at the beginning of this article, that *hātan* bears a double function; that it expresses: (1) the act of putting forward a stimulus upon a person toward the accomplishment of something; and (2) the accomplishment of an act by one who has been put into motion by another toward its completion.

[35] Also these cases in Alfred's translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (ed. Sedgefield): 98, 23; 144, 29-30.

[36] See p. 192 of my article referred to on p. 85, note 7 above.

[37] Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, p. 275

George Meredith's plea for the entrance into literature of the Egoist's epitaph may be made to read: if this second meaning of *hātan* be not yet in our dictionaries, let it be admitted for its definition.

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SPENSER'S VIRGILS GNAT

Spenser's translation of the Virgilian or pseudo-Virgilian *Culex* has been rarely examined. It was so examined in the eighteenth century by the Rev. John Jortin, who printed his *Remarks on the Poetry of Spenser and of Milton* without his name in 1734. Most of Jortin's *Remarks* were included in Todd's edition of *Spenser* (1805), and they have since been frequently used. Some idea of how the eminent classicist estimated the work of the great Elizabethan may be gained from Jortin's first sentences:

> Spenser should not have undertaken to translate the *Culex*. His version is in many places wrong, and in some senseless.

It is true that he makes some apology for his countryman by adding immediately:

> Nor is it any wonder; for the original is so corrupted, that no sense can be made of many lines in it, without having recourse to conjecture; and when it is not corrupted, it is often very intricate and obscure.[1]

It is not strange, perhaps, that as late as 1730 a classical scholar should have failed to appreciate an Elizabethan translator. For one thing, classical scholarship of the early eighteenth century, when at its best, was rightly proud of the advances which had been made in the interpretation of classical authors, both on the continent and in England. Unfortunately this led classicists to underrate modern writers. Moreover it was too early for a new appreciation of the great Elizabethans, and Spenser suffered more than Shakespeare and Milton. Both influences were against Jortin's favorable estimate of Spenser's poem.

Still, one might have expected something like a critical method from an eighteenth century classicist. For instance, Jortin should have first considered what edition of the *Culex* Spenser had before him when making his translation. Yet he regularly refers to Scaliger's emendations, without at all determining whether Spenser even knew them. In fact, although Scaliger's edition of *Virgil* appeared in 1573, Spenser never makes use of his readings, and

[1] Probably Warton was influenced by Jortin when he also, while fully acknowledging the corrupt character of the *Culex* as we have it, uses such language as this for Spenser's poem: "Spenser's *Culex* is a vague and arbitrary paraphrase of a poem not properly belonging to Virgil." Like Jortin, Warton has failed to take into account the text Spenser used, while he had perhaps never investigated to see how often the poet had improved on what was before him.

probably had before him only such edition of the *Culex* as he had used in his school days, that is before going to the University in 1569. Even if he translated the *Culex* later, it would scarcely have been natural for any poet of the time to use the minute textual changes of the scholar. Again, Jortin may be held responsible for knowing exactly what Spenser wrote, so far as shown by early editions. Yet his criticism of Spenser's line 376 shows that he used no earlier edition than the folio of 1679.[2] He seems to have made no attempt to examine early editions of the poet.

The point of the text Spenser used is important enough to be explained in detail. The first printed edition of Virgil's works was made in 1469, and the first and much-used Aldine in 1501, the latter frequently reprinted. In 1530 Bembo issued his *Dialogue on the Culex and Terence*,[3] with many emendations of the former. Many of these soon found their way into editions of Virgil, and some of them appeared in the second Aldine, which was printed in 1534. The next considerable emendations of the *Culex* were those of Scaliger in his *Virgil* of 1573. As already indicated Spenser made no use of Scaliger's readings. But that he must have had an edition before him with the readings of Bembo may be proved from his translation of many words and phrases. I illustrate from the following examples in the first 200 lines: alma . . . Xanthus (14); plaudente (19); tibi . . . bona cura (20); bona cura sequi sit cura (21); tenentis . . . tractus (21-22); astra (23); chartis (24); omission of part of l. 27; tu venerabile (37); perrepunt (51); pretiis (60); vitea (75); vel evectus . . . transcendat (84); in evectos (101); Peneu remorantem (119); quos leniter (155); isdem (163); subsideret (165); use of a line after 193 as in Bembo's text; but otherwise generally lacking.[4]

In comparing *Virgils Gnat* with the original, we must remember Spenser's purpose was a poetical paraphrase, not a close translation in any sense. Thus he has expanded freely, making 688 English lines out of the 414 of the Latin. Besides, he chose to

[2] In criticising Spenser's departures from classical accent of words, as in his comment on line 511, Jortin takes no account of the fact that the poet had carefully indicated the accent he intended by special mark of stress.

[3] *De Virgilii Culice et Tarentii fabulis liber*, in the form of a dialogue.

[4] That Spenser's text did not always follow Bembo's readings is also clear; I note the following: the transposition of 50-51; vel (55); platanus (124). rapit (171); saevioris (186).

use a stanza of eight lines, itself tending toward enlargement rather than brevity of expression. Thus, while the first stanza of Spenser corresponds to lines 1-7 of the *Culex*, the first seventeen lines of the Latin are increased to twenty-four, the first twenty-eight of Latin to forty of English. There is therefore much of Spenser himself in this very pleasing poem of his youth. In fact almost forty per cent of the poem is original with him.

Again, Spenser's elaborate rime scheme must be taken into account. Each stanza required three rimes, the first two in each of three lines. To insure these, clever manipulation of the original was often necessary, and frequent additions of another circumstance or descriptive phrase. Usually these are in entire agreement with the situation, never perhaps in direct conflict. They were more easily possible because the *Culex* is made up so largely of classical allusions, that Spenser could sometimes draw his incident or phrase from some other version of the story than that before him, or from some kindred allusion. Such additions can scarcely be criticised with justice. They are merely a part of the method which Spenser had deliberately chosen.

As might be expected from his well-known practice, Spenser shows special fondness for the descriptive passages in the *Culex*. These he often extends to give freer rein to his descriptive power, while passages embodying action are sometimes compressed. To illustrate the latter first, the real action of the poem, the gnat's act of waking the shepherd and the latter's destruction of the serpent, are told in forty-four Latin lines and only forty-seven in English. Yet the earlier descriptive matter of the poem, 156 lines in Latin, is increased to 236 lines in English, an increase of 120 lines. In other passages the description of the original is often doubled, and sometimes even more extended. Thus the stanza on Cerberus beginning at l. 345 is based on three lines and one word of the Latin; the stanza 401-8 on three Latin lines, or the last six lines of it on one line and a half. The long passage devoted to the Orpheus and Eurydice story consists of twenty-eight and a half Latin lines and is expanded to six stanzas, or forty-eight lines of English.

With this introduction may be added some notes to show the exact text before Spenser, and thus indicate his accuracy; some new interpretations of words or constructions; some important extensions of the original. On the other hand it would take an

essay in itself to illustrate the felicitous phrases and paraphrases which Spenser has often used. References to the received form of the Latin text will be to Ribbeck's edition. Quotations from Spenser's poem are from Todd's text.

Line 2. cobweb weaving slenderly.

'Cobweb' translates *araneoli* 'little spider,' and the spider not his web should be spoken of as 'weaving.' Though not recognized, cobweb 'spider' might have sprung from ME. *coppewebbe, based on ME. webbe 'weaver.' Levins, *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570) p. 47, has 'copwebbe, tela, aranea,' the second meaning of which may indicate a similar use of the word, although a secondary meaning of *aranea* is 'cobweb.' The other alternative, to consider 'weaving' as modifying the subject of 'playde' seems unlikely.

6. is but a jest.

The added idea of the Latin, *notitiaeque ducum* according to Bembo's reading, has been omitted by Spenser.

14. And ornament of great Joves progenie.

Jortin's remark is surely not justified. He asks: "What is that? the most illustrious of all Jove's children? That is the best sense that can be put upon it; but it is somewhat wide of the text." Spenser's fault consists only in the repetition of the idea in 'offspring . . . progenie,' the latter for the needed rime.

17. He shall inspire my verse with gentle mood.

Of Poets Prince.

Based on the single word *princeps* not used in the preceding sentence, and a good illustration of Spenser's felicitous phrase making.

19. Faire Xanthus.

Spenser's text read *alma . . . Xanthus* with Bembo, not *arna . . . Xanthi* as in the received form. So in l. 20 'the woods of Astery, are based on *nemus Asteriae*, as by Bembo and the Aldine of 1517, not *decus Asteriae*.

21. the Muses brood.

Not in the original, and 'brood' somewhat in the sense of 'parentage, extraction, nativity' as in *F. Q.* I, iii, 8, and V, vii, 21, noted in the *NED*. Here, too, the meaning is 'place of nativity.'

27. Go too.

Translates Latin *ite*, but with no opprobrious sense as today. It is merely 'go forward, proceed.' 'Dauncing all in company'

depends upon Bembo's *plaudente*, accepted by Ribbeck.

29–32. To whome the honest care etc.

A difficult passage in the original and much emended. Spenser's text read *tibi . . . bona cura* 'honest care,' not *tu . . . bona turba* of Heine's later emendation. 'By continual success' comes from *bona cura* of l. 21; 'Have care for to pursue' from *tibi* (l. 20) . . . *sequi sit cura* (l. 21), and 'his footing light Through the wide woods' from *tenentis aerios nemorum tractus*, all readings of Bembo.

34. starrie sky.

Based on *astra* of Bembo, not *arva* adopted by Ribbeck from a MS. of the fifteenth century. 'To learned wits' is a free rendering of *mesitis . . . chartis* adopted by Bembo.

39. For not these leaves etc.

Translates *namque canit non. pagina bellum*, completing l. 26 of the Latin. *Triste Jovis Rhoetique* which, with the last four words of l. 26, make l. 27 in Ribbeck's text were omitted entirely by Bembo and others, and thus do not occur in Spenser.

40–48. The stanza has a number of Spenser's own expressions, as 'halfe-horsy people,' 'at bord,' 'with tyranous despight,' 'people slew,' 'through exceeding might,' 'abord,' thus adding to the ideas of the original. That 'Athos . . . was digged downe' is not quite exact to Lat. *perfossus*, as Jortin points out, and 'digged through' being more precise. Yet Spenser may have thought the latter expression would have implied tunneling, and have deliberately chosen the other phrase.

51. But my soft Muse.

Spenser's interpretation of the rest of this stanza depends upon reading Lat. 35–38 as one sentence, with no *et* after *versu* as Ribbeck reads (35), and *gaudet* for *gaudent* (36), *certet* for *certast* (37), *et tu sancte puer venerabilis* (37) for *haec tibi sacra, puer venerabilis*, most of the readings those adopted by Bembo if not proposed by him. So 'An easie running verse with tender feete' depends on *pede currere carmina versu* with Bembo, and 'lightsome glory' probably on Bembo's *gloria . . . lucis*, rather than on *gloria . . . lucens*.

61. remembred be.

Translates Bembo's *memoretur* (40), later displaced by *numeretur* of Gronovius. 'Live thou for ever in all happinesse' repeats the idea of the preceding line, supplying the rime at the same time.

72. where pasture best befalls.

Based on *ad pabula laeta* with Bembo, not *ad pabula nota.*

78–9. Spenser does not here follow the reverse order of lines 50-51 proposed by Bembo, and this order was presumably not in Spenser's text. He does seem to have adopted Bembo's emendation *perrepunt*, where the MSS. vary.

80-82. Nibble the bushie shrubs which growe thereby.

Contrary to his usual practice Spenser is here more concise than his original, not mentioning specifically the *pendula . . . arbuta* 'overhanging strawberry or arbute tree,' or the *densa . . . labrusca* 'thick wild grape,' unless he means to represent the *labrusca* by 'woodbine twigges' of 82.

83. or new growen stud.

From its following the 'willow' this would seem to be Lat. *alnus* 'alder' (55) in the general sense of 'stock, stem.' Compare 'hawthorne stud' also in rime of *Shep. Cal.* March 13. On the other hand 'bramble leaves' is accurate enough for *sentes.*

87. The whiles another etc.

Jortin says of the translation, but quoting the older text, "which must be corrected before it can be translated." Todd introduces Heyne's note and emendation, remarking that "Spenser in some degree appears to have anticipated the ingenious emendation." I take it rather that Spenser, compelled to make sense of the text he had, has translated *imminet* 'overlooke' for rime, *praestantis imaginis* 'Her owne like image' as if it had been dative, or possibly he had a dative, after which *in rivi . . . undam* (Bembo) became easily 'in a chrystall brooke.'

89. O the great happines etc.

Ribbeck places lines 98–103 after 57, but of course Spenser followed the older text. Thus, for his lines 92-93 the text had *omnia luxuriae pretiis*, for the first of which Haupt later proposed *somnia*, while *pretiis* is Bembo's emendation.

94. macerate.

Todd's "perhaps Spenser is the father of the English word" must now be withdrawn, since the *NED.* shows an example nearly thirty years earlier from Boorde's *Brevyary of Health.* But that the word was unusual may account for Spenser's added 'and rend,' a closer translation of Lat. *lacerant.* For line 96 there is nothing in the original.

98. in Assyrian dye.

Spenser omits *Attalicis opibus* (63), and he of course had before him *fuerint* (62), not Schrader's later proposal *fulgent*.

99-100. which underlayes The summer beames.

'Underlayes' has been glossed 'diminish' or 'surpass' to fit the idea of 'summer beames' as 'beams of the sun in summer.' This curious blunder, however, is easily corrected by comparison with the Latin, which reads *nitor auri sub laqueare domus* 'glitter of gold under the paneled or vaulted ceiling of the house.' A 'summer beam,' usually called a *summer* or *summer-tree*, is a sumpter-beam or girder, a beam bearing a load above. It is thus reasonably close to the original. The shepherd is too happy in his simple life to care for a house with gilded ceiling. 'Underlayes' is then for *underlies*, doubtless for rime, as 'doe blinde his gazing eye' (100) is a free rendering for the same purpose of *animum tangit avarum*. See my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXII, 250-51, "A New Word in an Old Poet."

104. of Boetus.

Spenser's text read *Boeti* with Bembo, not *Rhoeci* proposed by Lachmann. 'Alcon's vanity' must have been intended for *gratum Alconis* as Bembo, where Haupt proposed *Graium* for the first word. 'Whelky pearles' of 105 translates *concha baca* with the latter in the figurative sense of 'pearl.' In spite of Todd's note, 'whelky' in the sense of 'of a shellfish' seems not unreasonable.

109. In sweete spring time.

Spenser's text read *vere novo dulci* with Bembo, where many MSS. read *dulcis* and Ribbeck changes *novo* to *notat*.

110. sprincled lay.

The last word represents OMerc. *lēh* (WS. *lēah*), ME. *lei* (*lai*), and is still found in Northern dialects. MnE. *lea* comes from a form which early lost final *h*, ME. *lē*, in which the *ē* became open *ē*, perhaps under the influence of the preceding *l*.

112. doth him delight.

Spenser closes his stanza with line 73 of the Latin, in the middle of a sentence. Then he begins the new stanza by repeating the subject in the pronoun 'he,' makes 'Lord of himself' rather finely out of *polentem* 'strong, sufficient.' His 'with palme bedight' is from *cum palmite lucens* (Bembo), not *ludens* adopted by Scaliger. He must also have had *mollia . . . coma vitea*, the last

proposed by Bembo for *velat* of the MSS. The last line and a half of 120-21 are extemporized to complete the stanza.

125. Ne runs in perill of foes cruell knife.

More definite than the Latin *advorsum saevis ultro caput hostibus offert.* So 'reare a Trophee' etc. is more specific than *spoliis . . . ornet templa.* The last line 'Or may abound' etc. is based on two readings of Bembo, *vel evectus* and *transcendit* of l. 84.

134. harmeles head.

Wholly for rime, as 'joyous bowre' in the next line, while the last line of the stanza is finely expanded from *simplicibus curis* (90). Jortin objects to 'sundrie flowers' for *floribus . . . variantibus,* which he thinks should be 'flowers painted, streaked with various colours,' illustrating from the use of Lat. *varius.*

137-44. Much elaborated from three and a half lines of Latin (90-93). Thus *requie . . . abundet* is expanded into l. 138, and the next with its pious resignation from *victu contentus,* the intervening words. Both *requie* and *victu* were adopted by Bembo where other texts have *requiem* and *victus.* So 'securely lend' is based on *locet* for which Heinsius later proposed *levet,* adopted by Ribbeck. The last two lines of the stanza are wholly Spenser's.

145-6. O ye pleasaunt Springs etc.

The text read *gratissima Tempe fontis,* for which Heinsius proposed *fondis.* The stanza is expanded from four lines (94-97), such lines as 148, the last half of 149, the first half of 150, and the last line are wholly Spenser's. Of 'Astraean bard' Jortin rightly pointed out that it should be 'Ascraean' as now usually printed. It is possibly a printer's blunder rather than Spenser's.

155. rustick rime.

Spenser's text probably had *solidum . . . carmen* (Bembo), not *solitum* as now read.

156. throwing foorth his beames full hott.

Depends upon Bembo's *in evectos radios* for *inevectus* now read. 'Into the highest top of heaven gan clime' is Spenser's, where 'highest top' means no more than the highest point reached by the sun. Compare my discussion of Milton's use of the expression 'top of heaven' (*Comus* 94) in *Anglia* XXXIX, 495 f. The last line is based on *qua . . . Oceanum,* not *qui* adopted by Ribbeck and referred to *aetherio . . . mundo* of l. 102. Jortin criticises this last line as "obscure," saying also that Spenser "should not

have translated *mundus* (*i.e. mundo*) the world; *mundus* here, as in the best writers, is *coelum.*"

163-4. The illustrations of 'pible stone' and 'any goord' are original with Spenser. Line 166, with the unfortunate repetition of the rime 'foord,' corresponds to nothing in the Latin.

172-3. flying vengeance sore Of king Nictileus.

Jortin rightly remarks, "This is corrupted. Nyctelius is one of the appellations of Bacchus." Miss Sawtelle (*Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*) merely explains the epithet as "given to him because his orgies were celebrated at night," with a reference to "Sevr. Æn. 4, 383." She is unfortunate, however, in referring Agave to the Nereides, under which title also she says nothing about the character. This Agave is the daughter of Cadmus who, with her two sisters in a Bacchic revel, tore in pieces her son Pentheus, supposing him to be a wild beast. As Pentheus was opposing the worship of Bacchus it seems very unpoetic justice that Agave should have been punished by the god for destroying her son. But Spenser was quite right in inferring such vengeance from the *Culex* passage, the sense of which he gives. There is no other account of Agave's punishment, except that she and her sisters, according to one account, were required to search out the tree in which Pentheus concealed himself during the Bacchic revel and worship it. Spenser's text read *poenam natis e morte futuram* (114) with Bembo, perhaps suggesting his "like punishment," where the second Aldine had *nati de morte datura.*

179. many Fairies.

Translates *naidum coitu* (117), and shows how easily the romantic poet mingled classical and medieval conceptions.

181. The streames of Hebrus.

A rendering of *Hebrum . . . ripis*, but with omission of *silvas* also mentioned in the text as affected by Orpheus.

183. Staied thee, O Peneus.

Clearly depending upon *Peneu remorantem* (119) with *tenuit* from the preceding line, adopted by Bembo from a Basle MS. of the fifteenth century. Ribbeck's reading *pernix remorantur* was proposed by Haupt. 'That faire troupe of woodie goddesses' is the Latin *diva chorea* (119). 'Powring foorth to thee From cheereful lookes' translates *tibi laeto fundentes . . . voltu*, readings of Bembo, where Ribbeck has *tuo laetae* etc. In 'great mirth and

gladsome glee' Spenser has rendered *multa . . . gaudia*, doubling the expression for force and rime.

186. With gentle murmure etc.

The line from the one word *susurro* (121). So his 190-92 are made out of one line (123) and two words of the next. Spenser has substituted 'palme' for 'plane' trees.

193-4. wicked . . . Wicked.

Follows the repetition of *impia* (124-25), but Spenser has substituted the more definite 'Ulysses men' for *socios Ithaci maerentis*.

197-200. These four unexpanded lines correspond to four in the Latin (127-30). Spenser, too, has followed the original less closely than usual, omitting most of 127 and all of 130. He has extemporized as in other cases from his knowledge of the classical story, adding 'in whose transformed hew' and 'with sweete teares did lament,' while he paraphrases *Heliades* as 'the Sunnes sad daughters.' On the other hand he follows his text in *ambustos* (128) (Bembo) and *amplexae* (129) where Heinsius suggested a change to *implexae*.

201-3. Jortin criticises: "Strange stuff this. But the original is corrupted. See Scaliger." Then he gives the story of Phyllis and Demophoon, not considering the text Spenser used. For example in the latter there was no reference to Phyllis (proposed by Hand), instead of which was *multis*, Spenser's 'many one'. So Spenser's text in 132 probably had *perfidiam lamentandi mala perfida multis*, as usually with Bembo, while he also follows the latter in omitting entirely l. 123 of the original.

205. Through fatall charmes.

Again Jortin criticises, "Spenser is mistaken here," quoting Scaliger and relying on a text with *comitabantur*, where Spenser had *comitabatur* of which he makes *quercus* the subject. Spenser's line above, however, with 'of you' in the preceding line is mainly his own. So he had added considerably to 206-8, somewhat modifying the sense.

209-14. These six lines expanded from three, 211 being new. Besides, Spenser's text had *procuras . . . per artes* (138) *appetit montibus*, instead of *procuros* (Heinsius) . . . *per artus ac petit* (Heinsius) . . . *motibus* (Scaliger). Jortin complains, "This is scarce sense" and proceeds to discuss and emend. Spenser had

the more difficult task of making what he could from the text before him.

215-16. Extended from one line by adding the descriptive expressions at the ends of the lines. Besides, Spenser's text had *laeta cupressus* (Bembo), not *Lethaea* proposed by Van Giffen.

217. Emongst the rest.

Spenser's text has *manent*, not *monent* proposed by Sillig, and he has omitted entirely *umbrosae . . . fagus* 'the shady beeches.' One can not but admire Spenser's 'knitting their wanton armes with grasping hold' from *ligantis bracchia* of the Latin.

221. till they the top survew.

Depends on the older reading *excedunt*, for which Heyne proposed *escendunt*.

225. But the small birds.

Spenser of course followed the older order of lines, not 148-9 after 145 as Haupt proposed. He has also given a warmer picture than the Latin *gelidis manans e fontibus unda*, and has compressed the next line into the last half of 228. His reading of the last two words must have been *orta liquorum* (Bembo), not *acta liquorum* of Haupt.

229. Thereto the frogs.

Two lines and a half of Latin (151-3) compressed into two of English. The picture is more definite than the original, frogs being only implied in *vox obstrepit* and *querulae* (Bembo) . . . *voces* of the *limo* 'moist moores.'

235. On everie bush and everie hollow rocke.

Depends on a reading *excelsisque super dumis*, not *excelsis subter* as Heyne suggested. The first word accounts for the last half of Spenser's line. His 'mote best' (236) comes from *possit* (Bembo), not *poscit* as by Ribbeck. The last four lines of the stanza translate 157-8 of the Latin.

241-8. Extended from four lines of the original.

254. With brandisht tongue the emptie aire did gride.

Spenser's text read *vibranti . . . aera lingua* (Bembo), where Schrader's *ore trilingui* is now read.

256. That all thinges seem'd appalled at his sight.

Spenser had *pallebant aurae liventis ad omnia visus* (second Aldine), where Ribbeck has several emendations.

259. And with proud vaunt.

Depends on the older *et fert . . . caput* for Ribbeck's *ecfert* and Bembo's *rapit*.

260. spotted with purple die.

Spenser is translating *maculatur* (Bembo), which Ribbeck emends to *jactatur*.

261. On everie side.

The whole line Spenser's, except the one word 'shine' based on *lucens*. In the next line Spenser had *micant flammantia* (Bembo), accounting for his 'flakes of flashing fyre,' while in the last line 'threaten kindled yre' is extemporized.

265. Thus wise long time he did himselfe dispace.

Spenser is supposed to have coined 'dispace' of which he is here the first recorded user. He is translating *metabat sese* (Bembo) 'measure himself, traverse a space,' for which Ribbeck conjectures *nictatur* and reads *late* with one MS. Spenser used the word again in *Muiopotmos* 250 if the conjecture of Hughes, 'dispacing' for 'displacing,' is correct.

266. There round about.

Spenser had *circum loca* which Ribbeck emends to *fera*.

268. That flocks grand Captaine and most trustie guide.

From *ducem gregis*, to which Spenser has added *ingens* of the preceding line as if it were *ingentem*, a point which Jortin does not fail to note. Spenser's 'Eftsoones' is the older *saepius*, where Bothe and Sillig read *saevius*, while 'in visage and in pace' and 'that might his passage stay' are original with the English poet, clearly for rime.

272. Full stearnly rends.

Spenser is translating *infringere* (Bembo), where some MSS. have *infrendere* as Ribbeck reads. *Arripiens*, which belongs to the same clause, has been thrown into the next sentence 'Much he disdaines,' the Latin participle in the Horatian sense of 'reproaching, satirizing, disdaining.'

277. and doth fiercely stare.

For rime presumably. In this stanza Spenser has used almost five and a half lines of Latin, a closeness not usual with him. Spenser's 'hath his jawes with angrie spirits rent' translates *spiritibus rumpit fauces* with Bembo, Heinsius proposing *spiritus*.

281. Whom, thus at point prepared, to prevent.

A translation of the older *cui cuncta paranti* with the *prior*

. . . *conteret* 'brings to naught' of the next line, instead of *conterret* of Ribbeck.

282. A little noursling of the humid ayre.

Spenser's highly poetic translation of *parvulus . . . humoris alumnus*, made more specific by 'A Gnat' of the next line, not found in the original, as is not 'unto the sleepie Shepheard went.' The real action here, *mortem vitare monet*, is thrown to the end of the stanza, 'Warnd him awake, from death himselfe to keep.'

284-86. Spenser's rendering is quite general, but his 'two pearles' must rest on Bembo's *gemmis* where Ribbeck conjectures *somnis*. Probably 'Through their thin coverings' is based on *levioris . . . naturae*, the first with the second Aldine, the second with Bembo.

291. As in avengement.

The whole line Spenser's, as the more definite 'with his hand' of the preceding. So also 293 and 'with felonous intent' of 295.

298. and, catching hastie holde.

Spenser of course followed the old order of lines where Ribbeck reads, 191, 199, 198, 200, 192-7, 201. His text, too, read *et* (192) for Ribbeck's emendation *set*, and at beginning of the next line *qui casus* where Schrader proposed *quam casus*. Spenser's 'yong alder' (299) should be 'mountain ash' (*orno*, Aldine of 1517 and Bembo), unless he intended the buckthorne which was sometimes called alder and would have been an effective weapon.

302. But whether God or Fortune made him bold.

The translation of this line is certain proof that Spenser had a Bembo text, since only in the latter does the following Latin line occur:

namque illi dederitne viam casusve deusve.

303. yet hardie will he had.

Spenser is translating *voluit*, later emended by Haupt to *valuit*. The last clause of the stanza is Spenser's addition.

308. Whereas his temples did his creast-front tyre.

Depends upon the reading *cingunt qua tempora cristam* (Bembo), not *cristae* as with Ribbeck. So 'and for he was but slowe' depends on the older reading *et quod erat tardus*, not Ribbeck's *ergo tardus erat*. 'Did slowth off shake' implies *omni languore remoto* where some texts read *somni* for the first word.

310. And gazing ghastly on.

Strengthens *nescius ascipiens*. In the parenthesis Spenser has resolved the mixed figure of *timor obcaecaverat artus* by keeping the verb in 'blent' and altering *artus* to 'sense,' rather than modifying the meaning of the verb. It can hardly be said that he has translated at all the Latin of l. 200.

314. Of Herebus her teemed steedes gan call.

Spenser had Bembo's *biiuges . . . Erebo cit.* The rimed phrases 'from the darksome bowre' (313), 'in his timely howre' (315) and 'after this sharpe stowre' (317) are all Spenser's.

323. Sweete slumbring deaw in carelesnesse did steepe.

Extended from *effuso . . . sopore.* For the next four lines there is only a single one in Latin, *tristis ab eventu cecinit convicia mortis.* Not unlikely the enlargement on the one line was to allow the long speech which follows to begin a stanza.

329. Said he, "What," etc.

Translating *inquit quid* (Bembo), later altered by Heinsius to *en quid ait.* In l. 332 'so long as it did last' is Spenser's addition, doubtless for rime, as he has also added most of the next line.

334. Am tost in th' ayre with everie windie blast.

The last words translating *per inania ventis* (Bembo), not *Averni* (Heinsius, Ribbeck).

340. Seest thou not how all places quake and quiver.

Spenser's rather free translation depends on some older readings, at least *collucent infestis* (Bembo) where Ribbeck has *quam lucent infernis.* 'Quake and quiver' then should refer to the light of the lamps, while 'on everie post' is perhaps implied by *templis* in which the lamps would be so placed. 'Doth shake and shiver (342), translate *quatit*, so that *shiver* means 'shake' not 'burst asunder,' as in *shiver with cold.* The *not* of l. 340 is the first Folio reading as adopted by Todd.

345. And Cerberus.

The stanza paraphrases three lines and one word of Latin. Besides Spenser's text read *poenae* (219, Bembo), accounting for most of his last two lines, especially for 'painfull torments.' In 220 the original was *flagrant latratibus* (Bembo), where Haupt read *latrantia rictibus*, Spenser boldly paraphrasing. The next three lines are based on the single Latin line 221. Finally Spenser's 'bloodie eyes' depends upon *sanguineique* (Bembo), not *sanguineumque* as Ribbeck reads.

355. Even from the doore of death and deadlie dreed.

Paraphrases *leti iam limine ab ipso*. The fine line 'And th' antique faith of Iustice long agone' depends upon *justitiae et prior illa fides* (Bembo), not *justitia et* as Schrader, followed by Ribbeck.

361. I saw anothers fate.

Depends upon the older *vidi*, changed by Heinsius to *vici*. Jortin complains that the stanza is "sufficiently obscure," adding "the original is indeed in bad case; see Scaliger." But Jortin's criticism of the English stanza does not seem to be justified. Line 364 is wholly original, repeating the idea of the preceding lines.

369. waste wildernesse.

Here and in the next line translates *avia*, also repeated in the Latin. It occurs again in *Faerie Queene* I, i, 32 (Todd) while 'wastefull wilderness' also occurs twice in the latter poem at I, viii, 50 and III, x, 40. Lack of concord between subject and verb in 371-2 is the more surprising because the Latin verb is *densantur*. 'In darksome glades' (372) is Spenser's addition for rime.

373. For there huge Othos.

'Othos' is the form used by Bembo and not the more correct *Otos* or *Otus*. Jortin criticises Spenser for translating *devinctum* (235) instead of *devictum*, not knowing that the former was in Spenser's text as read by Bembo. It is here also that Jortin shows he did not take pains to see whether Spenser wrote 'assail'd' (376) or 'assai'd' as we know he did, saying "Instead of *which once assail'd* it should be perhaps *assay'd*." He rightly notes that *mundum* should have been translated 'heaven,' and adds contemptuously "Every body knows the story," an early version of Macaulay's "every schoolboy knows." Jortin even suggests *inscendere* 'scale'—actually found in some MSS.—for the *incendere* of Spenser's text. However, even if the poet had remembered the story of the Aloidae, he probably felt he must follow the apparent meaning of the Latin in rendering *incendere mundum* by 'burne this world so wide.' This is the second time that Spenser has translated Latin *mundus* by 'world' when it should have been 'heaven'; compare note on line 256.

Miss Sawtelle's note (*Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*, see Othus) is at least misleading, since *incendere* can hardly be called a "corrupt text" so far as Spenser is concerned, and *rescindere* is a comparatively modern suggestion.

380. That made him meat for wild foules of the ayre.

A free rendering of *jacet alitis esca*, but hardly to be called, as Jortin does, "a silly and ambiguous translation." The last two lines of the stanza are extemporized from *ad Stygias . . . aquas*. The repetition of 'Much do I feare' (381-2), so characteristic of Spenser, is here based on a repetition of *terreo* in l. 239.

388. turnes every way.

Based on Bembo's *in omnia*, not *inania* as by Ribbeck. So 'Calling in vaine for rest' depends on *otia quaerentem frustra* (Bembo), not *quaerentes*. Ribbeck, too, connects the half line with the following sentence. This whole stanza is very freely rendered.

393. Go ye with them.

Bembo read *vos ite*, which Ribbeck emends to *cribro ite*. 'Tynde' translates *accendit* (Bembo), which Haupt emended to *accendens*. Spenser's 'foretells' (395) shows that his text had *praefata* with Bembo, later emended by Haupt to *pro fata*.

400. And murdred troupes.

Jortin again breaks out, "This is nothing to the purpose, and cannot belong to the story of Medea. The original is corrupted." The latter reason was not sufficient for Spenser to omit the passage, and he has done what he could with a text reading *densat* (Bembo) *super agmina turmas* (or possibly *turbas*). Miss Sawtelle omits entirely this reference to Medea.

402. Calling on Itis, Itis evermore.

Based on Bembo's *vox Ityn et Ityn*, emended by Sillig to *vox Ityn edit Ityn*.

403. Whom, wretched boy.

'Wretched boy' is based on Bembo's *miseranda prole*. The rest of the stanza is extended from a line and a half of the Latin, and much extemporized from the story told in Ovid (*Metam.* 6, 412 f.) as noted by Miss Sawtelle. It is Ovid who distinctly says that both sisters took part in the slaying of *Itys*. Spenser has made *Bistonius rex* into 'the Thracian king,' and translates *epops* by 'Lapwing' instead of *hoopoe*, after a common English fashion. The former "by a great mistake hath been generally taken to be the upupa of the ancients, which is now acknowledged to be the hoopoo."—Ray, *Dictionarium Trilingue* (1675) p. 22 (*Ct. Dict.*). Gower, *Conf. Amant.* V, 6041, uses the Middle English form *lappewincke* in the same story.

409. borne of Cadmus blood.

Spenser's text had *Cadmeo sanguine* (Bembo), not *semine* as some editors followed by Ribbeck. The following seven lines paraphrase and extend two of the original, with the readings *vulnera* 'wide wounds' and *aversatus*, perhaps Spenser's 'bend,' both with Bembo and others, instead of *lumina . . . aversatur* with Ribbeck.

418. Ah (waladay!).

The first two lines made out of *eheu mutandus nunquam labor*. 'Where other powers' depends on the reading *numina* (Bembo), not *nomina* adopted by Ribbeck. 'Th' Elisian plaine' is based on the reading *Elysiam* of Bembo, not *Eridanus* suggested by Schrader.

427. by changing fate for fate.

Bembo is here responsible for *ipsa suis fatis . . . fata*, where D' Orville suggested the usual reading *Chalcodoniis . . . cura*. Spenser's lines 428-32 are a free rendering, omitting the names *Ithacus*, *Icariot*, both of which occur, and using *procul illam* with Bembo, not *illa* as Ribbeck.

431. A rulesse route of yongmen.

The text, *turba ferox*, suggests that the adjective is probably *ru-lesse* 'pitiless' rather than *rule-less* 'lawless,' the latter a meaning first proposed by Todd and now usually given in Spenser glossaries. A later use of *rueless* 'unregretful' appears in the Scottish poet Couper's *Poetry* (1804). The *NED.* does indeed give two instances of *rule-less* with one *l* (J. Heywood's *Spider and Fly* XCII, 115, and *Mir. for Magistrates*, Morandus, X), but at least one of these looks as if it might be *ru-lesse* 'pitiless' as in Spenser. The uncertainty depends upon the nearness in meaning between 'pitiless' and 'lawless.'

433-36. And sad Eurydice.

A very free translation of two lines (268-9), with *quin . . . recessit*, the first suggested by Bembo, instead of *recesti* proposed by Barth. So the last four lines of the stanza are again very free for another two lines (270-1).

444. With rustie horrour and fowle fashion.

Spenser's text read *diro et ferrugine*, accounting for his adjectives. Bembo proposed the first two words where Ribbeck reads *Ditis*.

446. And judgement seates.

Very free for *nec faciles ditissime judice sedes*, where Scaliger proposed *Dictaeo*.

453. And th' okes.

A gap in the MS. after *quercus humo* was filled by Bembo with *steterantque amnes* from one of the MS., but this is omitted by Spenser, probably because he had already translated *rapidi steterant amnes* (278) in his line 450.

455-56. shrill woods . . . hard barke.

The Latin for the first, *silvaeque sonorae*, shows that *shrill* means 'capable of emitting a sharp, piercing sound,' almost equivalent to 'whistling, hissing.' For the second, Spenser must have had Bembo's *cortice amara* 'bitter, harsh, rough,' not *avara* as Ribbeck reads.

457. And eke the Moone.

Based on Bembo's reading *luna*, not *Phoebus* proposed by Ribbeck. 'Drawing in teemes along the starrie skie' is a neat translation of *labentes bijuges . . . per sidera*. Spenser has thrown the last two lines into a question, perhaps to soften the double reference to the moon.

464. Backe to be borne.

Spenser's text had *ultro ducendam*, not *viro* as Heinsius proposed. After this he has also omitted entirely the line *non erat invitam* (Haupt *invictae*) *divae exoribile numen*, perhaps as repeating the preceding thought.

469. ne cause of speaking mooved.

Very freely for *nec divae corripit munera lingua* or some such reading. The last line of the stanza is original in fuller exposition of the situation.

473-84. The stanza depends on two lines and part of another, with some differences in text. In 294 Bembo read *parvum* where Ribbeck has *gratum*; in 295 *ignovisse*, Ribbeck's *meminisse*, and at the end of the line *sed et vos* for *tuom grave* of Ribbeck; in 296 *vos*, where Ribbeck emends to *has*. Ribbeck also rearranges in order of 295, 293, 294, 296. Latin *Tartare* is here translated 'Hell,' instead of 'Tartar' in 444 and 'Tartarie' in 543.

481-88. The stanza is a translation of the last of 296 and the three following lines. Freest in translation are Spenser's lines 484-5, the first depending on *per secura patris . . . numina*,

and the second being extemporized. The last two lines are also a free paraphrase.

490. The faire Ixione captiv'd from Troy.

Spenser follows Bembo's reading *rapuit serva, ast,* for which Schrader suggested *rapuit Periboea.* The reading before the poet accounts for 'his owne bondmaide' (489), which Spenser has then explained by the next wholly original line. In the latter he incorrectly wrote 'Ixione' for *Hesione,* daughter of Laomedon king of Troy, given to Telamon after he had assisted Hercules in the capture of the city. Spenser doubtless had in mind the account in Ovid's *Metam.* 11, 194 f., since he also used Ovid in lines 407-8 as already pointed out. Jortin noted the mistake in the name without accounting for it, adding merely "but it is doubtful whether this [Hesione] be the true sense of the place." Miss Sawtelle also makes no attempt to explain Spenser's error. Bembo's *ast* above accounts for Spenser's 'But' of 491.

494. Their match in glorie.

Spenser's text had Bembo's *sociat quem gloria fortis,* not *societae gloria sortis* as Ribbeck. Other forms proposed by Bembo were adopted by Ribbeck, as *inexcussus* (302) and *torva . . . repulsos* (303).

497. O! who would not recount the strong divorces.

Based on another Bembo reading, *talis divortia belli,* adopted by Ribbeck. Spenser's 'Flames, weapons, wounds' in the last line of the stanza is a translation of Bembo's *vulnera tela . . . ignes,* with the words reversed so that the first might suggest 'tynde' that is, 'kindled,' needed for rime.

505. For Ida selfe, in ayde of that fierce fight.

The last of the line depends upon Bembo's *potens feritatis et,* Ribbeck's very different *patens frondentibus* (Heinsius) *ipsa.* Spenser also follows Bembo's *jugis* 'out of her mountains,' and *aequa altrix* in 'like a kindly nourse.' His parenthetical '(for spight)' is a rendering of *cupidis* in a bad sense. The last line of the stanza is original with Spenser. Jortin noted the incorrect accent of 'Rhetaean,' as of 'Caphareus' in l. 586. Todd shows that in the first edition Spenser had put an accent over the first syllable of the first, as over the first syllable of 'Nemaean' in *F.Q.* VII, vii, 36.

513. Gainst which.

Paraphrases *hinc. . . contra*, for the last of which Schrader suggested *conto*.

519. As the great clap of thunder, which doth ryve.

This and the next line translate and extend *fulminibus caelo veluti fragor editus alto*, where the first two and the last two words are Bembo readings.

521-24. Based on lines 319-21 of the Latin, with Bembo's *super si classibus Argos* (319), the first emended to *asper* by Haupt. So *eripiat reditus ille ut* (320) are Bembo's instead of *eriperet . . . alter* in Ribbeck, as is *instet* for *instat*. Even then the reading is quite free, as 'cut the ships' instead of 'snatch away the return.' Jortin called 'defend The force of Vulcane' "a Latinism and an elegant boldness. See also *F.Q.* II, xii, 63." 'Defend' here translates *depellere* 'repell.'

525. Thus th' one Æacide did his fame extend.

Depends upon *Hoc erat Æacides alter laetatus honore* (322), some words with Bembo, instead of *hos* (Haupt) *sedet* (Ribbeck), *voltu* (some texts) *honores* (Ribbeck).

526-8. Spenser translates and somewhat extends two Latin lines, beginning *alter Dardanio fusis* by Bembo, *Dardaniaeque alter fuso* by Ribbeck. Bembo is also responsible for *victor lustravit* in the second line. The rendering is free, and Jortin notes that "Thrice is not in the original. Virgil affirms it indeed, *Æn.* I, 487, contrary to Homer's account of it." Probably some such reference to the *Æneid* was in Spenser's edition.

529-36. No special departure from the received text. 'False Ulysses' is *dolis Ithaci virtus*, and 'Dolons subtile surprysall' is merely *victorque Dolonis*. 'Boasts his good event' depends on a free rendering of *palladio jam laetatur ovans*, the first word occurring in the second Aldine. Jortin, misled by *Pallade* of his text, says of the clause "This Spenser has omitted."

538. And blacke Laestrigones.

Translates Bembo's *jamjamque Laestrygonas atros*, the line varying much in various editions. Spenser has added 'a people stout,' for rime. The Laestrigones, an ancient people of Italy, are not mentioned by Miss Sawtelle. Spenser's 'doo . . . him affray' (541) is made out of Bembo's *metuanda* before *Charybdis*, not *Zanclaea* of Schrader. 'Squalid lakes of Tartarie' is a con-

densation of *pallentesque lacus et squalida Tartara*, and 'griesly feends of hell' is the poet's addition.

545-46. Spenser followed Bembo's *hic et Tantalei generis decus amplus Atrides* (334), and makes a fairly close translation. Only 'bosts' is general for *assidet* (335). His 'Iliack posts' (549) is a free rendering of *Ericthonias . . . funditus arces* (336), and 'more dolorous' (550) of Bembo's *gravius*, Ribbeck's *Graius*. 'The Greekes themselves' Spenser has supplied.

552. In th' Hellespont being nigh drowned all.

Jortin rightly points out that "the Greeks suffered nothing in the Hellespont," but it is scarcely fair to say "this translation is wide of the text," except as it is a free rendering of *Hellespontiacis obiturus . . . undis* (338).

553-60. A favorite thought of the poets, freely extended from less than three lines of the original. 'Loftie type of honour' is Bembo's *decus* only (342).

561. Th' Argolicke Power.

If Spenser had Bembo's *vis Argoa* before him, as is probable, he has translated it as if it were *Argea* (*Argiva*) 'of Argos' not 'of Argo,' a very natural rendering because of the context. Lines 565-6 are wholly Spenser's, doubtless extended because of his fondness for descriptions of the sea. His 'Nereis to the seas' is Bembo's reading *Nereis ad undas*, later emended to *ab unda* by Paldamus.

569-76. Generally a free paraphrase, with more concreteness than in the original. Thus 'The heavens on everie side enclowded bee' is for *undique mutatur coeli nitor*, the next three lines for *omnia ventis, omnia turbinibus sunt anxia*, while the last couplet is extended from about one line.

575-84. Again Spenser delights to amplify the original, making his stanza out of less than three lines and a half. His text read *corruere* (351) with Bembo, not *corripere*, and *venit* (352) also, not *ruere*. The last four lines are almost wholly original.

585-92. Based on four lines of the original, 354-7. The verb of the Latin sentence, *immoritur*, is used four times, accounting for 'are sunk and drent' (585), 'are throwne' (586), 'in pieces rent' (587), and 'scattred' (588). It is Spenser who has thrown the passage into the parallel clauses beginning 'Some,' while he has also added entirely lines 589-90. The Latin contained a number

of Bembo readings, most of which have been adopted by others. In this description of the storm, too, Spenser has extended fifteen lines (343-57) to thirty-two. The accent of 'Caphareus' (586)—see note on 508—may be accounted for by that of the Greek form anglicized in a natural manner. Spenser's master Chaucer also used Latin or Greek forms with freedom, as in the case of *Theseus* in the *Knight's Tale*.

588. Hercaean shores unknowne.

The expression "is pleasant enough," says Jortin, "there being no such shores in *rerum natura*." Spenser's text read *Heraea . . . litora*, for which Scaliger chose *Aegea* (*Aegaea*) from a Göttingen MS. and is followed by Ribbeck. The poet is presumably responsible for 'Hercaean,' to which he has added 'unknown,' not for rime merely but to express his ignorance of the place. The only known Heraea of Bembo is a town in Arcadia. Miss Sawtelle has nothing on the name.

593-600. A close rendering of an easily translated original. Line 597 is based on a reading *Roma . . . suscipit* (Bembo), not *suspicit* later suggested by Heinsius. Both 596-7 depend upon the one clause. On 'Horatii that in vertue did excell' Jortin remarks, "Virtus is not *virtue* here but *valour*," forgetting that Spenser's use was very common in Elizabethan English.

601-8. The stanza makes no considerable additions to the Latin. Bembo's *moritura Camilli* (362), adopted by Ribbeck, accounts for the reference to that hero, at least two texts reading *Metelli* while others have no name. Spenser has extended *devotum* to a line and a half (603-4), possibly with *bellis*, the text of the time, later emended to *tellus* by Wakefield. 'A gulph most hideous' is Bembo's *gurgitis haustus*, Heyne emending to *gurgitis unda*. Spenser's *gulph* as 'that which swallows or engulfs' is good Elizabethan usage, but 'T' appease the Powers' is his own addition. The last line disregards Latin 366, and merely extends the account of Mucius Scaevola according to the well-known story. Miss Sawtelle again does not mention the classical name.

609-16. Follows *Culex* 367-71 with various differences. The two lines to Curius depend upon *hic Curius clarae socius virtutis* only. Spenser's 'stout Flaminius' employs the name in Bembo's and most texts, *Caecilius* having first been proposed by Nicholas Loensis, and adopted by Ribbeck as the historical hero of the

event. Jortin, with the older text before him also, explains that *flammae* "is metaphorical; and the sense is that he boldly run into danger and lost his life."

The last four lines also depend upon some early readings, as Bembo's *illic Scipiadaeque duces devota* where Haupt omitted *illic* and added *quorum* after *duces*. Otherwise the original is itself obscure, Haupt placing 369 after 371 in an effort at coherence. Spenser's lines also suffer and are less clear than in any other part of the poem. What, for instance, is the syntax of 'Trembling their forces' (616)?

617-24. Freely rendered and enlarged from *Culex* 372-5. Bembo's readings *viduos* (373), *maxima* (374), *discernit* (375) may be seen, where Ribbeck has *vacuos*, *maxime* (Schrader), *discernis* (Schrader).

625-34. Several points in the stanza explained by the early readings, as Spenser's 'Me' from Bembo's *me* where Ribbeck reads *jam* before *dicere* (376). 'Cruell fiends of hell' translates Latin *Poenae*, while 'Girt with long snakes and thousand yron chaynes' is extended from *vinctae* (Bembo) *verberibus*, Ribbeck's *vitae*. 'Through doome of that their cruell Judge' is Bembo's *saevo . . . ab judice*, Ribbeck's *saevae . . . sub* (Scaliger) *judice* (377). Finally, Spenser's 'intollerable cares' is Bembo's *nec tolerabilibus curis* (379), emended by Ribbeck to *sed tu mobilibus*.

633-40. A fairly close rendering, with Bembo's *quae tamen ut vanis dimittens* (380), to which Spenser has added the new line 635. The last clause of the last line is also original, and the lines are read in the original order.

641-48. *Culex* 385-9, with Bembo's *ubi*, Spenser's 'when' of the first line, Ribbeck's *ibi*. 'The sloathfull fit of lifes sweete rest' is finely put for the simple *inertia vitae* of the original. 'Wondrous cares His inly grieved minde' depends on *interius graviter mentem aeger* (Bembo), where for the last two words Ribbeck reads *regementem*. 'Full sore opprest' (643), 'which deeply was imprest' (645), 'as through their might' (647) are added for rime and force.

649-56. Four lines of the original (390-3) extended to eight, mainly by making the picture more concrete. Lines 651-2 are made out of *hunc et in orbem destinat*.

657-64. Extended from three lines, parts of 395-8, with no differences from the received text.

665-73. The first line wholly Spenser's, after which he arranges the flowers in his own order, entirely omitting the first mentioned, the acanthus. For description of the 'Rose' Spenser had Bembo's *crescit rubicunda colore* (399), where Ribbeck has *crescens pudibunda rubore*, the last by Wakefield. The 'Lilly' is introduced from *Culex* 403, after which Spenser goes back to the 'Violet,' with 'belowe' for rime. Then he takes the 'Marigolde' from *Culex* 405, Bembo's *chrysanthus* emended to *chrysanthes* by Scaliger, and 'Rosemarie,' with 'cherefull' from *non avia cura*, the last emended to *turba* by Heinsius.

On 'Spartan mirtle' (669) Jortin comments, "Spartica myrtus, which whatever it be is not Spartan." He then notes truly enough that Spenser's 'whence sweet gumb doth flowe' "is an insertion of his own." As to 'Spartan' it is a translation of the Bembo text Spenser had before him, *spartica myrtus*, later emended by Scaliger to *Parthica* which would correspond more nearly with the Persian origin of the plant.

To the 'Hyacinthe' Spenser has added the epithet 'purple,' and for rime the flower 'Costmarie,' cultivated in English gardens for the fragrance of its leaves. His 'Saffron' is the Latin *crocus*, often called saffron in England, and the description follows the original, as in general does the description of the 'Lawrell.' The latter is based on *Phoebi surgens decus*, where Spenser has omitted *surgens* and added 'toyle' for rime. Jortin is quite unfair in saying, "Nothing like this in the Latin."

673-80. Spenser followed the 'Rhododaphne' with 'the Sabine flower,' as *Culex* 403 had already been used before. Of his 'Matching the wealth of th' ancient Frankincence' Jortin says, "A strange translation," quoting the Latin with *Sabinis* at the end of the line. But Spenser's text read *Sabina* (Bembo) agreeing with *herba*, so that the only objection that can be urged is his direct union of *turis* and *priscis*, no very great matter. In 'And pallid Yvie, building his owne bowre,' he has translated only part of the line, transferring *pallente* (405) from the berries (*corymbo*) to the plant itself, and adding the last phrase for rime.

Of line 676, 'And Box, yet mindfull of his olde offence,' Jortin scornfully remarks, "Thus anything may be made out of any-

thing," again with little justice. The poet required a rime for 'frankincence,' and instead of translating 'mindful of the Libyan king' used another allusion to the story of King Bocchus of Mauretania who, to purchase peace from the Romans, gave up his own son Jugurtha. Todd quotes Heyne as explaining that the plant was believed to have been named from the Libyan king. Spenser has assumed this knowledge on the part of his readers and thus gained his needed rime.

Spenser's 'lucklesse paramour' describing the 'Red Amaranthus' is his own, nothing appearing in the original but the name of the plant. Possibly an English common name of the flower, *love-lies-bleeding*, may have suggested Spenser's descriptive phrase. His 'Oxeye still greene' is Bembo's emendation *buphthalmus* 'ox-eye,' where Ribbeck has *bumastus*. 'Bitter Patience,' too, is based on Bembo's *picris* 'bitter lettuce,' where most editions had *pinus* and Salmasius later suggested *tinus*. Spenser omits the descriptive *semper florida*, perhaps because it was too near the 'still greene' of the first of the line, Latin *virens*. The last two lines are a general treatment of the Narcissus story, without close translation of the Latin.

681-8. The first four lines are a paraphrase and extension of *Culex* 410, while the last two are very general for 411-2, with Bembo's *format quod*, Ribbeck's *firmat quod*, and possibly *eulogium* where Ribbeck reads *elogium*. The last two lines are also a free rendering of the Latin.

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BEOWULF 1598, 1996, 2026; USES OF THE IMPERSONAL VERB *GEWEORÞAN*

Each of the three passages, Beowulf 1598, 1996, 2026, illustrates a different and rather distinct use of *geweorþan* as an impersonal verb. It is the object of this note, not so much to discuss the various interpretations that have been proposed for these passages, as to assemble the material that may help to an interpretation. A careful consideration of the context, in each case, leads to a fairly sure inference of the general idea expressed by the impersonal verb and its adjuncts. It may be expected, then, that some of the interpretations proposed by Beowulf scholars will find support in the material here collected. I have no new interpretations to suggest differing from those given by many of the later editors and annotators of the Beowulf; I have endeavored rather to present material that may furnish a sure basis for a correct interpretation of the passages.[1]

I

I consider first line 1598. The line with context, 1594b-1599, reads as follows:

> Blonden-feaxe
> gomele ymb gōdne ongeador sprǣcon,
> þæt hig þæs æþelinges eft ne wēndon
> þæt hē sige-hrēþig sēcean cōme
> mǣrne þēoden, þā þæs monige gewearþ
> þæt hine sēo brimwylf ābroten[2] hæfde

Here it is evident that the impersonal verb is used with the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing. In illustration of this passage I begin with examples in which the meaning of the verb is plain and unmistakable.

þā gewearþ þām hlāford and þām hyrigmannum wiþ ānum peninge. Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (1834), p. 68. Here the meaning is plainly, *agree with, make a bargain with.* The dative expresses the parties to the agreement. The following example has the dative to express the parties to the agreement and the genitive with a clause to express the thing agreed upon: gewearþ

[1] Cf. Hall, J. L., Johns Hopkins University Circulars, Vol. 6, pp. 32-33.
[2] MS. abreoten.

him[3] and þam folce on Lindesige ānes, þaet hī hine horsian scolde and syþþan ealle ætgædere faran and hergian. Chron. 1014 (Earle, 151.1).[4] When both parties to the agreement are expressed by the same word the accusative seems to be used: Ac swīþe hradlīce þaes þe hī þæs geworden hæfde. Chron. 918 (MSS. Cott. Tib. B. I. Cott. Tib. A VI).[5] The verb may also express agreement, not between opposite or contending parties, but agreement or concord among friends or those of the same party, resolution to do a thing. Here we find the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing; and gewearþ þā senatos him betweonum gif hīe mon þriddan sīþe oferwunne þaet mon ealle Cartania towurpe (Igitur cum senatus delendam Carthaginem censuisset) Orosius,[6] 210,15. Compare Orosius 178, 7, where the verbal expression translates *decreverunt*.[7] Similar to these examples, in expressing consensus of opinion, resolution,[8] is the following:

þa gewearþ ūsic þæt wē woldon swā
drihten ādrīfan, of þām dēoran hām
Satan 256-7

Old Saxon has the same construction, expressing the same idea; for example,

thea gumon alle giward
that sie ina gihōbin te hērōston
gikurin ina te kuninge
Heliand 2883-5

A consideration of the context of Beowulf 1599 in the light of the material brought together above makes it apparent that the idea expressed by the impersonal verb is *consensus of opinion*. "Many agreed in thinking (It was the opinion of many) that the seawolf had destroyed him."

II

Ic þē lange bæd
þæt þū þone wæl-gæst wihte ne grētte
lēte Sūþ-Dene sylfe geweorþan
gūþe wiþ Grendel. 1994b-1997a.

[3] Cnut.

[4] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Oxford, 1865.

[5] Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, London, 1861, Vol. I, p. 193.

[6] Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius*, London, 1883.

[7] Cf. Oros. 208, 28; 280, 20.

[8] The idea of determimation, resolution by a single person seems to be expressed in the following:

In this passage the impersonal verb is used with *lǣtan*. As far as the impersonal verb is concerned, we might consider this as an example of the use discussed above, where we have the parties to an agreement expressed by the accusative, and the thing agreed upon (or concerning which an agreement is made) by the genitive, a use well illustrated by Orosius, 204, 23, þā hīe nānre sibbe gewearþ (Latin, *sed infecto pacis negotio*). The expression in Beowulf 1997 might, then, be translated, "I long besought thee to let the South Danes themselves come to terms in the war against Grendel." This is Sievers' interpretation;[9] he proposes the translation, "Du solltest die Süd Dänen selbst über die bekämpfung Grendels einig werden lassen." We find, however, that these two verbs (geweorþan lǣtan) are used together in Middle English, Middle High German, Mittelniederländisch, and Modern Dutch; it will be well, therefore, to consider this idiom in these languages in connection with Beowulf 1997, which affords, I believe, the only example of its use in Anglo-Saxon.

In Middle English the idiom is rather common; I give below some examples: Marthe haveþ hire mester, leteþ hire iwurþen, Ancren Riwle, p. 414. He lette þe kyng al yworþe and to Rome ȝeyn drowȝ. Robert of Gloucester, p. 67.

> Loue hem and lakke hem nouȝte, late god take the veniaunce
> Theigh thei done yuel, late thou god y-worthe
> Piers Ploughman B. 6, 227-8.

> For-thi I conseille alle the comune to lat the catte worthe
> Pr. Pl. B. Prol. 187.[10]

In all these passages the meaning plainly is, *let one alone, leave the matter to one.*

For the idiom in Middle High German, see Benecke und Müller, *Wörterbuch*, where the following examples are given, lâzent in gewerden: *überlasst ihn sich selbst, lasst ihn in ruhe*, Erlösung 6038. Swie du sie niht gewerden lâst. Erlösung 5147.

Cosijn, *Anteekeningen op den Beowulf*, p. 30, calls attention to the expression *laten geworden* in Mittelniederländisch[11] and

> þā gewearþ þone weregan
>
> þæt he costode cyning alwihta *Sat.* 669.

[9] Paul und Braune, *Beitr.* 12, 97.

[10] Cf. Pr. Pl. B. 6, 84; C. 11, 163. For other examples see Maetzner, s. v. ȝewurþen, 3.

refers to Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, II, 1890. Verdam gives as equivalents in Modern Dutch, *laten begaan, laten geworden, laten betijen, zijn gang laten gaan.* Among the quotations illustrating the idiom are the following: Laet mi metten doden gewerden, ic salne doen wreken. Lanc. III, 13673. Laet mi selven ghewerden *Pass.* W24*d*. Wat God wille doen metti laet hem ghewerden wat si *Dyst. Cat.* II, 12. Dat wi Gode ghewerden laten ons selfs ende alre dinc Ruusb. 2, 195.[12]

A comparison of these examples from Middle English, Middle High German, and Mittelniederländisch[13] with the expression in Beowulf leads, I believe, to the conclusion that the idiom in question was in use in Anglo-Saxon, and that we have an example of it in Beowulf 1997. That we have no other examples in Anglo-Saxon is probably purely accidental; the frequent use of the idiom in Middle English shows this. We are justified, then, in proposing, as Cosijn[14] does, as a translation of this passage, "that you leave to the South Danes themselves the war against Grendel" or "that you let the South-Danes alone in their war against Grendel."

III

Sīo gehāten [is]
geong, gold-hroden, gladum suna Frōdan;
[h]afaþ þæs geworden wine Scyldinga,
rīces hyrde, ond þæt ræd talaþ,
þæt hē mid þȳ wīfe wæl-fæhþa dæl
sæcca gesette. 2024b-2029a.

I consider last Beowulf 2027,

hafaþ þæs geworden wine Scyldinga.

The nearest parallel to this in Anglo-Saxon is Andreas 307,

hū gewearþ þē þæs, wine lēofesta,
þæt þū sæbeorgas sēcan woldes, etc.

In this passage the verb is plainly impersonal, with accusative of the person and genitive of the thing followed by a clause. We

[11] "*Geweorþan lātan*, laten begaan, niet tusschen beide komen, is volkomen mnl. *laten geworden.*"

[12] Compare with the last two examples the quotation from Piers Pl. given above.

[13] Modern Dutch also has the idiom, *iemand laten geworden, to let one alone, to let one have his own way.*

[14] "Dat gij de Zuid-Denen zelve den strijd tegen Grendel liet uitvechten" (Anteek. p. 30).

may, therefore, infer that the parallel passage in Beowulf has the same construction. As far as I am able to discover, these are the only passages in Anglo-Saxon that show just this construction. The idiom is well illustrated and its meaning clearly shown in Old High German. There are four examples in Otfried.

> Thiu hiun warun filu fró, *giwerden mohta siu es* thó
> sie habetun thár selbon krist ther alles blides furista ist.
> II, 8, 9, (Marriage at Cana)

> Wola thaz githígini thaz nóz tho thaz gisídili
> thia súazi sines múases *giwerdan mohta sie thes.*
> IV, 9, 20 (Christ eats the passover with his disciples.)

> So sie thar tho gázun thie in themo gráse sazun
> ioh mannilih thar sát ward, so *sie thes brótes giward.*
> III, 6, 44. (Feeding of the five thousand)

> Thie langum ziti krist gisáh, ioh ouh selbo zi imo spiah
> *ob inan giwurti thaz* er heil wurti?
> III, 4, 19, (Healing of the man at the pool of Bethesda).

Graff, Sprachschatz I, 992, puts the first three of these cases under the strong verb *gawerdan* (angels. *geweorthan*, alts. *giwerthan*), with the remark " 'mih gawirdit thes' gehört doch wohl hieher." Kelle in the glossary of his edition of Otfried has the following: giwirdit [st. v.], es lüstet; ich habe a) Verlangen; b) Freude; c. acc. der Person und a) gen. der sache. II, 8, 9,: die Brautleute bei der Hochzeit von Kana konnte dessen gelüsten, sie konnten ihre Freude daran haben, dass Christus in ihrer Mitte sass. IV, 9, 20; die Jünger konnten erfreut, stolz darauf sein, dass sie mit Christo assen. III, 6, 44; wenn sie nach dem Brode Verlangen trugen. III, 4, 20. ob ihn gelüstete dessen, ob er darnach Verlangen trüge.

Piper, in his *Glossar*[15] gives the following: giuuerdan *st. v. unpers. mit Acc. d. Pers. es verlangt mich nach, ich habe Freude an*; a. mit *dem Gen. d. S II*, 8, 9. *IV*, 9, 20; 3.*s. praet.* i. *III* 6.44.-b. *mit abh. Satze*: 3.*s. praet. III*, 4, 20. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 277, has: giwërdan *ahd.*, *mhd.* gewerden *st. v. abl.* 1 *unpers. m. Acc. u. Gen. gefallen*: mih giwirdit des *Zu* wërd *dignus.* Wackernagel, *Altdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, p. 110, has, gewërden, gewerthen, *ahd.* giwerdan, *stv. unpersoenl. m. acc. u. gen. gefallen*; *zu* wërt.

[15] Piper, Paul, *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, II Theil, 1884, p. 579.

All this plainly establishes, for Old High German, as the meaning of the idiom under consideration, *it pleases me, suits me with respect to this; I desire it.* In the want of examples in Anglo-Saxon sufficient to establish clearly the meaning of the idiom, the evidence from Old High German becomes of great significance for the light it throws upon the passages from Beowulf (l. 2027) and Andreas (l.307) quoted above. In view of this, I suggest as a translation of Beowulf 2024b-2029a, "She, young, gold-adorned, hath been promised (betrothed) to the gracious son of Froda; *this hath pleased the friend of the Scyldings*, guardian of the realm, and he counteth it good policy, that he with the woman hath settled many feuds, strifes." It will be noticed that the translation suggested does not differ essentially from that already proposed by several editors and translators; but what I have brought together here establishes, I trust, this rendering on firm ground.

For Andreas 307-310 I suggest, "*How hath it pleased (suited) thee*, dearest friend, that thou, deprived of treasure, wouldst seek the sea-hills, the bounds of the ocean-currents, over the cold cliffs approach a ship."

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A CIVIC "TRIUMPH" CIRCA 1700

After reading the fulsome compliments with which the descriptive pamphlets of the XVII century Lord Mayors' Shows are filled, one finds a certain relief in turning to the reverse side of the medal; and if the glories of the civic "triumphs" are exaggerated by their authors, the other extreme is reached in two volumes, the rarity of which is sufficient excuse for reprinting passages dealing with the Lord Mayor's installation and the ceremonies which attended this annual event at the end of the XVII century.

First, however, let us stop a moment over references to the "triumphs" of the reign of Charles II, which are uncolored by the prejudice of fond authors. Both Pepys and Evelyn saw the 1660 show; the attitude of the former is reflected by Ward and Henley half a century later. Under date of 29 October 1660, Evelyn notes:[1] "Going to London, my Lord Maior's shew stopped me in Cheapside; one of ye pageants represented a greate wood, with ye royal oake and historie of his Majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel." Pepys writes:" . . . had a very good place to see the pageants which were many, and I believe good, for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd."[2] The next year, on 29 October, the mayor returned to the old custom of going to Westminster by river, and Evelyn witnessed the progress; "I saw," he writes,[3] "the Lord Maior passe in his water triumph to Westminster, being the first solemnity of the nature after 20 yeares." He mentions the show for 1662:[4] under 29 October

[1] *Diary*, edited by William Bray (London, 1879) ii, p. 118. For further descriptions of this show, see Fairhold, *Lord Mayor's Pageants* (London, 1843) pt. i, p. 68; pt. ii, p. 87; J. G. Nichols, *London Pageants* (London, 1831) p. 108. The show—written by John Tatham—is described in two different contemporary pamphlets: copies of one may be found in the Guildhall and Cambridge University Libraries; copies of the other are in the British Museum (113. l. 13) and the Bodleian (Gough Lond. 122.12).

[2] *Diary*, edited by H. B. Wheatley (London, 1893-99) i, p. 270.

[3] *Diary*, ii, p. 137. Cf. Fairholt, p. 68; J. G. Nichols, p. 108; *Gentleman's Magazine*, XCIV, ii, p. 516. The descriptive pamphlet, entitled *London's Tryumphs*, by Tatham, is in both the Guildhall and British Museum Libraries; it has been reprinted in Heath, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers* (3rd ed., London, 1869) appendix, p. 475 f.

[4] *Diary*, ii, p. 153. For further information concerning this show—also by Tatham—see Nichols, p. 109; Fairholt, p. 71. The descriptive pamphlet

"was my Lo. Maior's show," he writes, "with a number of sumptuous pageants, speeches and verses. I was standing in an house in Cheapside against the place prepar'd for their Ma^{ties}. The Prince and heire of Denmark was there but not our King." Pepys writes, under the date of 29 October 1663:[5] "The dinner, it seems, is made by the Mayor and two Sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one half and they the other. And the whole, Proby says, is reckoned to come to about 7 or £800 at most . . .[6] I . . . took coach and through Cheapside, and there saw the pageants, which were very silly . . ." He did not see the show in 1664, but his "boy and three mayds went out." Evelyn rather enjoyed himself this year.[7] "Oct. 29, 1664. Was ye most magnificent triumph by water and land of ye Lord Mayor. I din'd at Guild-hall at ye upper table The feast was said to cost £1000. I slipt away in ye crowd, and came home late."

is in the British Museum and the Bodleian; it must not be confused with *Aqua Triumphalis*, describing a water show with pageantic features which took place on 23 August 1662, when the King and Queen visited the City. Three copies of this show—also by Tatham—are in the Bodleian; one is in the Guildhall, and one in the British Museum.

[5] *Diary*, iii, p. 322. For further description of this year's show, see Nichols, p. 109; Fairholt, p. 71. The descriptive pamphlet by Tatham, entitled *Londinium Triumphans*, is in the Guildhall.

[6] The pageant when Sir Christopher Draper was inaugurated in 1566, cost £18 [cf. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum* (London, 1803-07) ii, pp. 42, 43—citing the Ironmongers' books. This, of course, does not include the dinner.] The books of the Drapers' Company show that in 1516 the sum of £13, 4 s. 7 d. was paid toward "Sir Laurens Aylmer's pageant" [Herbert, *History of the Livery Companies* (London, 1836) i, p. 457].

A rare volume in the Fairholt Collection at the Society of Antiquaries (*A Particular Account of the Solemnities used at the Coronation of his Sacred Majesty King* George II (*Our late most Gracious Sovereign*) *and of his Royal Consort Queen Carolina, On* Wednesday *the 11th of* October, *1727. Also . . . an account of their Majesties Entertainment at* Guildhall, *on the Lord Mayor's Day following.* London . . . 1760) gives a full account of the reception of George II and his Queen by Sir Edward Becher, Lord Mayor-elect of London, on 30 October 1727. After the royal family had witnessed the procession from a balcony near Bow Church, they went to dine at the Guildhall; the banquet on this occasion cost £4889, 4 s. (An itemized account may be found in the volume cited above, pp. 54-56.)

[7] *Diary*, ii, p. 172. The descriptive pamphlet for 1664 (by Tatham) is in the Guildhall, the Bodleian and the British Museum. For further reference to this "triumph," see Nichols and Fairholt, *loc. cit.*

After 1671 the London shows for ten years were written by Thomas Jordan. His enthusiasm for his productions is good to hear, and before we turn to the satirists, let us glance at his discription of the London crowd as he sees it, gathered to witness the "triumph" in 1679.[8] "His Lordship . . . proceedeth through a tumultuous Torrent of crouding People, which to describe is so numerous and various, that it would exceed the full length of a Show in the Description.

"But in brief they were shows to one another, the disorder'd People below in the street was an excellent Scene of confusion to the spectators above in the Belconies (*sic*), who like Waves of the Sea did in continual agitation roul over one another's necks like Billows in the Ocean, and the Gallantry above were as pleasurable a sight to the spectators below, where hundreds of various defensive postures were screw'd, for prevention of the fiery serpents and Crackers that instantly assaulted the Perukes of the Gallants, and the Merkins of the Madams. In that scene below, I saw a fellow carried in a throng of Squeezers, upon men's backs like a Pageant for the space of thirty yards; in all which time, being a somewhat oversensible of his Elevation, strutted, cock'd his Beaver, and rid in Triumph, 'till at last a new provocation of diversion separating the shoulders of his supporters, drop'd him in a dismal dirty kennel"[9]

The fact that Ward and Henley seem to echo each other, is probably due to the resemblance which the shows of the period bore to each other; and this resemblance may be accounted for partly by the fact that the same "properties" were paraded year after year in the annual procession. After speech died out of the "triumphs" with Elkanah Settle's show for 1702[10] the civic festivals degenerated to mere processions, sometimes without any pageantic features at all; and the slight originality of the City Poet was removed from them.

[8] Taken from *London in Luster*, Jordan's pamphlet for this year. The original may be found in the Bodleian, the British Museum, the Guildhall and the Harvard University Libraries. It is reprinted by Heath, *op. cit.*, pp. 518 f. Cf. also Fairholt, p. 90 f; J. G. Nichols, p. 112.

[9] An account of this pageant can be found in the *Domestick Intelligence: or News both from City and Country Impartially Related*, no. 34, Fryday, October 31, 1679.

[10] His show for 1708 was not produced, on account of the death of Queen Anne's husband.

The fourth edition of *The London Spy* appeared in 1709; the only copy I have seen is treasured in the library of the Guildhall at London. The volume should be reprinted; despite its satire and exaggeration—which are obvious—the book gives a vivid picture of life in London about 1700; and the fascination of Hogarth and Cruikshank is in its pages.[11]

" . . . When the Morning came that my *Lord-Mayor* and his Attendants were to take their Amphibious Journey to *Westminster-Hall*, where his Lordship, according to the Custom of his Ancestors, was by a Kiss of *Calves-Leather*, to make a fair Promise to Her Majesty,[12] I equip'd my Carcase in order to bear with little Damage, the Hustles and Affronts of the unmannerly Mobility . . . my Friend and I . . . ventured to move towards *Cheapside*, where I thought the Triumphs would be most Visible, and the Rabble most Rude, looking upon the Mad Frolicks and Whimsies of the Latter to be altogether as Diverting (provided a Man takes Care of the Danger) as the solemn Grandure and Gravity of the Former The Balconies were hung with Old Tapstery, and *Turky-work* Table-Cloths, for the cleanly Leaning of the Ladies, with whom they were chiefly fill'd the Windows of each House, from the top to the bottom, being stuff'd with Heads, Pil'd one upon another like Skulls in a *Charnel-House* Whilst my Friend and I were thus staring at the Spectators much more than the Show, the Pageants were advanc'd within our view, upon which such a Tide of Mob overflow'd the Place we stood in, that the Women cry'd out for Room, the Children for Breath, and every Man, whether *Citizen* or *Foreigner*, strove very hard for his Freedom.[13] For my own part, I thought my Intrails would have come out of my Mouth I was almost squeezed as flat as a Napkin in a Press, that I heartily would have join'd with the Rabble to have cry'd *Liberty*, *Liberty*. In this Pageant was a Fellow Riding a Cock-Horse upon a Lion,

[11] I quote from Edward Ward, *The London Spy* (fourth edition, London, 1709) p. 293 f. The show which he describes is, I believe, the show for 1699.

[12] This suggests that if the Show were that of 1699—and the description resembles this more closely than any other—the account was written after Anne came to the throne.

[13] This is interesting, as showing that a good part of the crowd followed the pageants—and, if there were speaking, could have heard more than the words spoken at one stand.

but without either Boots or Spurs At the Base of the Pedestal were seated four Figures, representing, according to my most Rational Conjecture, the four Principal Vices of the City, *viz.* Fraud, Usury, Seeming-Sanctity, and Hypocrisie: As soon as this was past, the Industrious Rabble, who hate Idleness, had procur'd a Dead Cat . . . cover'd all o'er with Dirt, Blood and Nastiness, in which pickle she was handed about by the Babes of Grace, as an Innocent Diversion; every now and then being toss'd into the Face of some Gaping Booby or other. . . . By that time this Sport had gone a little about, crying out, *No Squibs, no Squibs*, another Pageant approach'd us, wherein an Old Fellow sat in a Blue Gown, Dress'd up like a Country School-Master, only he was Arm'd with a Sythe instead of a Birch-Rod, by which I understood this Figure represented *Time*, which was design'd, as I suppose, to put the City in mind how apt they are to abuse the Old Gentlemen, and not dispose of him to such Good Uses as the Laws of God, and the Laws of Man require, but Trifle their Time away in those three Vanities which were represented by the three Figures under the Dome, *viz.* Falsehood, Pride and Incontinency, which are chiefly owing to the other four Figures, the Angels representing as I suppose, the City's Imprudence, Impatience, Intemperance, and Inhumanity. . . . A third pageant was advanc'd forward, which appear'd to the Sight much Richer than the rest: What think you, says my Friend, of these Emblems? I think, said I, the chief Figure in it represents, as I imagine, a Lady of Pleasure, being Drest in much Costlier Robes than the other Female Representatives. . . .

"In every Interval between Pageant and Pageant the Mob had still a new Project to put on Foot. By this time they had got a piece of Cloth of a Yard or more Square, this they dipt in the Kennel, till they had made it fit for their purpose, then toss'd it about, expanding it self in the Air, and falling on the Heads of two or three at once, made 'em look like so many Bearers under a Pall, every one lugging a several way to get it off his Head. . . . By that time Forty or Fifty of the heedless Spectators were made as Dirty as so many Scavengers, the fourth Pageant was come up, which was a most Stately, Rich and Noble Chariot, made of Slit-Deal and Paste-Board, and in it sitting a Woman representing (as I fancy) the Whore of *Babylon*, drawn by two Goats . . .

and upon the backs of them two Figures representing Jealousie and Revenge; her Attendance (*sic*) importing the Miseries that follow her; and the Kettle-Drums and Trumpets serve to show that wheresoe'er she comes 'tis with Terror and Amazement.

" . . . The fifth Pageant mov'd forward, wherin all sorts of Trades were represented; a Man Working at a Tobacco Engine, as if he was Cutting of Tobacco, but often did not; a Woman Turning of a Wheel, as if she Spun, but did not; a Boy as if he was a Dressing of an Old Woman's Hat, but was not; which was design'd, as I suppose, to Reflect upon the Frauds and Failings of the City Traders, and show that they often pretend to Do what they Do not, and to Be what they are not, and will Say what they Think not, and will Think what they Say not, and that the World might see there are Cheats in all Trades.

"The Bully Cits March'd after in a Throng,
Huzza'd by th' Mob, as Drum'd and Pip'd along;
Whilst Wise Spectators did their Pomp disdain
And with Contempt behold the Dragling Train."

This is perhaps a satirical description of the show which Settle planned for 1699[14]—which it strongly resembles. The first of the five pageants on this occasion was called *The Triumphs of Honour*, whence Triumph spoke; then came *The Temple of Time*, where Time was attended by Truth, Humility, Constancy, and others. His immediate attendants bore mottoes. In the third pageant, *The Palace of Pleasure*, Flora, surrounded by Ceres, Vertumna and Pomona—with Joy, Harmony, Love and Felicity in the background—awaited the mayor's approach; the fourth pageant, *The Chariot of St. Katharine*, was drawn by goats, the supporters of the Company's arms; the Saint was attended by Faith and Piety—Victory and Peace blew trumpets, and the charioteer was Conduct. The fifth pageant was called *The Factory of*

[14] *The Triumphs of London*, For the Inauguration of the Right Honourable *Sir Richard Levett*, Kt., Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing a Description of the *Pageants* together with the Publick *Speeches*, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed on *Monday*, the 30th Day of October, Anno 1699. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Honourable Company of *Haberdashers*. London . . . MDCXCIX. (Copies of this pamphlet are in the Guildhall and British Museum.) Cf. Fairholt, p. 115; J. G. Nichols, p. 119; (the latter does not mention the author of the show); and F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle, his Life and Works* (Chicago, 1910). The shows by Settle are outlined in the back of this book.

Commerce; in it Commerce presided over many shops, and papers of tobacco were distributed to the people as the big platform moved along. (It may be noted that the distribution of tobacco was not a direct trade advertisement for the Haberdashers.)

If Ward had this show in mind, he seems to have written his account of it after Anne came to the throne; for the Mayor, with a "Kiss of Calves-Leather" made a "fair Promise to Her Majesty."

The Lord Mayor's Shew: or, the City in its Glory. Now first published from an Original Manuscript of the late ingenious and facetious Orator, John Henley, M. A. (London, n. d.) is the title of another rare pamphlet describing the shows of the early XVIII century Mayors.[15] One or two extracts will suffice to show the spirit of the writer. "Pageants of a Man upon a Lion, without Boots or Spurs, which is a City striving to jocky a Court; one in a blue Gown with a Scythe, for Time, to shew, they only use him for *the Crop.* Two more, in the Shape of Women, and another, with three at Work to do nothing, were the emblems of *London,* with Images about them dedicated to Reformation, and the Million Canaille dragling after, like an Army of Rats bewitched, following the Pyed Piper."[16] "On that Day, the two Giants have the Priviledge, if they think it proper, to walk out and keep Holiday; one on each Side of the *Great* Horse would aggrandize the Solemnity, Shew consisting often in Bulk. . . ." [17] There is no mention of the giants—which often accompanied the Lord Mayor's procession, and came to it from the earlier "Midsummer Show" and "Royal-Entry"—in Ward; and there seem to have been no giants in the 1699 show; so we may assume that Henley is giving a composite picture of this institution.[18] His oration is cited by Fairholt,[19] who describes it as intended to make the town merry at the expense of the citizens, and dates it 1730.

[15] This is in the British Museum [605. d. 29 (7)]. The title-page contains the text: "Surely every Man walketh in a vain *Shew.*" Psalm xxxix: 6. This prepares us for a treatment of the civic "triumph" not unlike Ward's.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 16. (This should be p. 17; by a printer's error, the pagination, repeating 16, begins over again at 10 and continues to 15.)

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 10 (p. 18).

[18] Two "large Carv'd Figures being a *Merman* and *Mermaid,* the Supporters of the Companies Arms, properly Colour'd," floated on the water in 1700, when Sir Thomas Abney of the Fishmongers Company was installed. (The descriptive pamphlet of this show is in the Guildhall; cf. Brown, Fairholt, and J. G. Nichols, for further mention of it.)

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 124 f.

One other institution of the City—the "Waits"—is drawn on an exaggerated scale by Ward. As these have accompanied the Lord Mayor from very early times, we may quote the passage:[20] "We heard a Noise so dreadful and surprizing, that we thought the Devil was Riding on Hunting through the City. . . . At last bolted out from the Corner of a Street, with an *Ignis Fatus* Dancing before them, a parcel of strange *Hobgoblins* cover'd with long Frise Rugs and Blankets, hoop'd round with Leather Girdles . . . and their Noddles button'd up into Caps of Martial Figure, like a *Knight-Errant* at Tilt and Turnament, with his Wooden-Head lock'd in an Iron Helmet; one Arm'd, as I thought, with a lusty Faggot-Bat, and the rest with strange Wooden Weapons in their hands in the shape of *Clyster-Pipes*, but as long, almost as *Speaking-Trumpets*. Of a sudden they clap'd them to their Mouths, and made such a frightful Yelling, that I thought the World had been Dissolving, and the Terrible Sound of the last Trumpet to be within an Inch of my Ears.

"Under these amazing apprehensions, I ask'd my Friend what was the meaning of this *Infernal outcry*? Prithee, says he, what's the matter with thee? Thou look'st as if thou wert Gally'd; why these are the *City Waites* . . . the Topping Tooters of the Town; and have *Gowns*, *Silver-Chains* and *Sallaries*, for playing *Lilla Bolaro* to my *Lord Mayors Horse* thro' the City."

Aside from the interest which Henley and Ward awaken in the reader, they are important as showing how the Lord Mayor's Show was regarded at a time when the glory of the show was departing. Elkanah Settle—the "last of the City Poets"—wrote the last "triumph" with speeches in 1702; and from then until a renewed emphasis on history and symbolism brought back to it a semblance of art in 1884, the Show sank to inartistic depths, —the current, which had been full in the days of Peele, and early in the XVII century when such poets as Dekker, Middleton, Thomas Heywood and Webster were called upon to plan these civic festivities, grew gradually thinner; for over a century it strained along, shorn and parcelled like the Oxus. And these satires mark the end of its old splendor.

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[20] *London Spy*, p. 35 f. Cf. the first chapter of my forthcoming *English Pageantry—an Historical Outline* for further mention of the waits and the "men in armor."

REVIEWS AND NOTES

THEODOR FONTANE AS A CRITIC OF THE DRAMA. By Bertha E. Trebein, Ph.D New York, Columbia University Press, 1916. xxxii and 198 pp. Price $1.00.

Es gehört zu den Unbegreiflichkeiten unsres akademischen und nicht-akademischen Literaturbetriebs, dass Theodor Fontane in Amerika so lange unbeachtet geblieben ist. Und doch konnte grade er, der in W. D. Howells einen nahen Verwandten hat, mehr als die bekannteren Modegrössen auf wirkliches Verständnis rechnen, wenn das Eis einmal gebrochen war. Wäre der Dichter von *Unwiederbringlich*, *Irrungen Wirrungen* und *Effi Briest* früher willkommen gewesen, so ist es für den königstreuen Märker jetzt zu spät. Die Schulausgabe der *Grete Minde* von H. W. Thayer, New York, 1911, der Aufsatz Friedrich Schönemanns *Theodor Fontane in England*, Publ. Mod. L. Assoc., Sept. 1915 (vgl. auch New Yorker Staatszeitung, 13. Dez. 1914), die Einleitung W. A. Coopers zu den Übersetzungen im zwölften Band von Franckes *The German Classics* und nun Miss Trebeins Dissertation ist so ziemlich alles, was unsre Wissenschaft zur Kenntnis Fontanes beigetragen hat. . . . Es war ein guter Gedanke, die dramatische Kritik Fontanes im Zusammenhang prüfend zu betrachten-und die Hauptgesichtspunkte herauszustellen. Dabei standen der Verfasserin nicht nur ihre bewährten Lehrer von Brown und Columbia University zur Seite, sondern sie hatte sich auch noch der Mitwirkung Friedrich Fontanes und Paul Schlenthers und anderer Deutschen zu erfreuen, sodass ihr Buch ausser dem wissenschaftlichen noch den sentimentalen Wert eines letzten Zeugnisses aus den verklungenen Tagen friedlichen Austausches der Geister besitzt.

Die Arbeit behandelt nach einer biographischen Einleitung in fünf Abschnitten 1) die Voraussetzungen von Fontanes dramatischer Kritik (London; Berlin); 2) Fontanes Auffassung vom Wesen der Kritik; 3) Fontanes praktische Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der Bühne; 4) Fontanes dramatische Theorie; 5) die schliessliche Wertung Fontanes als dramatischen Kritikers. Ein Anhang bringt eine sehr nützliche Chronologie von Fontanes Werken und literarischen Studien und endlich die übliche Bibliographie. Da z. T. ungedrucktes Material verwandt wurde und das Bücherwesen augenblicklich im Argen liegt, ist dem Beurteiler eine Nachprüfung im Einzelnen unmöglich. Doch erweckt das Ganze den Eindruck äusserster Sachlichkeit, Umsicht und Gewissenhaftigkeit. Die Skizze vom Kritiker Fontane, die Paul

Schlenther in seiner Einleitung zu den *Kritischen Causerien über Theater* (Werke II, 8) entwarf, ist von Miss Trebein zum Bild ausgeführt worden, ohne dass die Züge wesentliche Veränderungen erfahren hätten. Wir wussten bereits, was den eigentümlichen Charakter von Fontanes Kritik ausmacht: dass er nämlich nicht von starren Voraussetzungen philosophisch-ästhetischer Art ausging, sondern dass er sich einzig und allein auf seinen angebornen künstlerischen Instinkt verliess, um das Eigenartige im Kunstwerk von Fall zu Fall herauszufühlen und dann über die Wirkung unparteiisch Rechenschaft abzulegen. Die völlige Neidlosigkeit, Geradheit und Unbestechlichkeit, der unbeirrbare Wahrheitssinn, die ironische Ablehnung alles Aufgebauschten, anspruchsvoll Prunkenden, Unechten-kurz der ganze, prächtige Charakter des Menschen und Dichters Fontane offenbart sich auch in seiner Kritik. Wir wussten ferner, dass die Stärke Fontanes zugleich seine Schranke bildete. Wie er auf metaphysischen Apriorismus nichts hielt, so wollte er auch nicht die Rolle eines Zukunftspropheten spielen. Wer so wie er von der Relativität alles Seins überzeugt ist, tut sich nicht als Pfadfinder und Verkünder neuer Ziele hervor. Was an der modernen Kunstlehre und Literatur neu und lebenskräftig war, erkannte er unbefangen und leidenschaftslos an und unterstützte es durch seine Kritik und eigene Dichtung. Zum Parteiführer des Realismus ist er nicht geworden, da er den Romantiker in sich nie verleugnete. Hier ergänzt Miss Trebeins Darstellung die Paul Schlenthers, insofern dieser Fontanes Neigung zum Realismus allzu einseitig betont.

Das vorliegende Buch hätte kaum etwas verloren, wenn der mit lobenswerter Schüchternheit bezeichnete zweite Teil des letzten Kapitels ganz weggeblieben wäre: "Tentative Comparison with Lessing, A. W. Schlegel und Tieck." Wollte die Verfasserin historisch verfahren, so war es mit einer so willkürlichen Zusammenstellung nicht getan. Andrerseits wäre viel zu gewinnen gewesen, wenn sich der Kritiker Fontane im Zusammenhang mit Zeitgenossen wie Hebbel, Freytag, Ludwig, Julian Schmidt, Vischer und vor allem den näheren Kollegen Frenzel und Pietsch gezeigt hätte. Die tapfere Unabhängigkeit der alten wie der neuen Schule gegenüber wäre erst dann ins volle Licht getreten.

Doch das war eine grosse Aufgabe für sich, die über den Rahmen einer Dissertation hinausging. Hoffentlich schenkt uns Miss Trebein diese historisch-vergleichende Darstellung des Kritikers Fontane einmal: die wissenschaftliche Ausrüstung und das Können besitzt sie dazu.

O. E. Lessing

AN OUTLINE OF GERMAN ROMANTICISM. By Allen Wilson Porterfield. Ginn & Co., 1914. Pp. xxx+263.

Several years ago a much-harried reviewer expressed the hope that students of the romantic period would some day forsake the fine phrases of esthetic analysis to do a little needed philological investigation. Dr. Porterfield's book seeks to meet this demand. The generalizations of Brandes, Ricarda Huch, or Walzel and his school offer little that is helpful to the student just fighting his way into this literature, which is in great part so boneless and nebulous. The notable work of Haym in 1870[1] laid a solid foundation for the study of the Jena group and their allied spirit Hölderlin, but of late years our knowledge of Novalis and both Schlegels has been built upon new bases. With the exception of Koch's introduction to selections from Arnim and Bretano (Kürschner's *D. Natl. Litt.* Bd. 146), now quite antiquated by Steig's tireless investigations, I do not know where one could look for a collective treatment of the younger group of romanticists, whose focus was first Heidelberg and afterwards Berlin, with the numerous threads which bound its members in personal intercourse and correspondence.

In view of the flood of literature on the subject which the first decade of the present century brought forth, Porterfield has done well to approach the period through a bibliography, although his work is by no means merely a list of book titles. He claims to be sure, to present only facts, "leaving the interpretation of these facts to him who uses the book." Many will wish that this intention had been carried out, and that the facts had been only "collected and prefaced," as the author asserts. Such chapters, however, as those on Storm and Stress and the cultural background of the romantic period do not belong in tone and content to a "literary almanach" but are chapters from literary history. They are entertaining and show an originality which the author disclaims for his work, but they occupy space which one grudges. As will be shown, the book is by no means so complete as its plan indicates and important and interesting sides of the subject have been omitted. To the general thoroughness which the author claims might, with greater economy of space, have been added the specific completeness which he disclaims.

In his delimitation of the field, Porterfield has shown the good fault of excessive liberalism. He sets his termini at 1766 and 1866, and while conceding the artificiality of these dates, defends his choice ably. After a rather artificial introduction picturing romanticism as a drama of five acts, he opens with a chapter on the "best sellers," as a parallel and foil to the Romanticists. In succeeding chapters the relations of Storm and Stress and Goethe and Schiller

[1] *Die romantische Schule.*

to the movement are discussed, the "Transitionals," Jean Paul and Hölderlin, are treated, followed by the "Berlin-Jena Group," the "Fate Dramatists," the "Heidelberg Group," and finally the "Side Lights," under whom are included twenty-nine authors from Alexis to Waiblinger, alphabetically arranged. In the case of each author discussed the bibliography is preceded by a short biographical sketch and then followed by a reading list, meant to include the author's leading works with romantic tendencies.

The second part, which is more discursive, opens with a sketch of the historical background, and then proceeds to recapitulate a number of definitions of romanticism, certainly a welcome contribution for the study of this much-defined period. Chapters follow on general and sectional treatises; on the letters of the romanticists; the romantic magazines; the followers of the two leading schools, without bibliography; the philosophers, musicians, and painters, with bibliography; and a concluding chapter contains an introductory reading course in the romanticists.

There is no doubt that Porterfield's bibliography offers important and helpful material, not only for the study of romanticism, but for the intensive study of the whole period of literature. In a field where every classification is still a matter of debate, it will not be surprising if many disagree with his choice of authors. Few will agree to omit Matthison and Bürger from the "Transitionals," and not many will admit Chamisso and Uhland to the Heidelberg group, in spite of the example of Walzel and others. It is hard to see why Freiligrath and Herwegh should appear without Kindel, harder still to understand the omission of Hebel, Gotthelf, Auerbach, Bettina Brentano, Max Stirner and the Graf von Schack, each of whom has certainly a valid title to admission to any work that treats of the fringes of romanticism. The bibliographical work is, in the main, well done, although not a few important titles are missing.[2] A painful omission is that there is

[2] Some of the most important follow: Section III,-M. Glass, *Klass. und romant. Satire* (1905), of great interest for the Xenien; J. W. Scholl, *Mod. Lang. Pub.* XXI (4-193), for Fr. Schlegel and Goethe; K. Furtmüller, *Die Theorien des Epos bei den Brüdern Schlegel*, etc. (1903). Sect. IV,-A. Wilbrandt, *Fr. Hölderlin* (2. ed. 1896). Sect. V,-B.Golz, *Die Pfalzgräfin Genoveva* (1897), important! S. Hirzel, *Aus dem Leben Th. von Bernhardis* (1894); E. Dessauer, *Wackenroders Herzensergiessungen in ihrem Verhältnis zu Vasari* (1907); H. Simon, *Der magische Idealismus* (1906); R. Genee, *A. W. Schlegel und Shakspeare* (1903); J. Minor, "W. Schlegel der Jahre 1804-45," *Zs. f. öster. Gym.* 1887 (590 ff, 733 ff.); Sect. VII,–J. E. Hitzig, *Lebensabriss Werners* (1824); F. Binder, *Luise Hensel* (1904,) important for Clemens Bretano; Eichendorff, *Gesch. d. poet. Litt. Deutschlands*, carefully edited by Kosch (1906). Sect. VIII,–no edition of Arndt is mentioned, the older one by Rösch-Merimer is incomplete. For Kleist important works are lacking: Treitschke, *Preuss. JBB* II; E. Schmidt, *Charakteristiken I* (333–362); Zolling, *H.v.Kleist in der Schweiz* (1882); B. Schulze, *Neue Studien über H.v.Kleist* (1904). Part II. Sect. V,–H. Landsberg "Gesch. d. d. Zeitgemälde, Parodien," etc. in *Zs. f. Bücherfreunde*, VII, important! Sect. VI,–Caroline, *Briefe*, ed. by G. Waitz (1871); H. Zimmer, *J. G. Zimmer und die Romantik* (1888), unprinted letters from Arnim; Fr. Schle-

no mention of the importance of Schiller's *Horen* for the Jena group and particularly for many of the journals of romanticism (cf. Walzel, *Zss. d. Romantik*). Two of those whom Porterfield lists among the Berlin-Jena followers (217) should certainly have had fuller treatment, Schleiermacher and Caroline Schlegel. Surely any bibliography of romanticism is incomplete which does not contain W. Dilthey's *Leben Schleiermachers* (1870) and G. Waitz' *Caroline und ihre Freunde* (1882).

The most painful omission is a brief sketch of the natural scientists, some of whom Porterfield mentions. In his introduction he defends the incorporation of musicians and painters in place of philologians, scientists and philosophers, since the former are artists, while the latter "did not write literature, nor did they write about it." Such conservatism is hardly defensible in the case of the romanticists, who were so closely interwoven with the philosophy and nascent science of their time. Academists like A. G. Werner and F. G. Creuzer and wanderers in the realm of dream like G. H. Schubert and Reil are almost as inseparably connected with romanticism as Fichte or Schelling. Without them one cannot understand Novalis or Tieck or Kleist or E. T. A. Hoffmann.[3] The aim of these scientists was identical with that of the romantic authors themselves; their field of research the same problem, the contact of the individual with the universe, the conscious with the unconscious, which Ricarda Huch calls "das wesentliche Trachten des Romantikers auf jedem Gebiete (*Verbreitung und Verfall*, p. 77)."

The necessity for economy of space is responsible for the telegraphic style of Porterfield's biographies. It cannot, however, excuse such statements as (p. 93) "Heine drew a pension of 4800 francs from the French government and one of nearly equal amount from his uncle, although the legality of both has been seriously questioned" or, the author's characterization of Zacharias Werner as "one of the most unwholesome characters in German literature," or his dismissal of Fouque (p. 73) as "a perfect gentleman." The meaning of the statement (p. 153) that the "French Revolution had given the Germans exotic hope that feudalism might come to an end at home," eludes repeated reading, and it is a trifle too slap-dash for a serious work to say (p. 177) that "Fr. Schlegel or

gel, *Briefe an Frau Christine von Stransky*, Bd. I (1907); *Briefe an Fouque*, ed. by his wife (1848), containing twelve letters from E. T. A. Hoffmann; J.v. Görres, *Ges. Briefe*, ed. by M. Görres and Frank Binder (1858-74). Sect.X,- "Kant und die Romantik," *Euphorion* 1906, (502-514).

[3] Especially the importance of Schubert for the later group of romantic novellendichter thrusts itself upon every one who makes a deeper study of Tieck, Hoffmann or Kleist. Zolling (*D. Natl. Litt.*, 150, V) showed many years ago the influence of Schubert's Dresden lectures on *Kätchen von Heilbronn* and *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*. From all this is apparent the impropriety of classing Schubert with Carus, Baader and Mesmer among the "followers of the Heidelberg group."

someone else said that architecture is frozen music," or that W. Grimm was "the author of the Altdänische Heldenlieder (p. 220)." The collocation of statements regarding Görres (220-221) runs the risk of finding its way among the *abschreckende Beispiele* in Freshman rhetoric.

Antithesis shows itself just as deadly in its effect on accuracy of statement in Porterfield's case as elsewhere. Not infrequently he sacrifices clearness to a penchant for startling statement. "By 1808 Goethe had passed through his era of Deutsche Kunst; he was in future more interested in Helena than Herzeloyde." Nestroy was "twice married, first unhappily, then irregularly." Of the Congress of Vienna he says, "It was a long, brilliantly entertained, wine-drinking, resultless affair." "The theory of romanticism was more or less deeply tinged with philosophy, the practice was devoid of it (p. 225)" is as unclear as the statement that "Kant was the Imperator of the romantic movement." For some purposes such a style is attractive, but one who is trying to train himself and his students to be careful of generalizations and especially to bring accuracy of thought and definiteness of statement to a subject where so much is nebulous and vague may at times well be impatient with the cocksureness of the author's pronunciamentos and the hectic quality of his style, which occasionally goes to the point of triviality.

The work has been shaped with a pedagogical purpose, which in spite of occasional diffuseness has been kept constantly in mind. An important and interesting feature are the reading lists, appended to the chapters and intended to introduce the reader to romantic literature. It must be confessed that they lose much of their usefulness through their length, as for instance, in the case of Kleist, Heine and Eichendorff, where practically the complete works of these authors are cited. One man's taste is perhaps as good as another's in such matters; but many users of the book will doubtless wonder to find in lists which are broad enough to include such far-lying works as Goethe's *Achillëis* and Häring's *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht* or Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik* no mention of Fr. Schlegel's *Wilhelm Meister* essay or of Brentano's *Rheinmärchen*. The list in the introductory course for undergraduates is admirably selected.

While one must regret that Porterfield did not set his limits a little less extensively and work somewhat more intensively, his work deserves praise as an honest attempt to introduce the philological method where heretofore only philosophical theorizing and esthetic appreciation have held the field. He brings in his bibliography a mass of valuable material, and while his analyses and classifications are by no means satisfying, they are interesting and cannot fail to be helpful to the student of the period.

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ABRISS DER DEUTSCHEN GRAMMATIK, von Hans Schulz, Privatdozent an der Universität Freiburg i. Br. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1914, vi, 135.

KURZE HISTORISCHE SYNTAX DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE, von Hans Naumann, Privatdozent an der Universität Strassburg. Strassburg: Trübner, 1915, vi, 125.

These little volumes have appeared since the beginning of the war and, while in themselves rather indifferent contributions to our stock of text-books, should nevertheless be given, for the sake of record, a brief characterization. The *Abriss* of the late author of the *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* is a good repetitorium of the most important facts of historical German grammar. The plan follows in general the usual outlines of such manuals, namely, Phonetics, Pre-Germanic, Old High German, Middle High German and Modern German. A chart at the end offers a synoptic view of the evolution of the modern types of declension from the Middle High German. The clear statements of the book, its apt and ample illustrations, as well as the literature at the head of each chapter, will make it a place of handy reference. The presupposition, however, of an acquaintance with the old Germanic forms, the omission of paradigms, the consideration of only a selection of problems, and the absence of all data bearing on the 'outer history' of the language, will preclude its use in the present form as a beginners' hand-book. The publishers have advised the reviewer that the second edition, to be released after the war, would contain emendations of nature to render the book more generally serviceable.

Schulz's book is the first number of Trübner's *Philologische (Bibliothek.)* No. 2 is the *Kurze historische Syntax der deutschen Sprache* of Hans Naumann. This work cannot be considered a substitute for Fiedler's which is presumably still in preparation as a companion-piece to Wright's *Historical Grammar*. Its sole outstanding recommendation is the acceptance of Ries' definition of Syntax as "die Funktionslehre der Formen im Satze," and the consequent division of the material in accordance with word-groups, similarly to Behaghel's *Syntax des Heliand*, Lenk, *Syntax der Skeireins*, etc. The author realizes that, since word-forms belong to the domain of Syntax only insofar as they perform their functions in the sentence, the entire morphology could technically be embodied in the Satzlehre; for practical reasons of lucidity, however, he reverts to the older plan of presentation, and masses morphology proper in a second part of the book.

The scope and treatment of the material—prepared for a manual— is a keen disappointment to those who have expected the first sketch of historical German syntax, operating with the tools of the analytic method, to be a more solid piece of work. The author omits all reference to places of citation; in the bibliography

of "Die wichtigste syntaktische Literatur," he appears to be altogether ignorant of the theoretical and practical labors in his field of von der Gabelentz (jr.), Morris, Sütterlin, Holthausen, Blümel and others; and, for all the independence of research displayed, his examples might conveniently have been culled and re-arranged from Wilmanns or Erdmann-Mensing.

The Science of Syntax is still in a state of fluctuation and we have as yet no accepted system to work on. However, this much is evident, that the foundations of the rigidly synthetic or normative method have been materially shaken, even with respect to instruction in the modern periods of language. Whilst the general feasibility of a reform for such stages has yet to be practically demonstrated, the advantages of the new principles with respect to the older dialects where the classical categories are no proper criteria of native genuineness, can no more be left out of sight or calculation. As a rule, it will be agreed, in books like Diekhoff's *German Language* where the emphasis is placed on the present standard idiom and not upon the tracing of phenomena thru the three historical divisions of German, it is better for the student to move within the frame-work of the traditional method, than to labor thru unknown groupings which to him seem to be but the bravours of a mysterious methodology. But, where the purpose is a genetic presentation, the necessity of continuous reference to Gothic, Old High German and even to Anglo-Saxon will eventually assign a definite rôle to the analytic method in all works on the historical syntax of German. In other words, there is room and need for both the old and the new. The synthetic is thus far the best vehicle of the descriptive or normative syntax; the analytic is the logical structure of the historical investigation. The *Deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart* of Sütterlin, 3rd edition, 1910, built along analytic lines, is just as paradoxical as Streitberg's Gothic syntax, based as the latter is exclusively on the Greek prototype. From this standpoint, Naumann's book, even tho it registers but a feeble attempt, must be given a place among the pioneers.

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[1] This author's twin-books, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* and *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, appeared both in 1914, and form Nos. 727 and 734 of *Goeschen*. The former is in reality more of a West-Germanic than an Old High German grammar, for the comparatively short discussion of the Frankish, Alemannic and Bavarian dialects follows upon 114 pages dealing with the West Germans and their language. A very interesting section presents the grammatical application of the Germanic loan-words in Vulgar Latin, as against the similar use of old proper-names. This criterion of reconstruction was doubtless suggested by Brüch, *Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf das Vulgärlatein*, Heidelberg, 1913. Incidentally, in the treatment of Indo-European *ĕ* and *ĭ*, p. 20, as well as of *eu>iu*, p. 26, the author follows Professor Collitz's views embodied in *JEGPh.*, vi, 253 ff.—The Old High German Reader is pedagogically superior to Schauffler. It contains 26 pages of literary history, continued by prose and poetic selections, a large number of *Urkunden* from St. Gallen, Fulda, etc., arranged to bring out the differences in the various dialects, and a glossary, as against Schauffler's virtually interlinear translation.

A COMMENTARY, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY ON THE NORWEGIAN TEXT OF HENRIK IBSEN'S PEER GYNT, ITS LANGUAGE, LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS AND FOLK-LORE. By H. Logeman, The Hague, 1917. Pp. 484.

The writing of a commentary to *Peer Gynt* is something that anyone might well hesitate to undertake. The linguistic difficulties are greater here then in any of Ibsen's other works; the literature on the drama is already extensive; and further than this, to understand the drama requires a knowledge of Norwegian life and character such as perhaps no other Norwegian work does. But the task has at last been undertaken. The Commentary before us is in every way a significant contribution; even the linguistic difficulties are dealt with in a manner that must be regarded as surprising in one to whom Norwegian is an acquired language. The author's knowledge of Flemish and Dutch has here undoubtedly been a great aid. In one way particularly the Commentary and its little forerunner "Tilbake til Ibsen," published in *Edda*, 1914, pages 136–145, is epochmaking. That is, in that it shows the inadequacy of all the later editions of *Peer Gynt*, how full of errors they are. When the article referred to had appeared, Professor Gran wrote to Logeman: "En renset Ibsenutgave fremgaar med evidens av Deres Dokumentation," and Docent Hans Eitrem called the Peer Gynt editions: "denne Augias Stald."[1] The present Commentary, with its collations and the chapter on the editions, will form a welcome temporary substitute for this desideratum, while we are waiting for an edition which shall give us the drama in all its parts just as it left Ibsen's hand. The work has been written especially for foreigners, that is, for those who must use translations of the drama. To these the linguistic notes and corrections of faulty rendering should be welcome.

The following pages are here offered, not in the spirit of fault-finding but, merely as a brief supplement to the Commentary in the case of some passages, about which my own feeling for the use of the word differs from that suggested. In *Peer Gynt* Ibsen, when he needed it, took words from the vernacular of his birthplace, from the folk-speech of the south coast, and western Norway. Some of the dialects in question I have heard spoken from childhood. I shall elsewhere review Logeman's work more fully.[2]

After having described his dangerous ride over Gendineggen, Peer asks his mother (99–100):

har du set den
Gendin-eggen nogen gang?

[1] Quoted here from the Commentary.

[2] The present review covers the first 17 pages of the Commentary. For a review of pages 18-80 see *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Feb., 1918.

This is surely a case of "dobbelt bestemmelse." There is double demonstration in that we have the demonstrative *den*, and further the definite form of the noun, exactly as in line 69: *hvor traf du saa den bukken?* (i. e. that you are telling about)? So here: have you seen this Gendin-Edge (where I rode, it is well known, you have of-course heard about it, but have you seen it? If you have you can understand what a ride I had! Why) "It is half a mile long, sharp is its crest like a scythe," etc. Logeman quotes a correspondent who would read: *har du set den (set'n), Gendineggen*, etc., on account of the riming of *set den* with *tretten*. This is interesting, but not convincing; for, in Peer's colloquial style even if he had said: *har du set den (set'n)* he would still have added: *den Gendineggen*. Furthermore, the writing of: *har du set den* for: *har du set'n* would not have been likely, for *set'n*, when resolved into its full form, becomes *set han* (colloquial dialectal for *set ham*). (Peer might have said *set'n* of the Gendin-Edge, that is referred to it by the masculine iterative pronoun.) Also, *set den* rimes well enough with *tretten*, for in speaking *set den Gendineggen = set ten Gendineggen*.

Lines 118–123 read:

> Isflak brast og brøt mot strandene;
> men der var ei døn at høre;
> bare hvirvlens vætter sprang
> som i dans; de sang, de svang
> sig i ring for syn og øre!

that is, there was no din or noise (døn) to be heard, although the ice-floes were bursting and breaking against the shore (lines 1–2), etc. The words *hvirvlens vætter* have caused some trouble; Archer translates 'sprites of dizziness,' and Roberts says 'giddy sprites.' Neither of these convey quite the idea of the original, and, especially, we do not see where Archer got the idea of 'dizziness'; for the poet is surely concerned only with the picture itself, not with the effect that the seeing of it might have on the observer. It is therefore significant, and also somewhat surprising, when Logeman quotes Ibsen as having offered an explanation of the troublesome words to Archer; he suggested *svimmelhedens aander*. So it was here that Archer got his word 'dizziness.' But to explain *hvirvlens vætter* by *svimmelhedens aander* is to explain one difficulty by something that is at least as difficult, if not right out meaningless. We can imagine that Ibsen enjoyed his quiet smile as he sent off this 'explanation.' Now *vætter* are 'wights' or 'sprites,' and *hvirvlen* is 'the whirl.' But the latter does not have reference only, or even chiefly, to the 'whirl' of the dance, though in part that. It is rather the whirl of the crashing mass of ice as it met the mass of ice already there. On the background of this 'whirling mass,' shall we say, we see the sprites dancing and singing,—'they leaped as in a dance; they sang and swung around in a circle

to our sight and hearing.' That is, they are the sprites of 'the whirl,' which they augment by their dancing.

En jente paa de tyve, line 173. The use of *de* in this way in expressions of approximate age is common and perfectly regular in Norwegian and Danish, though it may have escaped non-Scandinavian writers of grammars of these languages. Logeman is right in assigning to it the meaning of indefiniteness, but it does not seem to me that a comparison with Dutch 'in de twintig' is quite to the point,—we have a different preposition and the meaning is a different one. The Dutch phrase is, of course, identical with the English 'in the twenties,' for which Norwegian has the phrase *i sine tyve* (*i sine tredive*, *i sine fyrti*, etc.).

The discussion of the split-word rime (*rude-hul: klude*) in line 218 is followed by a list of similar cases in Wergeland and Oehlenschlæger and two from Ibsen ("Paa Vidderne" and "Ballonbrev"). From these examples the author concludes that, whereas the method in question is not approved in English, "to a Norwegian ear it is not unworthy of serious poetry." I rather think, however, that such rimes are as rare in present-day poetry in Norway as in English or American poetry, and undoubtedly practically confined to humorous style. The two instances cited from Ibsen himself, it will be noted, are early; otherwise the others are all from two writers, one a Danish writer of 1790–1830, and the other from Wergeland, who wrote around 1830–1840. And of all good Norwegian poetry that of Wergeland is freest I should say; it is full of licences, in its form at times unpardonably so. I assume that if we go back to the close of the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th we will find enough of split-word rimes and enjambement in English, French and elsewhere. It is not here a question of the proper place of such rime in poetry; Wergeland, at any rate, we should not like to see tampered with. But the author's comments to the line in question are, it seems to me, misleading.

The word *saltstrød*, discussed under 227, the author believes used in this case in a way often met with in popular superstition, and he cites as examples of this many instances from Norwegian folklore. Now Aase, it seems to me, cannot have in mind certain superstitious practices at all when she says: *der er saltstrød hvor den grodde*, but merely the custom of strewing salt for the practical purpose of killing weeds. In the second line above she has said: *eng og aker ligger brak*, 'meadow and field lie barren,' nothing grows there, it is as if salt-strewn. And so *det er stalstrød* is but her way of saying that the fields are barren. I agree, therefore, with the correspondent quoted in note 2, pp. 16–17. It is true that the antecedent of *den* (*grodde*) is the word *lykken* in Peer's speech, and *lykken* means here the good fortune of growing crops and plenty. But no! thinks Aase, that good fortune will not return, for, as she says, "it is salt-strewn where it grew."

In Com. 245 a list of 'Ibsenian words' is offered; in reference to the word *fugleskræmme* a note says "Ibsen uses the Danish *skræmsel* in line 343: *det kvindfolkskræmsel, norsk et fugleskræmsel.*" Com. seems, therefore, to regard the two as having the same meaning; cp. Archer's translation: 'woman's bugbear.' But the two words are not to be taken as equivalent; there is a good reason for Ibsen's choice of the one in one case and the other in the other. *Skræmme* means 'to frighten or scare away,' and *fugleskræmme* signifies something set up to scare birds away. Cp. Eng. 'scare-crow,' with the verb first. On the other hand *et skræmsel* means 'something awful to look at, a fright.' *Det kvindfolk-skræmsel* is therefore to be rendered 'that fright of a woman.' To use *skræmme* in this case would be meaningless; the context requires the descriptive term. In the second column of the list referred to 'no' should have been added opposite the word *fyld*, which here is a specifically Norwegian word and has nothing to do with the Dan. *fyld*, except that of the common origin from a stem **full*.

In such a case as *knækte armen paa han Aslek smed*, line 267, we have a common Norwegian use of the pronoun *han* in demonstrative function before a proper name. It is misleading to say, as Com. does, that *han* is acc. "for *ham* as we should expect in Riksmaal," for the personal pronoun is not used in such function in Riksmaal. The last part of the note in Com: "is a characteristic popular turn, proper to Landsmaal" seems to have the right thing in mind, but, if so, the foreign reader would require to be told specifically that *ham* could not be used here. In Riksmaal one might say *denne Aslak smed*, but that is not quite the same as *han Aslak smed*. For while *denne* indicates an earlier mention of the person spoken of ('the before-mentioned' or 'whom we have spoken of'), the pronoun *han* is, in such a case, a demonstrative of familiarity, hence stands for 'the well-known' or 'whom you all know!' The last part of the whole note, top of p. 24, is not clear.

The Com. to Peer's *Jeg. skal bli konge, keiser*! line 318, seems to me quite unnecessary. That Peer at last has reached a point in his imaginings when he is 'clean crazy' even Aase sees, for she says:

> A Gud trøste mig, nu reiser
> sidste resten af hans vid!

Why read into this scene autobiographical things? Can we not remember that Ibsen is concerned first and foremost with the character Peer Gynt, and that when Peer speaks he speaks as Peer! Why must he be made everywhere to reflect something in the life of the author? Are we to take every raving dream of greatness born of Peer's unbalanced imagination as corresponding to some aspiration in the bosom of the poet himself? Ibsen's remarks on "gjennemlevet," quoted a thousand times, is no

key to Ibsenian difficulties, nor should it be used as a kind of magic formula to unlock some supposed hidden personal meaning at every turn. It is more than likely that the difficulty is purely imaginary, and that, in place of some mystery, what we have is plain everyday Norwegian, which says precisely what it intends to say, and nothing more and nothing less. *Peer Gynt* was written as the result of certain experiences, certain things that Ibsen had 'lived through,' and it came to life as the expression of the mood in which those experiences had left him. Surely nothing more than that. Else it would not be the work of art that it is.

The verb *stavre* in line 328 (*stavrer knarken arrig efter*) is commented on in connection with the corresponding Norwegian *stabbe*. Dr. Western is quoted as writing Com. that the latter word is used in the sense "walk with short strides,—used of a little child who has just learned to walk." This is evidently the east and southeast Norwegian use of the word, for in western Norway it is not so limited, and I am fairly certain that the limitation does not obtain in southwest Norwegian nor in the dialect of Ibsen's birthplace. My feeling for its use, and the use I know it in, is about the same as that Com. quotes from a letter from Professor Storm, who associates it with *stavre*. In Norwegian, *stabbe* conveys the meaning of 'heavy, labored walking.' It may be the walk of an old man, and is often used of the old. But it may also, and in practice is just as often perhaps, used of the heavy, labored walk of an especially fat person. I do not equate *stabbe* wholly with *stavre*, however. This verb would not be used of a fat young person, and not of a child; it is only used of the old. Its specific idea is that of 'tottering, groping,' hence 'labored,' as the old and decrepit walk [not necessarily with a staff (*stav*,) however]. It may be noted that *stabbe* is the same word as the noun *stabbe*, 'a chopping block, a stump.' It certainly is the verb *stavre* that Ibsen needed in the line in question. Western's *humpe* does not fit so well, although this word we use of old people, (it is not a common west or south Norwegian word). *Humpe* does not convey the idea of the heavy foot-fall and tottering walk, but has reference rather to the heaviness and awkwardness of the walk as indicated in the motion of the body in general, especially the hips. The word is evidently purely derogatory in reference to slow, slouching walk, or sometimes of fast but awkward walking, with a good deal of slumsy motion of the body. This word Ibsen could not have used in the line in question.

It is strange that the word *heisan*! should have been so often misunderstood by the translators; and when *spare* also is misunderstood by translators Peer is made to say just the opposite in this case of what he actually does say. The line is '*Heisan, moer*,' *vi sparer kjærren*. Com. calls attention to Archer's: '*Mother jump, we'll spare the cart*, and we wonder where Archer got the

the meaning 'jump.' Now a little later Peer says to his mother: *Heisan, hopl' Vi skal lege Peer og bukken.* It would almost seem that Archer then understands the word *hop* to belong after *heisan* also in the first occurrence of the word and so translates 'jump' in both cases. Logeman renders the lines correctly; *heisan* is of course an exclamation of pleasure, (about 'hurrah'). As to the word *spare*, it means 'spare,' then 'save,' and finally 'get along without, do without.' Now Peer does not say 'spare' (as Archer); seven lines back he has suggested to his mother that she wait for him while he goes to hitch the horse to the cart. But as he is about to go Aase remarks that he may save himself this trouble, for the wedding is to be to-morrow. Then Peer's speech:

'Pyt; jeg kommer jo ikveld'
Heisan, moer, vi sparer kjærren,
det tar tid at hente mærren.

'Hurrah, mother, We'll do without the cart; it takes time to fetch the mare.' Prozor translates: Je vais chercher la jument!'

But stranger mistakes are made elsewhere by the translators. Logeman notes a Dutch translation of the line: *Han bar hende, moer, som en bærer en gris* by *hij draagt haar als een beer een zwijn*, and the identical rendering in a German translation. The Com. often corrects translators errors of this kind, and here lies undoubtedly one of the chief values in the hands of the user of foreign versions of Ibsen. We can readily see that the French or Italian translator found much that was almost impossible to render by anything more than an approximation. But the English and the German student has the advantage of a much more kindred language, where identical or similar ways of expression are the rule, and the difficulties are far fewer. And yet translations in both languages have mistakes enough; the best translations of the one language are no better than the best in the other But the mistakes are often of different kind, something that I shall deal with elsewhere.

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Oct. 31, 1917

JOSEPH RITSON, A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By H. A. Burd. *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. II, No. 3.

An examination of Mr. Burd's biography of Joseph Ritson leaves one with a single regret,—namely, that the book received such hasty proof-reading. Typographical errors abound,—as "repentence" (p. 79), "meretorious" (p. 105, n. 51), "inconsequental" (p. 115), "Berner's" (p. 116), "Anthony á Wood" (p. 119), "chonicle" (p. 142); foot-note 21 on page 125 is misnumbered 22 in the text; quotation-marks are confused in the last line of the text on page 103; and there are various inconsistencies of punctuation,

as for example on page 118, where "Ancient Popular Poetry" is printed in quotation-marks instead of italics. More serious errors are on page 195, where a line is carelessly repeated by the printer, and on page 140, where part of a foot-note (itself a quotation containing unbracketed insertions by the author) is run into another quotation in the text on the following page.

There are a few minor editorial slips. Thus the date at which Ritson was appointed high bailiff is not consistently given (pp. 27, 51); the romance of *Horn Childe* is printed not in the second but in the third volume of Ritson's *Ancient Metrical Romances* (p. 136); and perhaps it is a bit misleading to name Rowley as a forger along with Chatterton and Ireland (p. 57). In commenting on the edition of Laurence Minot's poems, Mr. Burd (p. 116) remarks that "for some unexplained reason [Ritson] omits the fourth of the eleven poems—the only one of the group which lacks a descriptive couplet heading"; whereas actually Ritson did not omit this poem but printed it as a part of the third, numbering the following poem "IV."

Hasty proof-reading is also responsible for the general inaccuracy of the quotations. Evidently modernization, or normalization, of spelling and punctuation was not intended, and yet a collation of a dozen or two passages chosen at random shows that the author has inadvertently altered spelling, punctuation, and even words on no apparent plan. For example, Ritson's remark, "It run in my head that I was to give you forty pounds," appears (p. 39) as "It ran in my mind that I was to pay you forty pounds." A similar fault mars the Ritson bibliography, where in many cases Ritson's spelling and punctuation are but partly followed. The title of Ritson's edition of Minot's poems is given with slight inaccuracies both in the text and in the bibliography; part of the peculiar spelling of the title-page of the *Bibliographia Poetica* is retained, while the word "Engleish," a form of which Ritson was particularly fond, is modernized; and the long title given to *A Select Collection of English Songs* might well perplex a person who was endeavoring to procure a first edition of that work.

It would hardly be worth while to speak of such matters had not Ritson himself been so vociferous a stickler for accuracy even to the smallest details. For in most other respects the book is admirable. To previous biographical studies Mr. Burd has added various contemporary magazine notices and reviews, eight letters not before published, and comments from the correspondence of literary men of the time. But this is the slightest contribution of the monograph, the purpose of which, it is stated, is, "without overlooking the personal peculiarities, to bring Ritson into proper perspective and to estimate his importance in his own day and his influence upon the subsequent course of literature and criticism." That Mr. Burd has succeeded will be cordially admitted. The

judicial fairness with which he follows Ritson's vicious quarrels is as remarkable in a special study as it is commendable. Mr. Burd's sympathy with Ritson does not prevent his viewing that ungenerous and vindictive scholar with impartiality and stating his conclusions in a manner that carries conviction. To have in one book complete details about the inception and contents of Ritson's works, an account of their reception by the critics, and a carefully weighed estimate of their permanent contribution is highly desirable; and as a critical bibliography the volume will be welcomed by students of eighteenth-century literature.

In a sense, modern research begins with and is epitomized in Joseph Ritson. The son of a corn-grower, he received little formal schooling. About 1776 he left the Durham village of his birth and went to London, ostensibly to practise law. He became a constant reader at the British Museum, plunging into an eager study of old MSS., little-known books, and antiquarian material in general. An appointment as "High Bailiff of the Liberty of the Savoy" gave him an assured, if meagre, income, and, though he never gave up his profession as conveyancer, literary and antiquarian research was his chief occupation. Trips to the Bodleian and Cambridge libraries, loans of books from private collections and from such gentlemen as he could refrain from insulting, and persistent study in London enabled him to amass a quantity of information that even in this age of unrivaled helps is astonishing. In a period of twenty years he published thirty-six volumes and prepared for the press almost as many more, ten of which were printed after his death. About half of these were collections of English and Scottish ballads, songs, poems, and romances; others were treatises on law, critical remarks on Warton's *History* and on editions of Shakespeare, an essay on the moral duty of abstinence from animal food, and historical studies of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots. Among manuscripts lost or still unpublished were an English dictionary, a grammar, and a bibliography of Scottish poets.

Ritson was a self-made scholar. Only England could have produced him; and like most English scholars he had an enormous capacity for work, at which Americans can only marvel. To be sure, the mere compilation of facts was his highest ambition: he might have been a banner pupil of Mr. Gradgrind's school. Customarily he contented himself with arranging an immense number of examples or allusions in chronological order, trusting that his opponents (he always had opponents) would be overwhelmed by bulk rather than by a careful, methodical argument based on an analysis and assimilation of his material—a method which, though it represents the simplest form of research, has the great merit of giving one's work a degree of permanence otherwise hardly obtainable. In his quarrel with Percy about the minstrels,

Ritson ransacked the ages for examples to show the habitual degradation of minstrels and the utter impossibility of their having composed the songs which they sang. He had not the slightest comprehension of the justice of Percy's contentions, nor did he see that Percy's theory and illustrations supplemented his own. But although his essay, like Percy's, is out of date, the material which he collected (where it has not been appropriated outright by his successors) must still be consulted by the scholar. The same is true of his *Life of King Arthur*, with its pages and pages of unsifted and undigested citations; and truer still of his *Robin Hood*. Perhaps of all Ritson's work the notes and illustrations to the *Robin Hood* have best stood the test of time. The hundred and fifteen pages of allusions and examples there collected came near rendering superfluous all later investigations. They cannot to-day be neglected by students, although Ritson's own views of Robin Hood, as well as his edition of the ballads, are antiquated.

Almost as important is the *Bibliographia Poetica*, a register of all writers of non-dramatic poetry known to Ritson down to the end of the sixteenth century. The book abounds in errors of chronology as well as bibliography; there are noticeable omissions of authors; and names that have no possible right to a place in the work are included. Anne Askew and George Mannington, for example, duly appear as poets because ballads "made" by them were entered in the Stationers' *Registers*, though with his experience in ballad-collecting Ritson should have known that these ballads were "good-nights" foisted by professional rimesters on Anne and George after their execution. Emphasis, too, is woefully misplaced: Thomas Churchyard, vulgar rimer, and William Elderton, professional ballad-maker, each have three or four times as much space as nearly any other sixteenth-century writer. But as Ritson's chief concern was names, titles, and dates, and as he was a pioneer, the book hardly offered a field for unfavorable criticism. Almost worthless to-day, its influence on English bibliography was enormous. Joseph Haslewood, Sir Egerton Brydges, and Sir Frederick Madden made elaborate emendations, additions, and corrections in their copies (now in the Harvard College Library), a few of which were published; even J. P. Collier had some respect for the book, and he, Lowndes, Corser, and Hazlitt used it as a point of departure—or of attack—for their own manuals. Throughout the *Bibliographia* Ritson snarls and growls. A writer in *Censura Literaria* is "confident that in spite of all his grubbing he [Ritson] has left his book very imperfect. This might be excused by the nature of the undertaking, did he not call others 'fool and rascal' in every page."

His contemporaries had some admiration for his scholarship, but discounted the value of his work because of his virulent and incessant attacks on other writers. Ritson continued the tradi-

tions of the Renaissance scholars in *-us*, though he lacked their erudition. Hoping to build up his own reputation on the ruin of a rival's, he carried to completion most of his work rather to discomfit a person against whom he had a real or a fancied grudge than for the love of learning. In his editions of ballads and romances his purpose was largely to discredit the editorial methods of Pinkerton and Percy; his Shakespearean studies took the form of vicious attacks on what he was pleased to call the ignorance and stupidity of Malone and Steevens; his investigations in Scottish history and antiquities were made to confound a race of forgers extending from Hector Boethius to John Pinkerton; and his researches into English literary history blossomed into the venomous *Observations* on Warton's *English Poetry*. In the days of Erasmus and Scaliger, Harvey and Nashe, or Milton and Morus, Ritson would have been in high favor as a controversialist; but while the irascibility and abuse of these men was, so to speak, professional, Ritson's venom was personal and chronic. Ill-health, solitariness, and lack of proper nourishment from his queer diet undoubtedly increased his bitterness. Occasionally he did show signs of having a little of the milk of human kindness; but the eighteenth century, thanks to the example of Pope, was in general not distinguished for urbanity—even Dr. Johnson carried a club to chastise James Macpherson and to "correct" Samuel Foote. The word urbanity was not in Ritson's vocabulary. "What say you to my scurrilous libel against Tom Warton?" he gleefully asked a friend; and in the fits of raving that preceded his death he found consolation, not in the thought of his own good work, but in the belief that in his controversies 'with a great number of men of the first talents in the country, he had completely confuted them all.'

He quarreled with nearly everybody, often for the most trivial reasons. The break with Douce came towards the very end of Ritson's life, when he was preparing to publish the *Bibliographia*. A note in Madden's interleaved copy of that book declares:

> Mr. Ritson was a *Vegetarian*, and quarrelled with Mr. Douce and struck out his name from the "Aduertisement" to the "Bibliographia," on the following trifling occasion. Ritson was sitting in Mr. Douce's house eating some bread and cheese for luncheon, when a little girl who was in the room, very innocently looked up in Ritson's face, and said "La! Mr. Ritson, what a quantity of mites you are eating!" Ritson absolutely trembled with passion—laid down his knife,—and abruptly quitted the room! On Mr. Douce following him, he said in a tone of excitement, "You have done this on purpose to insult me." The only answer Mr. Douce made was, "Sir, there is the door, and I never wish to see you again within it."

"I had this anecdote from Mr. Douce himself," Sir Frederick adds. The unpleasant reputation of the man has reacted on later scholars. There have been Percy and Warton and Malone societies, but, ironically enough, no one has thought of founding a Ritson Society.

Yet Ritson's abusive language served a purpose where milder words would have been ineffectual. It was the age of forgery,—the age of George Psalmanazar and Chatterton, of Macpherson, Pinkerton, and Ireland. Even Sir Walter Scott, in easy-going fashion, lacked conscience in giving the text of ballads, and may actually, so it is thought, have composed one of the ballads now in Mr. Child's collection. Since the days of Lady Wardlaw, to doctor ballads had been the usual course. Even Tyrwhitt's example of careful editing would perhaps have had no immediate effect. Ritson had a horror of forgers. Landing bludgeon blows right and left, he shouted forgery even where only laxity or carelessness was at fault. He scoffed at Ossian, frightened young Ireland out of his overweening self-confidence, forced a confession from Pinkerton, and goaded Percy into making changes in the *Reliques*. Sir Walter himself took pains to placate Ritson, feeling some apprehension lest his own editorial methods be publicly attacked. Fear of Ritson's caustic pen produced a very salutary effect on contemporary editors; and in almost every case time has shown the justice of his attacks, though his violent language is indefensible.

Perhaps Mr. Burd has done Ritson's critical powers more than justice. To assent to Ritson's condemnation of Lydgate as a "voluminous, prosaick, and driveling monk," whose works are not worth preserving (p. 134), may be conventional but is not fair. Much of Lydgate's verse hobbles on unscannable feet, but there is small logic in damning him only to assert, as Ritson does, that "in point of ease, harmony, and variety of versification, as well as general perspicuity of style, Laurence Minot is, perhaps, equal, if not superior, to any English poet before the sixteenth, or even, with very few exceptions, before the seventeenth century." Chaucer is not "excepted from all such comparisons" (p. 117), though he is excepted in regard to "creative imagination and poetical fancy;" and Ritson finds only two poets before 1600 worthy to be compared with Minot,—Robert of Brunne and Thomas Tusser! The early period at which Mannyng wrote has given him a vicarious immortality in our text-books, but the name of Tusser seldom adorns even those indispensable works unless it be to throw light on Udall's wielding of the cane. That Tusser's and Minot's rimes should be placed above the poems of Henryson, Wyatt, Surrey, Sackville, and Gascoigne (to mention no others) is damning evidence of Ritson's bad taste. Minot himself was a mere balladmonger, no part of whose work surpasses the street-songs of William Elderton. That Ritson admired Shakespeare was due, one suspects, to the temper of the age which, since the eulogy of Maurice Morgann, had veered towards that Romantic idolatry which still mars almost all criticism of Shakespeare. It would be idle to deny that Ritson appreciated the plays for the opportunities they afforded for textual emendation and annota-

tion; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Burd's excellent account of Ritson's Shakespearean criticism will restore to him the credit now given to the editors who have been 'beautified in his feathers.'

Ritson's objections to Percy's maltreatment of the Folio MS. were not those of modern ballad-enthusiasts. He was interested solely in the text as such. In spite of Mr. Burd's explanation (p. 156), most readers will still accept Professor Gummere's statement that Ritson preferred the ballads of Thomas Deloney to *Chevy Chase*. Nor is the distinction which Ritson is said to have made between ballad and song as important as many critics suppose. The haziness existing in his mind is sufficiently illustrated by his sneers at Martin Parker's *ballad* of *John and Joan* and his "particular pleasure" in publishing the "song" *When the King Enjoys His Own Again*, a *ballad* which Ritson did not know Parker to be the author of. Perhaps it was impossible adequately to define ballads before the broadside and "communal" types were categorized. The idea that Ritson had any glimmering of "communal" authorship is preposterous, and present-day English anti-communalists would, as Mr. Burd indicates, have had in him an obstreperous supporter.

Ritson is now remembered chiefly for his scholarly ideals of text-editing. Announcing the purpose of printing from a specifically designated text, and of recording in the margins every variation which a "disuse of contractions and a systematization of punctuation" rendered necessary in the eyes of ironical gentlemen of the eighteenth century, he resembled that Cantilenus who showed Johnson a copy of *The Children in the Woods* "which he firmly believed to be of the first edition, and by the help of which the text might be freed from several corruptions." In the *Ancient Songs* Ritson retained the Old English characters of some of his poems, thus almost equalling the modern pedantry which produces texts solely for scholars, ignoring more ordinary readers who otherwise might appreciate our early English texts. When his printers forced him to discontinue this practice, Ritson's reputation does not seem to have suffered. Editorial conscience has become more severe with the passing of years: Madden's copies of the *Ancient Songs* and *Ancient Popular Poetry* are literally covered with corrections or with further collations, though in general few errors of moment appear to have been found in any of Ritson's texts. His editions are, of course, antiquated; but his crusade for honesty and accuracy had an immediate effect for good, and his ideals were realized, some fifty years after his death, by the foundation of the Early English Text Society. Perhaps only special students of English literature know, or will know, Ritson. If there has ever been danger of underestimating his importance, Mr. Burd's book should prove to be a thorough corrective.

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A CONCISE ANGLO-SAXON DICTIONARY FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS. By John R. Clark Hall, M.A., Ph.D. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. xii+372pp.

When the first edition of Clark Hall's Dictionary appeared (in 1894), Sweet, in his well-remembered incisive way, characterized it as "a work of great industry . . . containing a good deal of new and valuable matter, but . . . terribly uncritical. . . ." In the preface to the new edition the author remarks that his former principle of arranging all words according to their actual spelling—no doubt one of the chief defects aimed at by Sweet—"was admittedly an unscientific one, and opened the door to a good many errors and inconsistencies." This weakness has, then, to a considerable extent, been removed. Besides, commendable care has been taken to bring the book up-to-date by utilizing modern contributions to lexicography, notably those of Napier and Toller, to improve it throughout in accuracy, and to make it more serviceable to the student. Its outward make-up is almost an ideal one. Well printed, tastefully bound, of convenient size and remarkably light weight, it is one of those books which the student will enjoy having on his table or even carrying around with him, if he should feel so inclined.

In contradistinction to the practice of Sweet, who separates, e.g., the *an-* from the *ān-* compounds, the order of words is, as it should be, strictly alphabetical, no concession having been made to etymological considerations. There are many more words here than in Sweet's Dictionary, and, obviously, a great many more entries. No doubt the desire to make the book easy for undergraduates to use is responsible for the special listing of numberless grammatical forms necessitating cross references, e.g., *faca* gen. plur. of *fæc*, *facum* dat. plur. of *fæc*, *ēcere* gen. sing. fem. of *ēce*, *lengra* compar. of *lang*, *wrāt* pret. of *wrītan*. But would not the student really be served much better by having brought home to him the necessity of mastering the elements of grammar at the very beginning of his Old English studies? Again, it is difficult to see why dat. plur. forms used in an adverbial sense, such as *ēstum*, *ēaðmēdum*, *snyttrum*, should be treated as independent words instead of being mentioned under the normal forms of the nom. sing. Furthermore, the number of variant forms and spellings cited as head-words is still so large as to be annoying and, indeed, bewildering. Of course, rare words, especially ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, may very well be given in the spelling actually recorded, but ordinarily in a comprehensive dictionary, as distinguished from a special glossary, a rigorous system of normalization is preferable to compromise measures. Nothing is gained in helpfulness by citing separately forms like *strængð* (*Vesp. Psalter*), *ðērrihte*, *hunger*,

hungur (by the side of *hungor*), or by separating the *burg-* from the *burh-* compounds, the *nearu-* from the *nearo-* compounds.

A very valuable feature is the characterization of words by means of references to texts in which they occur. Although, in a concise dictionary like this one, completeness in this respect cannot be thought of, the author has succeeded in thus providing a vast amount of exceedingly useful information, especially as regards prose words. In the case of words recorded only once, the source is frequently indicated. The numerous words confined to poetical texts are marked by a dagger; those among them which occur only once are marked by a double dagger or are followed by a reference to the passage. Perhaps an additional improvement could have been effected by distinguishing from the ordinary 'poetical words' those which are met with in one poetical text only, though in more than one passage, e.g., *ecgbana*, *eftsīð*, *healsbēag*, *healsittende*, *healðegn*, *heardhicgende*, *heaðudēor*, *hildebill*, *hildebord*, *lēodbealu*, *leoðusyrce*, *līfgesceaft*, *līfwraðu*, and many more which are not found outside of *Beowulf*. To all intents and purposes such words are on a level with the hapax vocables.

An innovation deserving especial praise and one which renders unnecessary many etymological data is the insertion of references to the corresponding items in the *New English Dictionary*. It is safe to say that the students who consistently follow up those hints will be amply rewarded for the little extra trouble. To many of them that magnificent treasury of English words will be a perfect revelation.

Complete freedom from error has not yet been achieved in this revised edition. I beg to mention a few miscellaneous oversights which have been noticed. *byrgan* 'taste' is by no means unknown in prose, see Toller's Supplement, s.v. *birgan*.—The ghost word *dēagan*, which was formerly inferred from *Beowulf* 850, has been eliminated; yet the pret. form *dēog* still remains, though unexplained.—*behwylfan* is not only found in *Exodus* 426, but several times in prose, cf. Förster in Morsbach's *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, no. L, p. 150.—*dysig-cræftig* with its very interesting meaning might have been included, cf. Förster, *l.c.*, p. 152.—Under *ealdorlēas* the reference to *Beowulf* 15 should be transferred to the second adjective, meaning 'without a chief.'—*endedæg* occurs also in prose, see Toller's Supplement; the same is true of *eodor* (*edor*), see Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *edor*.—The misprint *eorsnanstān* (under *earcnanstān*) is easily corrected.—*forswerian*, *Beow.* 804 does not mean 'renounce on oath,' but 'swear away,' *i.e.* 'make useless by a spell.'—*forwyrht* 'misdeed' quoted from Förster, p. 160 carries the sense of 'destruction' in the 2. Vercelli Homily, *ib.*, p. 90, l.4 (variant: *forwyrd*).—*forwyrdan* with the sense of 'perish' has been erroneously inferred from the prose legend of St. Andrew, Bright's *Anglo Saxon Reader* 124. 24: *forwyrð* (from *forweorðan*).—

forweorþnes cannot be credited with the meaning of 'migration,' since it occurs only as an inaccurate gloss, beside *ymbcerr* and *oferfær*, of *transmigratio*, *Lind. Mat.* 1.17; Toller's rendering 'ejection,' 'expulsion' should be adopted.—The sense of 'lead' attributed to *fēðan* is to be canceled, see Toller's instructive statement.—For *gēomor* read *geōmor*.—For *gamenwāðu* read *gamenwāð*.—*mægenhrēð* might have been added. (*Beow.* 455.)—Under *næfebor* read *nafugār*.—*nēara* is not the best form of the comparative of *nēah*.—Instead of *hrōftīgel* read *hrōftigel*.—*metan wiþ* 'pass over,' 'traverse'? *wiþ* should have been inserted before the meaning 'compare.'—*gescola* 'one of the same troop,' 'a companion' (from *scolu*) might have been added, see Napier, *O. E. Glosses* 2271, note; likewise *gescota*, '*commanipularius*,' '*collega*,' '*miles*,' Wright-Wülcker 15.1, 207.7.—*sēl* cannot be regarded as a *bona fide* positive. The etymological reference to *sæl* is, at any rate, liable to be misunderstood. (The *ē* of *sēl*=*sæl* goes back to older *ō*.)—*spanan* belongs, at least originally, to the sixth class, though the analogical *spēon* is found by the side of *spōn*.—For *tōgeladung* read *tōgelaðung*; for *unsēofene*, *unsēofende*.—*weorcwyrðe* denotes 'obliged to do service' rather than 'fit for work.'—The unique *yrfa*, i.e. Kentish *erfa* 'heir' deserves to be included, see Förster, *Altenglisches Lesebuch* 9.10.

Fr. Klaeber.

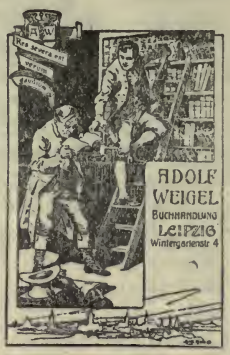
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ACCENT-MIXTURE AND SOUND-CHANGES

1. General

No problems of Germanic philology have been more frequently discussed than those connected with the nature and the cause of the consonant-shifts and umlaut. There are at present two different explanations of umlaut, the Wundt-Wilmanns theory of psychic anticipation, and the assimilation theory of Sievers, whereby the intervening consonant was assimilated to the following vowel, and the accented vowel then assimilated to the consonant. These are both merely attempted explanations of the *nature* rather than of the *cause* of the phenomenon. Prokosch in his *Sounds and History of the German Language*, p. 146, maintains that umlaut is non-Germanic, and due to Celtic influence. The consonant-shifts have generally been explained as the result of an increase in the force of expiration. Hans Meyer, *ZfdA* XLV, 101 ff., attributes this increase to migration into a mountainous region. Prokosch has emphasized also the element of muscular tension by the side of intensity of expiration, but he says on p. 96 of his book: "of the two factors, the intensity of expiration is the primary, the muscle tension the secondary one." He uses the expression 'strengthening of articulation' to include these two opposing factors, and explains the phenomenon as an inherent phonetic tendency of Germanic speech.

I should like to present here a theory according to which all these phenomena are explained as the result of the mixing of two different types of accent, the Nordic (North German) and the Alpine (in its purest form, French). This view eliminates entirely increase of expiration as a *positive* factor in *causing* consonant shifting, and reduces the whole problem to one of *antagonistic muscular reaction*. It also asserts that the Germanic and High German consonant-shifts are in their origin identical with Celtic *lenition*, i.e., they were all three brought about by the same cause. Feist, *PBB* 36, 307 ff., claims identity of origin for the Celtic and High German shifts, but excludes the Primitive Germanic shifts. Furthermore, he offers no physiological basis for his contention. My theory is quite different from Feist's. Pedersen, *Kelt. Gram.* § 303, raises the question as to whether there may not be some connection

between the Celtic and Primitive German shifts of *p t k*. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, p. 123, and Ginneken, *Principes de Linguistique psychologique*, both attribute the Primitive Germanic consonant-shifts to Celtic influence; but here again my theory is different. It does not seem probable that one language should influence the phonology of a neighboring language. Sound-changes are either spontaneous, or the result of real race and language mixture, i.e., the imposing of a new language on a people, and I am inclined to believe that the latter is by far the more important factor, although I do not wish by any means to deny the occurrence of spontaneous sound-changes. Umlaut, as well as consonant-shifting, can be best explained as the result of race and accent mixture, although the physiological factor involved in umlaut is not one of antagonistic muscular reaction, but a different one, which will be explained later. Before discussing the consonant-shifts, a few preliminary remarks are necessary.

2. Antagonistic Muscular Reactions

All the muscles of the body are arranged in pairs, each of which may be looked upon as the antagonistic muscle of the other. When one of the pair is innervated, or contracted, there is a simultaneous inhibition, or relaxation, of the opposite muscle; e.g., when we raise the arm, the flexors are contracted and the extensors are correspondingly relaxed; when we extend the arm, the reverse reaction takes place. Now it is a matter of common observation that, if we start to thrust the arm out very energetically, we first involuntarily draw it up by way of preparation. Any unusually strong contraction of a muscle is generally preceded by a contraction of the antagonistic muscle. (Cf. W. G. Smith, *Mind*, 1903, pp. 47 ff.) This preliminary contraction of the antagonistic muscle and the corresponding *relaxation* of the primary muscle increases the final output of energy in the main or primary reaction. On the other hand, this very energetic thrusting out of the arm is also followed by a corresponding rebound, a *relaxation* of the extensor and a re-contraction of the opposed muscle; and this antagonistic reaction which *follows* the main contraction is stronger than the *preparatory* reaction. In other words, we have a rhythmic movement in which a primary muscular contraction constitutes the dominant element of a group, being both preceded by and followed by the antagonistic reaction, which means a *relaxation* of the primary muscle. It is

in an exactly similar manner that the muscles in the larynx work: the glottis is closed and opened, the vocal cords are made tense and relaxed, by pairs of muscles which are attached to the arytenoid cartilages; and any unusually great tension of the vocal cords will be preceded by and followed by a contraction of the antagonistic muscles and the corresponding relaxation of the vocal cords and the opening of the glottis. The application of this principle to the production of speech-sounds will be made in paragraphs 3 and 7.

3. Nature of Accent

The view is still very prevalent that stress depends upon the force with which the air-current is expelled from the lungs through the larynx and mouth. A large and strong current of air issuing from the mouth, as in the case of aspirated stops, is generally called an *expiratory accent*. By the side of this theory of expiratory accent, we have Forchhammer's theory of *glottal accent*, (Cf. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, § 7.3, and Prokosch, *JEGPh.*, 11 p. 2) according to which stress is regulated by the width of the glottis; to strengthen the stress, the glottis is narrowed, to weaken it, the glottis is widened. I believe that Forchhammer has given the correct explanation of what happens in ordinary speech. Ginneken, *Linguistique psych.*, p. 292, has tried to reconcile these two theories of stress by claiming expiratory stress for consonants and glottal stress for vowels. Jespersen (§ 7.32) accepts this view with the modification that we should make the distinction not for vowels and consonants but rather for voiced and voiceless consonants. I should like to advance the view that in ordinary speech, there is no such thing as a positive and primary expiratory accent. Stress or emphasis always expresses itself in the form of some muscular contraction; in ordinary speech, the only muscles that are contracted are those of the vocal cords and the mouth, for the act of expiration itself represents the relaxing of the diaphragm; it is the negative side of the muscular act, the return to the state of repose. In singing or shouting, the expiration may be partly controlled and aided by the chest and abdominal muscles, but this is not true in speech. I believe that all stress is a matter of contraction of the vocal cords (and the coördinated muscles of the mouth), a narrowing of the glottis; that there is no conflict between this glottal accent of voiced sounds, chiefly vowels, and the so-called expiratory accent of voiceless consonants; that the latter is merely an *apparent*, not

a *real* stress of the consonant; it is rather a natural phenomenon accompanying the increased stress of the *vowel*, the unavoidable result of the antagonistic muscular reaction at the vocal cords, whereby the glottis is widened both before and after the energetic primary contraction. The real muscular energy, or the culmination of the contraction, falls primarily on the vowel of the syllable, i.e., on the vocal cords and the coördinated mouth muscles. In speech we do not pronounce isolated consonants; we pronounce them only in connection with a vowel. If for any reason the syllable stress is very strong, i.e., if the vocal cords are made very tense for the vowel, there will appear both before and after this primary contraction an antagonistic reaction, resulting in a widening of the glottis, and this widening permits a stronger current of air to escape into the mouth than would escape if the syllable were not so strongly stressed. In pronouncing with a strong accent such a syllable as *pat*, the larger quantity of air which escapes through the glottis during the two periods of antagonistic muscular reaction is banked up in the mouth, first at the lips and again at the tongue and teeth, and upon the breaking of each occlusion it rushes out, producing what is generally called an aspirated consonant. It is not correct, then, to say, as is often said, that the increased intensity of expiration forces the glottis open. The stronger air-current is not the *cause*, but the *result* of the widened glottis. When the lungs are filled (and we have to keep them fairly well filled for speaking), the air is always present under pressure, ready to rush out just in proportion as the glottis is opened.

4. Coördination of Muscular Reactions

So far, I have spoken only of the muscles in the larynx; but all ordinary speech-sounds, except the glottal stop, include also mouth articulation, i.e., contraction of the muscles of the tongue, lips, soft palate or jaw. Of course, the number of possible combinations is very great, but *within any given set* there is always a definite coördination between the reactions of the muscles in the larynx and in the mouth. In the act of articulation, the organism operates as a whole. For example, in any vowel there is a normal coördination between the muscular tension of the vocal cords and that of the tongue and lips, and any change in the degree of tension of the cords will be accompanied by a corresponding change in the tongue and lip tension. (See author, *JEGPh.*, 16, 168 ff.). Simi-

lar coördination exists in the consonants. There are four main groups of consonant articulation, stops and spirants both voiceless and voiced: *p t k, b d g, f þ χ, ƀ ð γ*. Now it is possible to pronounce any of these sounds with varying degrees of muscular tension, i.e., there are certain maximum and minimum degrees of tension within which a consonant may vary without losing its identity, but at the minimum stage it is likely to be misunderstood, or incorrectly heard, especially by one not familiar with that type of weakened articulation, as in the case of race-mixture, and such a person is likely to substitute for it the suggested sound of a different articulation set. This will be made clear in the remainder of this section and in paragraph 7. Let us examine first the voiceless stops *p t k*. (Tension of the vocal cords is not necessarily accompanied by their vibration.) The French manner of articulating voiceless stops, as pure fortes with tense lip and tongue muscles and no accompanying aspiration, may for purposes of comparison be taken as a sort of *ideal* or *theoretical* norm, representing the maximum of tension of this group. It has been fairly well shown by the experiments of Zünd-Burguets and Seydel (cf. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, § 6.73) that such stops are accompanied by a closed glottis; hence the absence of aspiration. If the muscular tension at the vocal cords and in the mouth be reduced a little, we have the voiceless lenes, as in South German b̥ d̥ g̊; in these the glottis is a little wider, and the lip and tongue contact less tense than in the pure fortes. The third degree of reduction results in the aspirated stops, as in North German, English, and Danish; in these the glottis is still more open, about in the *h*-position, and the lip and tongue contact is less tense than for the voiceless lenes. (Cf. Rousselot, *Principes de Phon. exper.*, p. 597 ff.) The Danish aspirated stops represent the extreme form of this stage. The fourth degree of reduction of muscular tension results in a wider glottis and a lip or tongue contact so light that one could scarcely say whether there is an occlusion or a narrowing; the spirant element is at least noticeable. This represents the minimum of *p t k* articulation; at this point the sound is very likely, especially under conditions of race-mixture, to jump over into the group of ordinary fortes spirants, *f þ χ*. But all four of the stages up to this point represent merely varieties of one and the same ideal articulation, namely, *p t k*, and a group of persons might pass

from one stage to the other and yet believe all the time that they were still pronouncing their *ordinary p t k.*[1]

Or again, let us take the voiced stops *b d g.* These are relatively less tense than the *p t k* group. The fortes occur e.g. in German *Flagge, Ebbe,* the lenes, with reduced tension, in *Liebe, Tage.* A further reduction of tension will give the voiceless lenes, b̥ d̥ g̊ as in South German *Bein, dein,* etc., and these may suggest and pass over into the *p t k* group. A still further reduction of tension results in very light spirants, such as the South German bilabial spirant *v* in *was, aber,* which is described by Sievers and Viëtor as being a light voiceless glide; these lenes sounds may suggest and pass over into the voiced spirants β̥ ð̥ γ.

The reduced grades of the ordinary *f* and β̥ articulation groups are identical respectively with the reduced grades of the *p* and *b* groups, and under circumstances may pass over into the latter. Instances of voiceless spirants becoming pure stops in Welsh and Armenian are mentioned by Pedersen, *Kelt. Gram.,* § 300: and German offers us examples of the change of voiced spirants to their corresponding stops.

May I repeat the point which I have tried to make, namely, that in any given articulation there is a definite coördination between the muscular reactions in the larynx and in the mouth, and any reduction of tension at the glottis is accompanied by a corresponding reduction at the lips, tongue, or soft palate. I believe that all the characteristic consonant-shifts of Celtic, Primitive Germanic, and High German *began* as reduced grades of the original sound, due to antagonistic muscular reaction which was called forth by an increase of *syllable* or *vowel* stress. The final form of the consonants in Primitive Germanic and High German is a matter of the substitution of a different, but suggested articulation, after they had become so far reduced as no longer to resemble their original articulation. Thus *p,* when reduced to its minimum of tension, approaches and suggests a spirant *f.* The increase of syllable stress with its consequent reduction of tension of adjoining consonants, and the substitution of the new suggested consonants, are the result of race and accent mixture. This will be made clearer by a brief statement of some facts concerning the Nordic and the Alpine races, and the type of accent which is peculiar to each.

[1] The affricatae *pf, tz, kch* are composite sounds, possibly a compromise between *p* and *f,* etc., due to race-mixture, see § 7, end.

5. Nordic and Alpine Races

Ethnologists distinguish at present three chief races in Europe: first, the tall, blond, long-skulled Nordics of northern Europe (chiefly North Germans and Scandinavians); second, the shorter and somewhat darker, round-skulled Alpines who occupy central France, southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and other countries to the east; and third, the Mediterranean race, which does not here concern us. The Nordics developed around the shores of the southwestern Baltic; they were the bearers of Indo-European speech. During the late Neolithic Age, while the Nordics were still living in comparative isolation in the Baltic Basin, the Alpines entered Europe from the southeast and occupied the fertile lands of the Danube, and Rhine, Weser Elbe. They possessed a superior civilization, practised agriculture, the domestication of some animals, and the art of pottery; later they also introduced bronze into northwestern Europe (1800 ? B. C.). In this period of their greatest expansion they reached Holland, northern Denmark, and southern Norway, where even today considerable traces of them are still found (cf. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, New York 1899, pp. 277 ff.). From the Alpines the Nordics acquired the superior civilization, and then, equipped with bronze weapons, they turned on their teachers and began their remarkable career of expansion in successive waves of migration toward the south, the east, and the west. They everywhere conquered the Alpines (and, east of the Carpathians, other races), pressing many of them from the fertile valleys back into the hills and mountains, and superimposing their Nordic or Indo-European speech on them. The last two of these waves resulted in the developments which we know as *Celtic* and *Germanic* in the broadest meaning of these terms. They represent a permanent mingling of Nordics and Alpines. (The later Italics and Greeks passed on through Alpine territory and settled in the south. The Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic groups developed east of the Carpathians among a non-Alpine people sometimes called sub-Nordics. The present extensive broad-headedness among Slavic peoples is the result of a later slow expansion of Alpines eastward during the first eight or nine centuries A. D. See § 9.4).

The Celtic migration was first up the valleys of the Elbe, Weser, and Rhine, and into Holland (about 1000 B. C.); then across into the British Isles (800 B. C.), and also farther south into the

Main and Danube regions. As the lower valleys of the Elbe, Weser, and Rhine were vacated by the Celtic Nordics, the Alpines reasserted themselves here for a time, until they were again crowded back by the next big wave of Nordic migration (about 400-200 B.C.), the Primitive Germanic. It was during this period that the Germanic group as a unit came in contact with the Alpines (Primitive Germanic consonant-shifts). This movement did not advance very far to the south and west, but was checked and diverted to the north. No doubt the later Scandinavians formed the vanguard of this Primitive Germanic migration and represent the greatest mingling of Germanic Nordics with Alpines; being pressed from behind by their kinsmen, and unable to advance farther toward the west or south, they turned northward into Denmark and Sweden. (See § 9, 3).

After another three or four centuries, when Celtic power in central and south Germany had waned, groups of Germanic Nordics moved southward up the Rhine, Weser, and Elbe, subduing and mingling with Alpines and imposing Germanic speech on them. This language of central and south Germany which developed during the first six or seven centuries A. D. owes its chief peculiarities to the fact that it is Germanic speech in the mouth of Alpines. Whether the Alpines spoke Celtic or Roman or some aboriginal language is immaterial to our contention, as will appear in the following section.

6. Nordic and Alpine Accent

If we examine the general type of word and sentence accent found today among Alpine peoples, French, South Germans, Austrians, and some Slavic branches, we observe a certain similarity in some general characteristics, and these are in marked contrast to the characteristics of the accent of the Nordic peoples, North Germans, English, and Danes.

The Alpine race distributes the accent more uniformly over all the syllables of a word or sentence; it does not have strongly and weakly stressed syllables standing in sharp contrast to each other; it operates nearly all of the time with a very narrow or closed glottis, hence the absence of so-called aspirated stops; it shows a tendency to conserve the supply of air, expending it in a slightly crescendo manner, as in French. The muscular contractions and relaxations are slow and gentle, not sudden and brusque.

(cf. Rousselot, p. 483.) In regard to tongue shape, it prefers the rill consonant *s* to the slit consonant *þ* (see Jespersen *Lehrbuch*, 3. 4).

The Nordic race, on the other hand, condenses most of the energy into one syllable, and in early Indo-European times this was generally the psychologically emphatic syllable. (Since in so many cases this accent fell on the first syllable, the Alpines generalized the type; this would explain the shift of accent to the first syllable in Celtic and Germanic.) This type of accent is characterized by sudden attack and release of articulation, by more marked contrasts of muscular tension and relaxation, by more sudden opening and closing of the glottis, hence the prevalence of aspirated stops and the glottal stop; the slit consonant *þ* is very common. The Alpine type might be described as a 'distributed accent,' the Nordic as a 'condensed accent.'

I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that there is any inherent or causal connection between the physical race type and the accent type; each type of accent is merely habit, and how it arose no one knows. But I do believe that there is no element of speech more stubborn, more persistent, than the general type of accent, the general manner of expending, controlling, and modifying the current of air. A thing so fundamental as the physiological functioning of the organs of speech must remain more or less constant through thousands of years and tend to reassert itself after every disturbance. The repeated superimposings of Nordic speech on the Alpines constituted such disturbances; the French have succeeded in restoring their racial speech tendency, because they have been long removed from any close national and linguistic connection with the Nordics. The South Germans, because of such connections, are still in a state of compromise between the two tendencies; the Germanic speech with its strong first syllable accent is at variance with the natural Alpine type of distributed crescendo accent; but it is undoubtedly true that in South Germany and Austria the unaccented syllables are more strongly stressed and the accented syllables less strongly stressed than in North Germany, and there is also a marked absence of the glottal stop and aspiration, as compared with North Germany (cf. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, 6.21). Note also the Swiss tendency to stress slightly the suffix *-li*, *Bübli*, as compared with the unaccented *-le* and *-el* forms toward the north.

There are two facts which would seem to strengthen the contention that the present Alpine type of accent is very ancient with this race: First, modern Basque accents the last syllable, without suppressing very much the other syllables. Of course, the Basque question is far from settled, but it is not improbable that here we have to do with a survival of an aboriginal Alpine accent and language; at any rate, Celtic and Basque have several points in common, especially in the formation of the verb-system (cf. Pedersen, *Kelt. Gram.*, § 22). Second, in the Brittanic branch of Celtic at an early period the last syllable of the word bore the accent, as it still does in the dialect of Vannes in Brittany; and the sound-changes in this Brittanic branch can be best explained by assuming a musical accent (cf. Pedersen, § 180). Of course, musical accent means a more uniform distribution of stress over all syllables. It looks as though in this case the Alpine accent had prevailed over the Nordic, and this is very significant when taken in connection with the fact that the Brittanic Celts (Welsh) were the more easterly branch and remained on the continent among Alpines three or four centuries longer than did their Gaelic kinsmen (Irish).

7. Accent and Consonant-Shifts

If we examine the consonant-shifts in the light of the foregoing remarks, we shall find that just those things happened which we should expect to happen under the given conditions. My understanding of the different acts is as follows. About 1000-800 B. C., a group of Nordics, bearers of Indo-European speech, moved out from North Germany westward and southward into the Elbe, Weser and Rhine valleys, conquering and mingling with the Alpine population and imposing their language on them. This development we call the Celtic. The Alpines with their peculiar type of distributed crescendo accent did not find it easy to reproduce the Nordic speech in which the greater part of the energy was condensed into one syllable, frequently the first syllable of the word. In order to reproduce this new type of accent, they had to put forth an *unusual* effort, had to bring an *unaccustomed* amount of energy into the one syllable, i.e., they had to pronounce the vowel of the syllable, which represents the culmination of the energy, with unusual tension of the vocal cords and tongue and lip muscles. This unusual effort called forth an antagonistic muscular reaction both *before* and *after* the main contraction

(especially *after*), i.e., from the point of view of the main contraction there was a preliminary and a following relaxation of the vocal cords and naturally also of the coördinated mouth muscles. This relaxation fell on the consonants before and *especially after* the vowel, resulting in their less tense articulation. In its less pronounced form, this muscular relaxation before and after a strong contraction produces merely the so-called aspirated stops of North German, Danish, and English; but in connection with an unaccustomed effort it may assume larger proportions, the opening may encroach more and more on the consonant occlusion, until finally the former occlusion becomes a slight narrowing. This is the phenomenon known as 'lenition' or 'aspiration' in Celtic. (Cf. Pedersen, *Kelt. Gram.*, § 295, and Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, § 115.) Lenition is defined by Celtists as a reduction of muscular tension on the consonant, a more open position of the mouth, a less firm occlusion; thus, *p t k*, *b d g* following the accented vowel were pronounced as very lenes homorganic spirants. The same thing occurred initially when the preceding word ended in a vowel. It is to be noted that in Old Irish initial *p*>*f*>*h* and then disappeared entirely, as *athir*, Lat. *pater*. According to Pedersen, §§ 300 and 303, the beginnings of lenition reach back to about 800 B. C., and the phenomena were originally identical in both the Gaelic and Brittanic branches.

This Nordic colonization movement known as the Celtic was a very powerful one. During the next two or three hundred years, South Germany, Switzerland, France, and the British Isles were Celtized. As the Celtic Nordics moved southward, the Alpines, no doubt, moved in and reoccupied the valleys of the Weser, Elbe, and Rhine. Whether at this time they had all accepted Celtic speech, or a part of them had retained their original languages or dialects, it is impossible to say. But that is immaterial; the important point is that their racial habit of accent has always tended to reassert itself. And so, when about 400 B. C. the next waves of Nordic colonists, those known to us as the Germanic group, began to move out, following the same courses as their Celtic predecessors, they too came in contact with an Alpine population and Alpine speech-habits. The Primitive Germanic consonant-shifts were in their beginnings identical with Celtic lenition. We say that *p t k*>*f þ χ*, but what probably happened was that the stops after and before strongly stressed vowels were

pronounced with such reduced muscular tension that one could scarcely tell whether there was a light occlusion or a narrowing; the Alpines themselves undoubtedly thought they were still pronouncing *p t k*, but to the Nordic ear the sounds were rather spirants, and so they substituted for these weakened stop-spirants their ordinary fortes spirants *f þ χ*. Quite similar to this is the present practice in North Germany of substituting the familiar *f* initially for South German *pf*, as *Fund, Fad*, for *Pfund, Pfad*. I believe that this is the way in which the stops passed over into spirants. The change involved first a decrease, then an increase of muscular tension, for the ordinary fortes spirants are undoubtedly pronounced with about the same degree of tension of the mouth muscles as their corresponding stops; it is only the very lenes stop-spirants, the minimum of *p t k* articulation described in § 4 that represent a *reduction* of tension. The reduction of tension is due to an antagonistic reaction, of which the strengthened air-current is the result, not the cause; and the later increase of tension represents a substitution of a new suggested articulation.

Let us examine another group of Primitive Germanic consonant-shifts: *b d g>p t k*. This was also the result, first, of a reduction of tension followed by a Nordic substitution of a different but suggested articulation. If the *b d g* were voiced fortes stops, they were first reduced to voiced lenes, then to voiceless lenes, as we hear them today in South Germany. To the Nordic ear the element of *voicelessness* was the striking one, and so they substituted here their ordinary *p t k*, which were in all probability aspirated voiceless stops as at the present time.

There remain to be treated the aspirated voiced stops b^h d^h g^h. It will be recalled that no mention was made of such sounds in § 4. Jespersen finds no place for them in his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, and I am inclined to believe that there is no such thing; aspiration and voicing are almost contradictory terms. The glottis narrowed for a voiced consonant and for a following vowel has no opportunity to emit an aspiration. Prokosch states in the Introduction to his *Sounds and History of the German Language* that in his opinion the so-called mediae aspiratae were voiceless spirants *f þ χ*. I believe they were either this or voiceless or partly-voiced lenes stops. Let us assume for a moment that they were voiceless spirants. An ordinary labiodental *f*, e.g., would be reduced in the Alpine pronunciation to a lenis bilabial *f*, and this lenis lip

articulation would sound to a Nordic nearer to his voiced spirant *ƀ* or his voiced stop *b*; and this is just what we find in Primitive Germanic. But if they were aspirated stops or lenes stops, then a reduction of tension would give, e.g., a light bilabial *v* (South German *w*), which would be replaced either by the Nordic labiodental *ƀ* or the labial stop *b*.

The third wave of migration occurred during the first few centuries of the Christian era, and resulted in the Germanizing of South Germany and the rise of the High German dialects. The phenomena of the consonant-shifts are almost identical with those of the preceding periods: *p t k*>*f* ʒ(<*þ?*) χ (*ch*), or *pf*, *tz*, *kch*; *b d g*>*p t k*; *ƀ γ*>*b g* (*ð* had become *d* also in North Germany).

The differences in the Celtic, Primitive Germanic, and High German shifts I would explain as follows. After the Celtic migration southward, the political and linguistic connection with the north was not kept up, as is evidenced by the great difference between Celtic and Germanic speech. The relatively small number of Nordics was gradually submerged in the large Alpine population; hence the persevering of the Alpine lenes stop-spirants and the failure of the Nordic substitutes, the fortes spirants and stops, to assert themselves in Celtic. In the second wave of migration, the Germanic, conditions were just reversed; the Nordics did not penetrate very far into Alpine territory; the movement was gradually checked and diverted back northward (Scandinavians) and eastward (Goths); the closer connection with the Alpines was not kept up, and the new speech-sounds which had resulted from the mingling of the two races persisted only in the form of their Nordic substitutes. In the third wave, the High German migrations, the Nordics came southward in such numbers that there was a real mixing of the two races, not an absorption of the Nordic by the Alpine; the consonants resulting from the mixture represent a kind of compromise: the lenis post-dental stop-spirant, the reduced grade of *t*, became in time a fortis spirant, but it was an Alpine *rill* spirant *s*, not a Nordic *slit* spirant *þ*. Prokosch calls this *Celtic* influence; I would call it rather *Alpine* influence. Again, *pf*, *tz* are newly developed composite sounds and represent the attempt to hold on to the Nordic stop, and at the same time the Alpine's inability to reproduce the Nordic aspiration; the Nordic's sudden glottal opening became in the Alpine mouth a slow and regular spirant opening *f*, *s*, hence the compound sounds

pf, *tz*. (cf. § 6). In the velar row, the greater rigidity of the back part of the tongue is not favorable to the development of an affricative, and so we have here generally the aspirated stop.

8. Umlaut and Consonant-Infection

The consonant-shifts have been explained as the result of antagonistic muscular reaction which arose from the clash of the Nordic and Alpine types of accent. The theory of accent-mixture offers us also a plausible explanation of the phenomenon of umlaut and consonant-infection, although the physiological principle involved is a different one. By infection, we mean the coloring of a consonant according to the mouth position of the following vowel, a phenomenon which is common in Celtic and Slavic, and which probably existed in Germanic speech at the time of the rise of umlaut. Prokosch holds (*Sounds and History of the German Language*, p. 146) that umlaut is non-Germanic, and attributes it to Celtic influence. I would modify this statement by saying that it is non-Nordic, non-Indo-European; but it is perhaps equally true that umlaut and consonant-infection are also non-Alpine in aboriginal Alpine languages; they are rather the result of the *mixing* of the two types of accent. Let us see what would be likely to happen if a person with the Alpine accent is called upon regularly to reproduce the Nordic accent, if, instead of saying, e.g., *fáris*, about as in modern French, he has to say *fáris*. It is a fundamental proposition of psychology that every chain of physiological reactions representing a mental unit tends to express itself fully, to realize its goal, and this of course in the natural habitual manner of the individual's functioning. Furthermore, in every chain of muscular reactions, there is a dominant element, a moment of maximum contraction, and around this the other elements group themselves as subordinates. Now when the Alpine reverses his normal form of reaction, and puts into the first syllable the bulk of the stress, thus forcing an element of the chain to become the dominant which is for him not the normal dominant he is still unable fully to abandon his normal dominant; the vowel *i*, in such a series as *faris*, partially preserves its old domination, continues to exert a strong influence on the reaction chain of which it is a part, and even when trying to suppress it or get away from it, he will unconsciously run off into it or at least part way toward it. In the language of psychology, this muscular reaction represents

the lowest degree of resistance, and is liable to be set off before its time by any other reaction that comes near it. Now any accented vowel does come physiologically só near that its muscular reaction runs off into the reaction for *i*, thus coloring the quality of the first vowel and naturally also of the intervening consonant. Thus we may say that umlaut results from the forced substitution of a new unnatural dominant for the old, habitual, natural dominant; the muscular reaction of the vowel which he *must* accent glides off into the reaction corresponding to the vowel which he unconsciously *wants* to accent. The infection (palatalizing or velarizing) of the consonant is merely incidental, because it is in the way, it intervenes between the two vowel reactions which he cannot keep apart. (In a combination such as *mah-ti*, the velar spirant, being an integral part of the syllable *mah*, strengthens the velar reaction of *a*, and thus offers an obstacle to the *i*-reaction, but in time this is overcome.) The vowel of the final syllable loses its independence, it gets over into the first syllable, and the result is either a vowel with a glide (Slavic, Celtic, French), or a new vowel which represents a muscular compromise between the two original reactions (German): *a*> *e* (halfway between *a* and *i*), *u*>*ü*, *o*>*ö* (tongue contraction of *i*, *e*, lip contraction of *u*, *o*), *farit*>*ferit*, with a weakened *i*,>*fährt*; *wurfil*>*würfel* (*würfl*). After the new vowel is firmly established, and the vowel of the final syllable has disappeared or weakened, the infection of the consonant may be abandoned, as in Germanic, or retained, as in Celtic and Slavic.

Umlaut was induced by *j* as well as by *i; nasjan*>*nerien*> *nähren*. There is a physiological and also a psychological basis for the dominance of *j*. (a) Physiologically, the South German (Alpine) *j*-sound is an *i*-glide, it is more vocalic, more syllabic than the North Germanic *j*, which is a narrow spirant; the Alpine accent would be *na-si-an*, with crescendo tendency, rather than *nás-jan*. (b) But especially psychologically is the *j* dominant because in suffixes it is the sound element with which often a definite meaning is associated; e.g., *-jan* made *causative* verbs, *nasjan*, *satjan; -jan* made names of *agency*, *arbjo*, *erbeo*, *erbe*, one who inherits; *gisellio*, *geselle*, one who occupies the same room (Saal). All that has been said of *i*, *j* umlaut applies equally to *u*, *w* umlaut of Celtic, Slavic, and Old Norse. Why it did not occur also in High German I do not know.

The weak point in Sievers' and Wundt's explanations of umlaut is that they do not give a *reason* for the potency of the unaccented *i, j* of the final syllable. I believe that my explanation offers a plausible reason, and cures this defect.

9. Concluding Remarks

1. In the discussion of consonant-shifts, no mention was made of consonants in the neighborhood of unaccented vowels, e.g., Primitive Germanic pp. *haƀaná*<*capaná* (Gothic *háfjan*, Latin *cápio*). Such cases are rare. There are two possible explanations: (a) they are the result of a generalizing of the new consonants; (b) in unaccented syllables, the whole articulation, both of vowels and consonants, is with very slight tension; *p t k*, e.g., are reduced to the minimum of tension and suggest and pass over into the spirants. For a discussion of Verner's Law, cf. Prokosch, *JEGPh.*, 11, 1 ff., and author, *JEGPh.*, 14, 348.

2. In the Germanic languages, umlaut appears later than the consonant-shifts, and no doubt this was the case also in Celtic. This is just what we should expect. In the beginning of the contact of the two races the attention of the Alpine is centered strongly on the new syllable to be accented; this calls for unusual effort, and the antagonistic muscular reaction connected with this results in the shifting (weakening) of the consonants. Later on, when the old type of accent begins to reassert itself, the last syllable of the word tends to force itself more and more into the dominant position, and the result is umlaut and consonant-infection.

3. The fact that umlaut is more extensive (labial) in Norse than in other Germanic dialects, I would explain in this way: in the first westward and southward movement of the Germanic group (about 400 B. C.), the vanguard consisted of those who later became the Scandinavians. This movement was checked and diverted toward the north, but the umlaut tendency had already been given by the contact with Alpines.

4. If aske dwhy Slavic exhibits umlaut and consonant-infection, but not the consonant-shifts, I would say that Slavic first developed east of the Carpathians among a non-Alpine people, a people sometimes designated as sub-Nordic. Present broadheadedness among Slavs is due to a later *slow* infiltration of Alpines from the southwest during the first eight or ten centuries of the Christian era. What happened here was just the reverse of what occurred during

the Celtic and Germanic migrations. It was not a case of the sudden imposing of a new language on a whole Alpine population, but rather the very gradual adopting of the language by the Alpines in their slow expansion eastward. The two types of accent were not brought into such sudden and sharp conflict with each other. This difference in the two processes of race-mixture may possibly account for the failure of the consonants to shift. Furthermore, the sub-Nordic accent was perhaps less condensed than the pure Nordic, and the contrast between it and the Alpine was not great enough to call forth antagonistic muscular reaction. But the difference in the *position* and general *direction* (diminuendo) of the accent, which must have existed in a large number of words, was sufficient to cause the umlaut and consonant-infection (especially palatalizing).

5. This theory of accent-mixture seems to be plausible for the following reasons: (a) In the High German consonant-shifting (and here we are best informed as to the geography of the events) the characteristic changes did not take place and have not yet taken place in North-West Germany and Denmark, in territory that for two thousand years has not ceased to be Germanic; on the other hand, the changes did occur just in proportion as Nordics mingled with Alpines. What is true of the High German period seems to be equally true of the Celtic and Primitive Germanic periods. I cannot avoid the conviction that the clash of the two types of accent was the cause of the shifts. In answer to the objection that the Danish aspirated stops furnish us an instance of a spontaneous shift now taking place, I would say that Danish represents merely the extreme form of Nordic accent, that the stops are highly aspirated, but that we are not justified in predicting that they will ever pass over into anything else; at least they have not done so in two thousand years of isolation. (b) The theory offers a single explantion for consonant-shifts, umlaut, and infection in Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic. (This theory does not affect Prokosch's view of the development of accented vowels in the direction of increase in tension: it merely assigns a different *reason* for the increase.) (c) The ancient language of the Longobards of northern Italy, a Germanic dialect in the mouth of Alpines, exhibits practically the same consonant-shifts as the High German. (d) Some of the most characteristic consonant changes of French and Raetoromanic (two Alpine

developments of Latin with its condensed Nordic accent) rest upon the same principle, namely, a decrease of muscular tension in the neighborhood of accented vowels, due to antagonistic reaction: Old French *patre>padre>paðre>père; sapone>sabone>savon; securu>seguru>sejur>sur;* i.e., voiceless fortes became lenes, then lenes spirants, and either disappeared or jumped over into a new but suggested articulation. Raetoromanic *fudurum <futurum; ebistola<epistola; logus<locus;* i.e., the voiceless fortes became voiceless lenes, written *b d g*. Kaufmann, *ZfdP.* 46, p. 360, contends that the South German voiceless lenes arose under the influence of these Raetoromanic voiceless lenes. But whence the Raetoromanic voiceless lenes from Latin fortes? I maintain that both originated in the same manner and from one common cause: in each case, we are dealing with Nordic accent in the Alpine mouth. (Latin, like German, accents one syllable strongly.) In each case, the voiceless lenes resulted from a decrease in muscular tension due to an antagonistic reaction; in Upper German, voiced stops became voiceless lenes stops, and in Raetoromanic, voiceless fortes became voiceless lenes stops. The changes in orthography, in the one case from *b d g* to *p t k*, and in the other from *p t k* to *b d g* merely indicate the effort to represent the *voiceless lenes*. (e) French, in its development of postconsonantal *j*, exhibits a phenomenon which is physiologically identical with the consonant-infection and umlaut of Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic; e.g., *potjone>potsjone>poison; batalja>bataille* (*bataj*, or *bata^{i}*), *montanja>montagne* (*monta^{i}gne*).

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HEBBEL, HEGEL UND PLATO

I

Ueber Friedrich Hebbels Beziehungen zur Hegelschen Philosophie ist in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten der Hebbelforschung so viel Wertvolles geliefert worden, dass sich eine eingehende Darstellung dieses Themas nur als unnötige Wiederholung erweisen würde. Für ausführliche Beschreibungen mit den Belegen verweise ich deshalb auf O. F. Walzels Buch, "Hebbelprobleme" (Leipzig 1909) und lege mir zum Verständnis dessen, was ich darüber hinaus zu sagen habe, bezüglich der grundlegenden Bemerkungen förderlichste Beschränkung auf.

Die Dialektik Hegels ergibt sich aus der Philosophie des Dualismus und des Widerspruchs. Ohne Widerspruch erhebe sich kein Neues, ohne Gegensätze sei keine Entwickelung. Alle organische Bewegung sei Entwickelung; Entwickelung sei der gesamte Lebensprozess. Er beruhe auf dem dauernden Ausgleich der Gegensätze. Weltgeist aber, Weltgrund, Universum und Gott müssten als die "Idee" verstanden werden. Die höchste Stufe sei erreicht, wenn der Geist sich seiner selbst bewusst geworden. Es müsse erkannt werden, dass wie Poesie aus dem Subjektiven der Musik und dem Objektiven der bildenden Kunst, wie das Drama aus dem Subjektiven der Lyrik und dem Objektiven des Epos entstehe, ein Begriff—und das ist Philosophie—hervorgegangen sei aus der Anschauung einer Form (Kunst) und aus der Vorstellung des Geistigen (Religion). Schwieriger als dies ist schon der Unterschied von absolutem und bewusstem Geist; doch der absolute Geist ist identisch mit der Idee. Indem nun aber die Idee zur Natur wird, verleiht diese ihm das Bewusstsein. Die objektive Natur ist die Durchgangsstation der Idee zum bewussten Geist. Durch unser Denken vollzieht sich dieses Umschaffen, welches ein Werden ist. Da aber die Natur sich ständig formt, so formt sich auch die Idee in ihrem Durchgehen zur Bewusstheit. Dieses Werden des Denkens ist der Inhalt der Philosophie. Nicht also bloss die kausalen Zusammenhänge werden ergriffen, sondern die Erscheinungen werden ideal gedeutet. Das Anschauen aber des objektiven Geistes ist das Schöne. Wenn Idee und Erscheinung als ein Eins erfasst werden, so nennen wir das klassisch; wird es

als Gegensatz begriffen, so streben wir zur Versöhnung: dies ist Romantik.

Hebbel glaubte aus den Hegelschen Anschauungen eine Verachtung der Kunst herauszulesen, die ihm des Widerspruchs wert schien. In der Vorrede zur Maria Magdalene bedient er sich der Hegelschen Ausdrücke, um das Drama als Kunstgattung gegen Unterschätzung zu rechtfertigen. Auch bei Hebbel ist Zentralpunkt das Werden, das aus dem Widerspruch sich ergebende Neue. "Das Werden, nicht das Gewordene ist für den Dichter—der Mensch ist seiner Zukunft wegen." "Das Drama stellt den Lebensprozess an sich dar in dem Sinne als es uns die bedenklichen Verhältnisse vergegenwärtigt, worin das aus dem ursprünglichen Nexus entlassene Individuum dem Ganzen gegenüber steht. Das Drama ist auf gleiche Weise ans Seiende wie ans Werdende verwiesen. Hierbei ist nicht zu übersehen, dass die dramatische Schuld unmittelbar aus dem Wollen selbst hervorgeht, dass es daher dramatisch völlig gleichgültig ist, ob der Held an einer trefflichen oder an einer verwerflichen Bestrebung scheitert."—"Man muss unmittelbar an die ins Leben selbst verlegte Dialektik denken." "Kunst ist die realisierte Philosophie, wie die Welt die realisierte Idee." "Kunst und Philosophie haben ein und dieselbe Aufgabe, aber sie suchen sie auf verschiedene Weise zu lösen."

So weit hat Hebbel in der Tat für das Drama auf Hegel verwiesen. Wichtig ist, dass er die tragische Schuld von dem Begriff der Sünde ganz emanzipiert, wie wir ja Spuren davon schon bei Goethe und Schiller finden. Allein tragisch-schuldig ist der Widerspruch, dem das Kainsmal nur dadurch genommen wird, wenn der Widerspruch entwickelungsgeschichtlich notwendig ist. Was notwendig ist, kann nicht Sünde sein. Hegels Identität von Notwendigkeit und Sittlichkeit bedingt bei Hebbel die neue Konzeption von tragischer Schuld, die man dann direkt tragische Unschuld genannt hat, denn das Wort tragisch bezeichnet eben die Notwendigkeit und das Wort Unschuld kommt unserm Gefühl von Sündlosigkeit näher.

Hegel hat sich für das Drama nicht zu Ende denken können. Hebbel wagte den Schritt und hatte damit den Schluss gegeben: das Drama ist realisierte Philosophie. Wir können hinzufügen: Hegelsche Philosophie. "Das neue Drama wird sich von Shakespeare dadurch unterscheiden, dass die dramatische Dialektik

nicht bloss in die Charaktere, sondern unmittelbar selbst in die Idee hineingelegt, dass also nicht bloss das Verhältnis des Menschen zu der Idee sondern die Berechtigung der Idee selbst debattiert wird."—Dies ist, soviel ich weiss, ganz komprimiert der Inhalt der bisherigen Darstellungen des Verhältnisses Hebbels zu Hegel.

Es lässt sich aber dem letzt angeführten Zitat dann noch manches hinzufügen.

Wenn Hegel von des Menschen Verhältnis zur Idee spricht, so scheint es mir, als ob bei Hegel diese Idee in dem jeweiligen Zustand, in der Gesamtheit materialisiert erscheint. "Der blosse Boden und Zuschauer" ist bei Hegel "tadellos und neutral," das "unentzweite Bewusstsein vom Göttlichen," und wir sehen "das sittliche Leben in seiner geistigen Allgemeinheit," im Staat. Wo aber diese Allgemeinheit vielleicht noch nicht "bestimmte rechtsgiltige Staatsgesetze und feste religiöse Dogmen darbietet, da muss der Chor die Idee darstellen, die den sittlichen Verfehlungen entgegen zu halten sind." Nach Hegel löst der tragische Ausgang in uns das Gefühl der ewigen Gerechtigkeit aus, die alle einseitigen und nur relativ berechtigten Zwecke und Leidenschaften vernichtet. Es ist für mich kein Zweifel, dass Hegel letzten Endes mit seinem "Sieg der Sittlichkeit" praktisch die moralische Superiorität der Allgemeinheit über dem Einzelnen zustande gebracht hat. Philosophie ist nichts abstrakt Übermenschliches sondern geht jeden Einzelnen aufs innigste an und "lebt" solange es Menschen gibt. Hegel nun als Philosoph der Entwickelung des Geistes musste notwendigerweise die Moral der Menge als den jeweiligen Standpunkt der historisch verkörperten Idee ansehen. Relativ ist diese Sittlichkeit nur, wenn gemessen an der Idee, die das nächste Zeitalter verkörpert. Absolut ist sie, wenn gemessen an dem Einzelnen, der sich von ihr löst und zu ihr in Gegensatz tritt. Dies letzte wird im Drama dargestellt, wo der Held im Kampf gegen die allgemeine Sittlichkeit zu Grunde geht. Dies ist das Hegelsche Drama. Das Bemerkenswerte dabei ist, dass er kaum einen Unterschied zwischen antikem und modernem macht, denn er nennt "die ähnliche Gerechtigkeit, die zur Versöhnung führt, bei den modernen nur teils abstrakter, teils von kälterer kriminalistischer Natur."

Hebbel nun hat viel schärfer als Hegel folgendes erkannt: Wie, wenn der Held im Jahre 900, der sich gegen die Menge stemmt und gegen sie untergeht, jene Sittlichkeit repräsentiert, die im

Jahre 1000 schon die Gesamtmoral darstellt? Wie, wenn der Mensch, den man heute kreuzigte, weil er es wagte, einen neuen Gedanken zu denken, morgen ein gewöhnliches und geduldetes Mitglied der Gesellschaft wird, weil sich die Menge eben seiner Gedanken bemächtigt hat? Wie, wenn mit dem Tod des tragischen Helden zugleich die neue Zeit verkündet wird, die nun ihrerseits über die alte Menge triumphiert? Darin muss in der Tat die höhere Versöhnung liegen. Wir sehen zwei ethische Anschauungen, zwei "Absolute." Und das ist es, was Hebbel als das "Werdende" bezeichnet. Hebbel übertrumpft Hegel durch eine ganz konsequente Durchführung der Lehre des ersten Romantikers Heraklit. "Alles fliesst"—das heisst auch das Seiende Hegels, welches, wenn man nun ganz konsequent sein will, überhaupt nicht existiert. Will also bei Hebbel die Berechtigung der Idee auch zugleich debattiert sein—und Debatte heisst im Drama Kampf auf Leben und Tod—so musste Hebbel zugestehen, dass die Menge und ihre Gesamtethik auch gekreuzigt werden kann. Es führte hier zu weit, auf die Individual- und Gattungsidee einzugehen. Ich muss da auf das epochemachende und viel angefeindete Buch von Arno Scheunert hinweisen. (Der Pantragismus als System der Weltanschauung und Aesthetik Friedrich Hebbels. Hamburg und Leipzig 1903 S. 74 ff.)

Welche sublim praktischen Resultate das neu Gefundene haben musste, ist offenbar, denn wir können nur gestehen: im Hegelschen Musterdrama siegte die Sittlichkeit rein äusserlich durch brutale Gewalt. Es siegte die Zahl. Bei Hebbel hingegen, der sich heiss bemüht, alle schwarzen Personen und Teufelskerle fernzuhalten, siegt im rohen Sinne weder das eine noch das andere vermöge physischer Kraft, sondern durch diejenige Stärke, die uns von der Idee selbst verliehen ist, die höher und immer höher schliesslich zur Vollendung der Menschheit sich in Gott selbst hinein verliert.

So ist denn das Hebbelsche Drama aufzufassen als die künstlerische Darstellung der gerechten Verteilung der weltsittlichen Momente—gleichgültig, ob dabei die Wage zugunsten des Einzelnen oder der Menge sich neigt, Hebbel selbst spricht ja auch von der dem Weltprinzip innewohnenden Eigenkorrektur. Bei Hegel sitzt das Individuum auf der einen Wagschale, die hoch nach oben schnellt, während die Masse auf die andere Schale gepackt wird und nach unten zieht. Oder auch umgekehrt, wie mans eben nehmen will. Hebbels Drama jedoch stellt gerade den Prozess

dar, der ständig die gleiche Gewichtsverteilung vornimmt, sodass die Schalen zur Gleichgewichtslage kommen müssen. Das befähigt den Dichter, aus rein passiven Dingen tragische Gewalten zu entfachen. Wie stolz ist er, dass Agnes Bernauer nicht durch Handeln, sondern durch Sein ihren Tod finden muss. Am Ende des Dramas sind alle Wagen wieder adjustiert, "womit sich denn wieder einmal die Einheit des Subjekt-Objekts, das Tragische, herstellt" (E. A. Georgy. Die Tragödie Friedrich Hebbels. Leipzig 1904. S. 263.)

Hier sei mir gestattet, eine Einschaltung über die tragische Unschuld zu machen. Diese nämlich hebt den alten Schulbegriff von der tragischen Schuld keineswegs auf. Schuldig-Sein heisst nichts anderes als Abweichen. Alles Abweichen von einer festen Linie ist Schuld. Fragt sich da stets nur, was die Linie darstellt, wo ihre Höhenlage liegt und welche Himmelsrichtung ihr eigen ist. Wie im bürgerlichen Leben, besonders in demjenigen, das sich durch viel Klassen und getrennte Stände auszeichnet, sich Urteile besonders über moralisches Verhalten der Einzelnen widersprechen, indem ein jeder einen andern Massstab anlegt, d.h. die Tat aus verschiedenen Höhen und Entfernungen anschaut, so können alle Dinge der ethischen Lebensführung geradezu in ihr Gegenteil verwandelt werden, wenn man sich auf eine andere Höhenlage der Beurteilung begibt. Alle Paradoxien beruhen auf dem blitzschnellen Wechsel des Standpunktes des Beurteilers, auf dem rapiden Erfassen des "engeren oder weiteren Sinnes" eines Wortes. Ja, alle wahre Bildung beruht im Grunde nur auf der Trainierung des Geistes, die Dinge vom niederen und höheren Standpunkte zu erfassen und in diesem schnellen Wechsel gleichsam experimentierend zu denjenigen Assoziationen zu gelangen, die den fraglichen Gegenstand allseitig umleuchten und schattenlos machen.

Spricht man im gewöhnlichen Leben von einer "höheren und niederen Ethik," so werden sich gewiss Fälle finden, wo man eine Tat je nach dem Gesichtswinkel diametral entgegengesetzt beurteilen muss. Man hat also recht, wenn man eine tragische Schuld in eine Unschuld verwandelt, darf aber nicht vergessen, dass Hebbels Wort von dem besten Drama, das gar keine Schufte enthalte, eben nur dann gilt, wenn er an die niedrige Kleinbürger-Beurteilung denkt, die "an sich" völlig recht hat. Hebbels Dramen wollen aber nicht so beurteilt werden, weswegen seine Schurken

oft edel, hilfreich und gut "erscheinen," in seiner Höhenlage aber doch schuldig bleiben, denn ihre Tragik besteht im Abweichen, und dies ist Schuldig-Sein.

Was ich Hebbelsche Höhenlage nenne, ist die philosophisch-historische Betrachtungsweise. Von dieser aus muss es eine tragische Schuld geben, denn einmal ist tragische Unschuld ebensolcher Unsinn wie weisser Rappe, und dann gibt es ja ohne Schuld gar kein dramatisches Leben. Darin liegt der Grund für den Spiessbürger, dass er Hebbels Dramen langweilig findet, denn er sieht keine Schuld, die er so behaglich bei Iffland und Kotzebue verschluckt, selbst wenn er wie bei Maria Magdalene in seine eigene Atmosphäre hineinguckt. Und das ist es, was Theodor Poppe in seinem Werk (Friedrich Hebbel und sein Drama. Berlin 1900 S. 122.) meint, wenn er sagt: "Die Macht des Guten . . . soll unmittelbar über das Kunstwerk hinaus zu uns reden, d.h. zu den wenigen, die ihm in ein Reich ideeller Tragik folgen wollen und können." Arnold Scheunert (a.a.O.S.29) nennt diese höhere Schuld sehr glücklich die dramatische Schuld, im Unterschied von der anderen niedren tragischen Schuld. Es "kann" manchmal beides sich decken, d.h. in "Idealkonkurrenz" treten wie bei Golo. (Vgl. auch ebd. S. 134 ff., 137.)

Es war dieser Exkurs wichtig, weil die lebendige Vorstellung von den Veränderungen des urteilenden Gesichtspunktes im folgenden wichtig wird.

Der schon von K. W. F. Solger gefundene und von Hebbel begeistert gepflegte Satz, dass in der Antike das Kollektivum, bei Shakespeare das Individuum das Primäre sei, muss notwendig in uns die Vorstellung der besonderen Getrenntheit dieser beiden erwecken. Und wenn dann Hebbel sein eigenes Drama in einer solchen Weise definiert, dass diese Vorstellung von der Getrenntheit in die der Einheit oder besser Identität übergeht, so muss sich der phänomenologische Übergang durch eine Art Bewegung vollziehen. In welcher Richtung vollzieht er sich?

Klassisch Antikes bedeutet ein Ruhendes. Die Säule ist das Zeichen des Griechentums. Auf ihr ruht etwas, sie hält das Dach in wundervoller Kraft über der Erde. Die Götter sind ewig. Sie wohnen auf solchen Dächern und laden die Menschen zu Gaste. Sie verführen sie und können sie stürzen. Dann fallen sie in dunkle Nacht und ihr Atem ist denen da oben wie "leichtes Gewölke." Ich habe mir oft vorgestellt, dass mit dem Zusammen-

bruch der griechischen Götterwelt erst der Himmelsraum für die Menschen unendlich geworden ist. Weit und gross. Das verdunkelnde Dach stürzte ein, und der Aether öffnete sich.

In jedem Drama gibt es einen Kampf. Im antiken tritt ein grosser Mensch aus der Masse wie ein Vorkämpfer aus der Reihe der Krieger. Er wird grösser, grösser, steigt empor, stösst mit dem Kopf ans Dach und fällt herab. Er hat ein Moralisches verletzt, er hat sich den ewigen Göttern genähert, die über dem Moralischen der Allgemeinheit stehen—er fällt zerschellt in diese herab. "Wir sollen uns aufrichten, so hoch wir können bis wir anstossen," schreibt Hebbel am 7. Dezember 1839. Er hatte die Vorstellung des Daches.

Aber die Götter starben nun doch. Und die Einzelnen, die da doch anstossen wollen, haben den ungeheuren Raum vor sich, sie streben in den Aether hinaus um eine Welt in sich zu sein, sie liessen die Massen tief unten zurück, vielleicht kämpften sie gegen sie, vielleicht sich selbst heraus aus ihr—auf alle Fälle, sie waren Sie-Selbst. Es wären Sterne im leeren Raum, es war—Shakespeare.

Aber dann begannen wieder die Massen zu avancieren. Die Wesen wurden sozial, die Menschheit ein Teig, ein Brei, sie selbst waren zusammen ein Gott. Gott wurde der Mensch, die Menschen zusammen. Der antike Himmel war der Erde zugestrebt. Erde und Gott wurden jetzt identisch . . . Doch der unendliche Raum blieb, und die pantragischen Helden strebten wieder in ihn hinaus, um in der Katastrophe auf die grosse Linie zurückzufallen. Hebbel sah das Equilibrium wiederhergestellt. Sein Dualismus fordert am Ende die Gleichgewichtslage, die die Versöhnung dann ausmacht. Es hat dies auch Hegel gesehen, aber Hebbels Verdienst ist die Entdeckung, *dass die Gleichgewichtslage selbst kein Seiendes, kein Ruhendes ist.*

Hebbel wie auch Hegel sahen, dass der tragische Held der Künder der neuen Zeit ist und dass die Allgemeinheit auch fortschreitet, dies letztere im Gegensatz zur Antike—aber bei Hebbel schreitet sie schon in der Zeit vor, in der der Held vorangeht, und wenn das Equilibrium wiederhergestellt ist, dann hat die Allgemeinheit sich auch verändert. Um ein Bild zu gebrauchen: Bei Hegel wird der Ausgangspunkt, bei dem ein Läufer anfängt, verrückt in der Richtung des Laufenden, erst nachdem derselbe wieder zurückgekommen ist, bei Hebbel dagegen findet diese Verrückung andauernd und stetig statt. *Bei Hegel geht die Weltgeschichte*

ruckweise vorwärts, bei Hebbel gleichförmig. Die Versöhnung nun liegt bei Hegel noch ganz wie bei den Alten in der Tatsache von der Wiederkehr des Unversöhnten, natürlich meist als Toten, bei Hebbel jedoch viel komplizierter schon in der Tatsache, dass der Wiedergekehrte—ob tot oder lebendig spielt keine Rolle—die alte Heimat, die ihn einmal ausstiess, schon weitergerückt findet und zwar in der Richtung, die er selbst einst angab. Der grosse Unterschied besteht eben darin, dass die Antike die Masse, die ich als die Basis des Dramas ansehe, noch als unbeweglich ansah, sodass der Held tragisch und dramatisch wirklich schuldig war. Bei Hebbel wird der Held vermöge der Beweglichkeit der Masse schon ihr Führer, was dann die Zersplitterung der Schuld in die tragische und dramatische herbeiführt.

Für den trägen Zuschauer ergibt sich da ein Kuriosum. Hat er nämlich in sich selbst nicht das Nachziehen der Zeit vollzogen, wie es im Drama gezeigt wird, so muss in der Tat das Ende für ihn unbefriedigt sein, weil der Held ja nicht zu ihm mehr zurückkehrt, sondern zu der inzwischen hinaufgekletterten Basis. Er wird unbefriedigt und behauptet, das Stück habe "keinen richtigen Schluss."[1]

Ein Vergleich Macbeths mit Herodes und Mariamne kann dies leicht illustrieren. In Hebbels Tragödie ist Mariamnes Triumph im Erscheinen der drei Könige ausgedrückt. Sie verkünden die neue Zeit, die über Herodes' Kopf dahinschreitet.

[1] Die Rolle des Zuschauers bei den Hebbelschen Dramen ist bisher noch wenig beachtet worden. Wenn bei dem Dichter das intuitive Anschauen und die innere Sehkraft weit wichtiger für die Erkenntnis der Ideen sind als das Denken (Philosophie), so muss ich gestehen, dass die Dramen als die Resultate dieser Visionen erst einmal die Philosophie, das Denken im Zuschauer, der anfangs völlig unbeweglich ist, in Bewegung bringen. Insofern ist in der Tat das Hebbelsche Drama geradezu didaktisch, zwar nicht im Sinne Gottscheds, aber im Sinne der Philosophie überhaupt. (Im Gegensatz zu Scheunert a.a.O. S.33.) Walzel empfiehlt, nicht eher über Hebbel zu urteilen, bis man seine Dramen auf hochernsten Bühnen gesehen hat. Aber wenn irgend etwas im Einklang mit dem Dichter ist, so ist es sicherlich die Auftreibung unserer Emotionen und inneren Gesichte nicht durch die Sinne, sondern durch Denken, falls man das nicht gerade auch einen Sinnesreiz nennt. Da bei Hebbel Philosophie der Kunst untergeordnet ist, so ist Philosophie zur reinen Anschauung seiner Kunst, d.h. zum reinen Geniessen, wenigstens die Brücke über den finsteren Graben des Unbewussten, Verworrenen und billig Sensationellen. Theoretisch will er davon zwar nichts wissen, aber seine Dramen bleiben darin gewiss hinter der Theorie zurück. (Vg. auch Scheunert a.a.O.S.164.)

Das Kind, dem dieser Stern ins Leben leuchtet,
Wird hoch erhöhet werden und auf Erden
Kein Mensch mehr atmen, der sich ihm nicht beugt.

Höchst bezeichnend für Hebbel wie für das ganze neue Drama ist hier das Wort "erhöhet." Was ich oben das Hinaufklettern der Basis nannte, ist hier die Erhöhung. Mariamne wird in dem angekündigten Kinde erhöht. Das Anbrechen der neuen Zeit ist ebenso wie bei Shakespeare stets das Ende des Dramas, aber bei ihm heisst "neu" in Wirklichkeit nur "alt," denn wir empfinden nur die Eliminierung eines Bösen, das nicht im geringsten Spuren seines Wirkens hinterliess. Shakespeares letzte Szenen sind nur die Schliessungen eines Ringes, während Hebbels Schlüsse die neuen Anläufe einer Spirale sind. Hebbel hat in der Tat keinen richtigen Schluss, keine Befriedigung, weil mit der Zerstörung seiner Helden nur ein Positives erreicht wird, das sofort wieder der Anfang einer neuen Tragödie werden kann und so fort, "for the play of life ends only in eternity." Diese Worte, die Ludwig Lewisohn (The Modern Drama, 1915 p. 111) auf Hauptmanns Tragödienschlüsse anwendet, gelten ausgezeichnet für Hebbel. Wir finden auch dafür eine wichtige Tagebuchstelle. Hebbel schreibt am 3. April 1838: "Die höchste Wirkung der Kunst tritt nur dann ein, wenn sie nicht *fertig* wird. Ein Geheimnis muss immer übrig bleiben und läge das Geheimnis nur in der dunklen Kraft des *entziffernden* Wortes. . . . Im Lyrischen ist das offenbar. Was ist ein Roman, ein Gedicht, wenn es nicht unermesslich ist, wenn nicht aus jeder Auflösung des Rätsels ein neues Rätsel hervorgeht? Eben deshalb gehört ja das Didaktische, das beschränkte Sittliche, nicht hinein, weil es in der Idee den Widerstreit ausschliesst, weil es nichts gebären kann als sich selbst." Klar ist hier die unbewusste Anspielung auf Hegel.

Für das alte Drama ist Macbeths Schluss bezeichnend.

. the time is free:
. What's more to do,
which would be planted newly with the time,
. this, and what needful else
that calls upon us, by the grace of Grace,
we will perform in measure, time and place.
So thanks to all at once and to each one,
whom we invite to see us crown'd in Scone.

"Die Zeit ist frei!" Darin liegt alles. More to do!. . . . We will perform! . . . So sage ich denn, "Neu" heisst bei Shakes-

peare "Alt," und die sogenannte Befriedigung des Zuschauers beruht darin, dass er sich am Ende in den Anfang zurückversetzt glaubt, nachdem er durch das Verfolgen der Handlungen des Macbeth nur Emotionen durchlaufen hat, die sein altes Gewissen durch neu aufgepackte Vorsätze wohl reinigt, ihn aber am Schluss nicht auch "erhöht." So ist denn das *alte Drama "Reinigung," während das neue "Erhöhung" ist*, womit denn die Altmodischen geschlagen sind, die da sagen, das neue Drama sei nicht "erhebend."[2]

Und wenn das bekannte Wort von der Menschheitsgeschichte als einer Spirale wahr ist, dann sind das Hebbelsche und das naturalistische Drama in viel wahrerem Sinne historische Tragödien als die, die man bisher als solche bezeichnete. Ich war glücklich, dass ich das was ich über Kreis und Spirale bisher angedeutet habe, in Carl Heyders leider vergessenem aber ausgezeichnet klarem Buche "Die Lehre von den Ideen" (Frankfurt 1874 S. 218 ff.) bestätigt finden konnte. "Wie wir in Schellings früherer Philosophie zwei sich durchkreuzende Richtungen nachzuweisen suchten, die einer unendlichen Produktivität und Fruchtbarkeit, andererseits die teleologisch einem letzten Ziel des Vollkommenen zugewandte, so scheinen sich uns beide Richtungen auch bei Hegel nur in den logischen Schematismus umgesetzt und auf die Natur der Begriffe angewendet, aufzeigen zu lassen. Die eine finden wir in einer Bewegung, die durch das dem Absoluten immanente Prinzip der Negativität ins Unendliche fortgeleitet, einer endlosen

[2] Es soll hier an Scheunert (a.a.O.S.295 ff.) erinnert werden. In einem sehr schwierigen Kapitel vergleicht er Hebbels symbolisierende Betrachtungweise und Solgers höhere Erkenntnisart. "Das gewöhnliche Denken ist nur blosse Form der Verbindung von Allgemeinem und Besonderm, Gleichartigem und Verschiedenem; diese Form muss von einer höheren Erkenntnis mit Stoff erfüllt werden, und die Beziehungen von Allgemeinem und Besonderem u.s.w. müssen die Stoffe selbst erschöpfen. Eine der Hauptbedeutungen des Wortes Idee ist, dass die Erkenntnis Einheit des Allgemeinen und Besonderen und Einheit von Stoff und Form ist." "Und das Wesentliche an der höheren Erkenntnis ist also derjenige Zustand, in den unser Bewusstsein durch die Offenbarung Gottes in ihm in der Existenz versetzt wird. Dieser Zustand ist der Glaube, er ist die Gegenwart der Idee im Bewusstsein." Und "Das heisst, die Dinge werden einmal, um mit Hebbel zu reden, von bevorzugten "höheren Naturen" symbolisch betrachtet und andrerseits wird die Erkenntnis des absoluten Subjekt-Objekts vorausgesetzt. Beide Seiten der Erkenntnis sind, so sagt Solger weiter, im Grunde ein und dasselbe, d.h. alle Wahrheit in Natur und Sittlichkeit ist Offenbarung Gottes. Dies stimmt mit Hebbel überein, der Gott als das Prinzip pantragischer Vollendung betrachtet."

Spirale gleicht, die andre in einer Bewegung, welche Anfang und Ende verknüpfend, dem in sich geschlossenen Kreise entspricht, als einem Symbol des in sich Befriedigten, Vollkommenen, oder auch in einer Bewegung, die zum Vollkommenen teleologisch aufwärts leitend ihren Abschluss und Ziel in einem schlechthin sich genügenden und in sich ruhenden Volkommenen erreicht. . . . Wir glauben nicht, dass es Schelling und Hegel gelungen ist, diese beiden heterogenen Elemente und Richtungen in ihrer wirklichen Auffassung zu wirklichem Einklang zu bringen." Dies stimmt ausgezeichnet mit dem überein, was wir oben über Hegels antiquarischen Begriff der Tragödie sagten. Hebbel hat also Hegel nicht nur dadurch überwunden, dass er das Drama als künstlerisch realisierte Philosophie ansah, sondern auch, indem er sein Drama unbedingt derjenigen Richtung anschloss, die, wie Heyder sich ausdrückt, eine Spiralenbewegung ergibt, während Hegel das Drama noch der Kreisbewegung zuschob.

Mit solchen Verschiebungen in der Auffasung des modernen Dramas mussten sich auch andere Verhältnisse für die Schuldigen und Unschuldigen ergeben. " . . . fate is identical with character. The constant and bitter conflict in the world does not arise from pointed and opposed notions of honour and duty held at some rare climacteric moment, but from the far more tragic grinding of an hostile environment upon man or of the imprisonment of alien souls in the cage of some social bondage." Wiederum gelten diese Worte Lewisohns (a. a. O. S. 115.) nicht allein Gerhard Hauptmann, sondern im tiefsten Sinne Hebbel, der dann auch schon am 18. September 1835 schrieb: "Das Drama schildert den Gedanken, der Tat werden will durch Handeln oder Dulden." Hebbel am Scheidewege! Handeln weist ins alte, Dulden ins neue Land. Dulden und Handeln werden geradezu identisch. Mariamne ist schon ganz die nur Duldende. Und auch Herodes handelt keineswegs mehr im Sinne noch der Schillerschen Dramen. Wir dürfen darum auch nicht den König der Juden für den schurkischen Kulissenreisser des alten Dramas halten. Tuen wir es, so liegt das an unserm Auge, das durch die Entwickelung des Christentums unfähig geworden ist, anders als Mariamne zu sehen. Auch unsere fanatische Gier, allein von unserm Standpunkt moralisch abzuurteilen, spielt da mit hinein. Und ich meine, es müssen die "Helden" des Hebbelschen Dramas unserm Auge immer verkehrter erschienen, je historisch entfernter die Basis des be-

treffenden Dramas von dem Zuschauer ist. Für Agnes Bernauer gilt dann dies: Herzog Ernst und sein am Schluss geheilter Sohn müssen in dem Grade schwärzer und teuflischer werden, je geringer im Zuschauer die Staatsidee entwickelt ist, je tiefer er in den Anschauungen des demokratischen Individualismus steckt, je abscheulicher in ihm Staatsidee und Staatsinteressen werden. Demnach läge also das Neue und Übermenschliche der Hebbelschen Figuren in der Eigenschaft des hundertfältigen Schillerns, das aber nur durch die stets wechselnden Farbenempfindlichkeiten des Zuschauers bedingt wird, während die Figuren selbst farblos, wesenlos sind—faktisch nur Ideen.[3]

II

Es ist in Sonderheit diese Ideenfülle, die unsern Dichter für einen Teil der Kritik und des Publikums unverständlich macht. Es ist zu sehr unsere Gewohnheit, den tragischen Kampf von Menschen ausgefochten zu sehen, die ihre eigenen Ideen mit sich herumschleppen, als dass die Ideen sie schleppen.

Hierin liegt im Grunde das Neue. Weder die Kollektiv-Moral, noch das Individuum, sondern die Idee selbst ist nun das Primäre geworden, wobei man reine Idee freilich nicht mit philosophischer Spekulation verwechseln darf. In einem Brief vom 29. März 1857 ergeht Hebbel sich begeistert über den neu entdeckten Schopenhauer: " . . . er berührt sich vielfach mit mir, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass er als Philosoph Ideen zu Trägern

[3] Ein recht gutes Beispiel findet sich dafür in dem ohne jede Tiefe flüchtig hingeschriebenen Buche von Bernhard Münz. (Friedrich Hebbel als Denker. Wien und Leipzig 1907.2. Aufl.) Obwohl Münz Hebbels Briefstelle anführt "es ist nicht leicht, sich aus der modernen Welt heraus in eine Anschauung zu versetzen, etc.," gibt sich Münz doch am wenigsten Mühe, dies zu versuchen. Mariamne nennt er ein "psychologisches Rätsel," die die Pflicht hätte "sich den Kindern zu erhalten" (S. 77), ihre Liebe zu Herodes eine "Unmöglichkeit" (S. 73), Herzog Ernst wird als Mörder kaltlächelnd verdammt (S. 64). Wer Hebbels Dramen nicht mit historischen und philosophischen Augen ansieht wird freilich manche Schwierigkeit zu überwinden haben, denn die Gewaltsamkeit des Dichters richtet sich nicht nur gegen seine eigenen Kinder im Drama, sondern auch gegen ein Publikum, das denkfaul ist. Da Münz dies gründlich übersieht, so ist er auch imstande, sich vor Hebbels Individualismus als vor einem Egoismus so schrecklich zu fürchten. Seine "grosse, starke, echte, sonnenäugige Individualität" (S. 48) entbehrt sehr den "sonnigen Optimismus" (S. 51), den der Verfasser aufbringt, wenn er eine Briefstelle von Uechtritz "dem Gehege der Zähne " entschlüpfen lässt (S. 66).

der Welt macht, die ich als Dichter nicht ohne Zagen zu Trägern einzelner Individuen gemacht habe." Es ist diese Briefstelle, die uns den Übergang zu Plato erleichtert, der als Schöpfer der Ideenlehre bisher zu wenig im Zusammenhang mit Hebbel genannt worden ist. Was den Dichter an Schopenhauer im einzelnen besonders begeisterte, wissen wir nicht bestimmt, aber es ist sicherlich Platos Einfluss auf Schopenhauers Ideenlehre, der zur Untersuchung reizt, weil eben Hebbel gerade über Schopenhauers Ideen spricht und man im Verfolg einer Studie über Ideen im allgemeinen des griechischen Altmeisters kaum entraten kann.

Man hat schon lange erkannt, dass gerade bei Schopenhauer die Verbindung von Kants subjektivem und Platos objektivem Idealismus unmöglich ist. Für uns hier genügt es zu wissen, dass Schopenhauer bewusst wie Plato die Ideen als die Urbilder, die unbeweglich sind, ansah und ihnen jene ungetrübte Reinheit zusprach, die Plato zu dichterischem Enthusiasmus begeisterte. Es ist aber entscheidend, dass Schopenhauer den Ideen einmal alle Abhängigkeit von Relationen absprach und dann für sie stetig eine Distanz von der getrübten Erde gewahrt wissen wollte, die es nicht zulässt, dass die Erscheinungen durch beständige Reinigung sich in der Richtung auf die Ideen zu bewegen. Ob dies nun Grund oder Folge des Schopenhauerschen Pessimismus ist, bleibe hier dahingestellt. Hebbel aber hätte bei tieferem Eindringen in den Philosophen entdeckt, dass damit eine Unversöhnlichkeit zwischen beiden besteht, die des Dichters Theorien kaltblütig vernichtet hätte, denn für ihn muss die Beweglichkeit sowohl der Ideen als auch der Welt, insbesondere der Menschen nach einem Gottgleichen die Basis bleiben, denn "der Mensch," so schreibt er am 28. November 1838, "ist die Kontinuation des Schöpfungsaktes, eine ewig werdende, nie fertige Schöpfung, die den Abschluss der Welt, ihre Erstarrung und Verstockung, verhindert. Es ist höchst bedeutend, dass alles, was als menschlicher Begriff existiert, nicht vollkommen und ganz—wohl stückweise— in der Natur vorhanden ist, und alles was in der Natur vollkommen und ganz existiert, sich dem menschlichen Begriff entzieht, des Menschen eigene Natur nicht ausgenommen." Wenn Hebbel wie Schopenhauer geglaubt hätte, die Menschheit, die geschichtliche Idee, entwickele sich nicht aufwärts, sondern ziehe sich nur immer am eigenen Zopf aus dem Sumpf, schillere nur in wandelnden Bekleidungen, dann hätten seine Dramen überhaupt ihren Zweck

verfehlt, zum mindestens würde die Achse der Spirale hoffnungslos ein Kreis sein.

Diesen Gegensatz zu Schopenhauer teilt Hebbel dann aber auch mit Plato, denn bei ihm sind in dem Versuch, Eleaten, Pythagoreer und Herakliteer zu vereinigen, merkwürdigerweise die Ideen nur ein Seiendes, während sich die Erscheinungen, die Welt, bewegen. Schon Aristoteles aber hat darauf hingewiesen, dass beides sich nicht vertrage. Hebbels Briefstelle nun vom 18. Dezember 1856—also kurz vor seiner ersten Bekanntschaft mit Schopenhauer—zeigt ganz deutlich eine unbewusste Kritik der Platonischen Ideenlehre im Sinne des Aristoteles. "Ich wäre sehr geneigt," so schreibt er, "dieser Welt, die sich dem Ideal gegenüber so spreizt, ihre Realität zu bestreiten, denn was ist anders real in ihr, als das Gesetz und dies Gesetz, also ihr ganzer Inhalt, wurzelt im Ideal." Zunächst ist es klar, dass Hebbel hier unter Gesetz Naturgesetz versteht, welches als Ursache und Wirkung die reale Welt und den Menschen überhaupt bewegt. Soll aber nach Hebbel diese Bewegung als ideal gefasst werden, so entsteht ein Konflikt mit Plato, der seinen Idealen selbst Beharrlichkeit zuspricht und demgemäss gerade das Naturgesetz von der Bewegung aus der Welt der Ideen ausschloss, d.h. Plato kann Naturgesetze wie Gravitation, Evolution, Energie, Trägheitsgesetz etc., die in seinem Sinne unbedingt Ideen sind, nicht als auch wirksam für die Gesamtheit seiner Ideenwelt ansehen, insofern er diesen Ideen eine von uns getrennte Realität und Beharrlichkeit zuspricht. David G. Ritchie hat in seinem Werk ("Plato" 1902, p. 93) bewundernswert gesagt: "the ideas are no mere creations of our thought. He—Plato—asserts of them what in modern phrase we might call objective validity, though he has certainly not reached the modern interpretation of the objective as that which is valid for all minds, and is apt to picture it at least as if it had an existence independent of minds, because independent of any individual mind at any particular moment." In Bezug nun aber auf Hebbels Gesetz hören wir bei demselben Verfasser in diesem Zusammenhang: "We may regard the laws of nature as the thoughts of God—the interpretation which Christian theology put upon Platonic ideas. But Plato himself has put aside this interpretation as at least incomplete (Parm. 134 D. E.) for they must be our thoughts also if they are to be the objects of our science and philosophy."

Hebbels Anschauung scheint also kurz diese zu sein: Die Welt der Erscheinung ist bedingt durchs Naturgesetz. Dies Naturgesetz wurzelt im Ideal, ist Idee. Da die reale Welt also abhängig vom Ideal ist und deswegen ihre protzenhafte Realität einbüsst, so ist—echt platonisch—der Idee eine ausserhalb dieser Welt stehende Existenz zuzuschreiben. Freilich muss man sich hüten, die bei Ritchie erwähnte christliche Theologie hineinzumengen, denn aus einem Briefe an Uechtritz vom 12. März 1857 geht hervor, dass er den sittlichen Kern des Christentums hochhält, ihn aber keineswegs schon bei Plato oder Sokrates findet. Dies betrifft aber wie gesagt nur die ethische Seite.

Jedenfalls ist der Versuch einer Leugnung der Realität der Welt ganz Platonisch, weil auch Plato des öfteren diese Welt als eine nicht-seiende aufgefasst hat. Wenn Hebbel nicht ohne Zagen zwischen Welt und Individuen einen Unterschied macht, so kann dies nur dann aufrecht erhalten werden, wenn mit dem Untergehen aller Menschen auch die Ideen verschwinden, was aber nicht Platonisch ist. Freilich hat Plato in seiner späteren Entwickelung, besonders im Timaeus, dann versucht Brücken zu schlagen, indem er seit der Selbstkritik im Parmenides den Ideen doch eine grössere Teilhaberschaft an den "Dingen" zusprach und sie damit an der Entwickelung teilnehmen liess, die ursprünglich nur der Welt der Erscheinungen zukam. Wenn aber die Individuen auch "Dinge" sind, so war kein Grund zwischen Schopenhauers "Welt" und Hebbels "Individuen" einen so grossen Unterschied zu machen. Die Welt bewegt sich, die Menschen bewegen sich und die Idee getragen vom Individuum auch.

Und darin liegt nun auch der Punkt, wo sich Hebbel als Hegelianer von Plato verabschiedet. Ist allerdings Hegels eingehendes Studium Platos und Aristoteles' an seiner ganzen Philosophie des Widerspruchs mit schuldig, so hat Carl Heyder doch zweifellos recht, wenn er für die Methode und die Dialektik Hegel als Platos Gegner beurteilt. Was bei Hegel so markant hervortritt: die dialektische Bewegung des Begriffs, ist anti-Platonisch. "Dem Hegelschen Satze, dass das Wahre und Wirkliche an sich selbst widersprechend seien, würde sonach Plato nur mit Verleugnung seiner eigenen Ueberzeugung haben beipflichten können und stehen ihm die bestimmtesten Erklärungen Platos entgegen." (Heyder a. a. O. S. 223.) Anti-Platonisch und durchaus Hebbelisch ist die Auffassung, dass der Widerspruch im Denken eine Notwendigkeit

ist, nicht aber der Mangelhaftigkeit unserer Erkenntnis entspringt. Die endgültige Überwindung der zerstörenden Wirkung der Sophisten ist Hegels Verdienst. Dadurch konnte Hebbel als Hegelianer die Bewegung seiner historischen Ideen ganz im positivistischen Sinne dramatisch verwerten, sodass logisch Schopenhauer auch da ganz Hebbelisch sein kann wo er inkonsequent wird, nämlich anti-Platonisch.[4]

In Schopenhauers "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung I. No. 29" heisst es, dass der Charakter jedes einzelnen Menschen, sofern er durchaus individuell und nicht ganz in dem der Spezies begriffen ist, als eine besondere Idee entsprechend einem besonderen Objektivationsakt des Willens angesehen werden könne. Hier haben wir Hebbel fast wörtlich: "nicht ganz in der Spezies" bedeutet bei ihm "der tragische Konflikt des Einzelnen."

Was den Dithmarscher vom Athener trennte, hat der Dichter zweifellos nicht gewusst, denn wenig hat er sich wirklich eingehend mit den wirklichen Schwierigkeiten Platos befasst. Es war ihm augenscheinlich nur darum zu tun, die populären Anschauungen über Plato zu wissen und soweit in sich aufzunehmen als ihm bei seinen pantragischen Vorstellungen genehm sein konnte. Die

[4] Scheunert (a.a.O. S.42, und dann in dem Abschnitt über die Monadologie Hebbels S. 67–75) hat dies eingehend herauszustellen versucht, doch wischt die greuliche Formlosigkeit seines Stils oft die Pointe weg. Er war sich übrigens kaum bewusst, dass sein Ausdruck "wenn wir sagen" tatsächlich heissen konnte "wenn Plato sagt" und dass der "Einwand" dem Aristoteles zukommt. Den Gegensatz zu Schopenhauer definiert Scheunert so, dass Sch. Idee nur Objekt und Erkenntnis ist, während Hebbel an der Einheit des Subjekt-Objekts festhält, dabei der Idee Selbsterkenntnis zuschreibend. Jedenfalls muss festgehalten werden, dass Hebbels Abstand von Schopenhauer dem von Plato gleichkommt. Damit stimmt auch die Bemerkung, dass Hebbels Monade die Individualidee ist, nicht die Gattungsidee. Entschieden abzuleugnen ist jedoch, wenn Scheunert "ohne weiteres" annimmt, dass die Monaden ihrer Beschaffenheit nach unveränderlich und starr sind. Dies gerade konnte man nur von der Platonischen Gattungsidee behaupten, nicht aber von der Individualidee Hebbels. Sehr prompt verrennt sich der Verfasser denn auch, indem er ruft: "Man sieht, wie die Spekulation hier Hebbels Lehre dem Leben entfremdet; dieses Monadenreich, dieser nebelhafte Geistertanz blutloser, sich selbst nicht mehr kennender Gespenster soll das Ziel alles Lebens sein und soll Trost bieten für alle Zerrissenheiten und Kämpfe des Daseins, die gerade in Hebbel einen lauten Verkünder gefunden haben." Unsere Meinung ist die, dass Hebbel alle Verwandtschaft mit Hegel leugnen würde, wenn seine Vorstellung der Monade diejenige gewesen wäre, die Scheunert ihm aufzuimpfen sich vorgenommen hat.

ersten Spuren seiner Kenntnis Platos finden wir im Tagebuch vom 2. September 1836, wenn er die Anschauung vom Fegefeuer auf Platos Seelenlehre zurückführt. (Vgl. Plato, Phaedrus 249.) Am 30. Oktober desselben Jahres notiert er sich den bei Kant gelesenen Satz: Ideen sind Platos Urbilder der Dinge selbst. Zwei Jahre später, am 12. August, macht er sich über Platos Ausschluss der Künstler aus der Idealrepublik lustig, am 28. Oktober 1839 witzelt er darüber, dass Plato auf der Schulbank Prügel bekommen könne, weil er den Plato nicht verstehe. Bis dahin scheint Hebbel den Griechen nur aus Zitaten gekannt zu haben, denn erst am 20. Januar 1842, also ein Jahr vor seiner Schrift an Heiberg und zwei Jahre vor seiner eingehenden Lektüre Hegels, schreibt er: "Gestern las ich zum ersten Male etwas von Plato und zwar den Phaedrus und das Gastmahl. Jener ist herrlich." So angezogen wird er von der Lektüre, dass er viele Stellen abschreibt. Einmal bricht er aus: "Wollte der Himmel, die neue Zeit erzeugte wieder einmal einen Philosophen wie Plato. Ich erstaune über den unendlichen Reichtum und die Tiefe des Geistes, der sich in beschränktestem Raum so klar und so ganz auszugeben weiss. Wie stehen unsere Barbaren, die eigentlich nicht wohl Geist als Psychologie geben, hinter ihm zurück. Merkwürdig ist die Uebereinstimmung einiger Platonischer Gedanken mit den meinigen. Vor langer Zeit schrieb ich irgendwo in dies Tagebuch, der Mensch kann zeugen, denn das Zeugen ist der Ersatz für seine Vergänglichkeit." Es folgt dann wieder eine ähnliche Kopie aus dem Gastmahl, und die Tagebuchstelle gipfelt in der Begeisterung über Platos Ansicht, dass nur der echte Tragödiendichter auch Komödien schreiben könne, was Hebbel später noch mehrere Male erwähnt und begeistert zitiert. (Vgl. ausführlich Poppe a. a. O. S. 80 ff.)

Später dann scheint er sich noch einmal eingehender mit Plato beschäftigt zu haben, denn wir hören, dass er sich am 13. Januar 1843, Aristophanes, Plato (Schleiermacher), Hegel und Spinoza aus der Bibliothek holte. Hier sei denn auch erwähnt, dass das Gedicht "Reminiszenz" vom 29. Januar 1843 an Platos Phaedrus (249) erinnert, wo es heisst: "Zehntausend Jahre müssen vergehen, bevor die Seele an den Ort zurückkehren kann, woher sie kam, aber nur die Seele eines Philosophen, edel und wahr, oder die eines Liebenden darf Flügel in der wiederkehrenden Periode von tausend Jahren bekommen." Vgl. dazu Hebbel:

Millionen öde Jahre
Lag ich schon in dumpfem Schlaf,
Als aus einem Augenpaare
Mich der Strahlen erster traf.
etc.
Dieses Dämmersein auf Erden,
Wähnt ihr, es erlischt zu bald?
Ach, der Wunsch, verzehrt zu werden,
Ist sein einziger Gehalt.

Am 21. Februar 1845 scheint der Dichter sich dann nicht mehr ganz deutlich an den Griechen erinnert zu haben, denn er bezieht Platos Reminiszenz auf Neigung und nicht auf Unsterblichkeit. An das Käthchen von Heilbronn schreibt er: "Mich deucht, du kamst in die Welt, um zu zeigen, dass die Liebe eben darum, weil sie alles hingibt, alles gewinnt, und vielleicht auch um zu beweisen, dass Plato, als er über dem Geheimnis der Neigung brütend, sich zu der Reminiszenz verstieg, wenn auch ein halber, so doch kein ganzer Narr gewesen ist."

Eine direkte Einwirkung Platos auf die künstlerische Produktion Hebbels, besonders auf die Lyrik getraue ich mich nicht festzustellen, zumal derartige Entlehnungs-Untersuchungen, wenn sie nicht gerade wörtliche Uebereinstimmungen zeigen, recht zweifelhaften Wertes zu sein scheinen. Immerhin darf man in unserm Falle soviel sagen, dass die Lektüre Platos dem Dichter die antike Welt im Jahre 1842 vertrauter gemacht hat. Vierundzwanzig Tage, nachdem er Phaedrus und das Gastmahl gelesen, liest er Elise einige Gesänge aus der Odyssee vor. Am 21. April, also inmitten einer erstaunlich lyrischen Produktionskraft noch kurz vor dem Einsenden der letzten Druckbogen seiner ersten Gedichtsammlung, tauscht er sich Aeschylus und den Vossschen Homer ein. Im Mai versiegt seine Freude an der Lyrik, er trägt sich aber mit dem Gedanken an ein Drama—Achill.

Nach der grossen Ausgabe der Werke von Werner sind viele der Gedichte des Jahres 1842 nicht datiert. Nach der Tagebuchangabe glaube ich, darf man sie wohl alle in oder vor den April setzen, denn alle bis auf das unscheinbare "Ich rang mit der Natur" sind noch in die erste bei Campe erschienene Gedichtausgabe hineingekommen. Das einzige, welches nicht dort erschienen ist, trägt das Datum des 22. Mai.

Mit Ausnahme vielleicht von "Schiffers Abschied" zeugen alle übrigen Gedichte von schwerster philosophischer Stofflichkeit.

Wuchtigste Metaphysik ist hier in die eiserne Form des Sonnets gegossen. Immer wieder muss man nachlesen, um sich darin zurechtfinden zu können. So wollte es Hebbel als Mensch und Philosoph. Inhaltlich nun lassen sich lose Gruppierungen vornehmen. "Ein Bild" und "Vollendung" gehören scheinbar in nächste Nähe, ebenso wie ich "Mysterium," "An den Aether," "Welt und Ich" und "An eine Liebende" zusammen haben möchte.

In "An ein schönes Kind" preist Hebbel die Wirklichkeit der Erscheinung selbst, hinter der alle Werke der Künstler zurückstehen. In der Tat ist das Gedicht eine Anti-Platoniade. In "Mann und Weib" wühlt er den Unterschied beider heraus. Dem Weib ist das Dasein selbst der ihr zugeworfene Faden, der Mann schmiedet es sich und "forscht, vom hellen Leben abgezogen, ob Gott sich nicht verbirgt im Schoss der Grüfte." "Ich rang mit der Natur um ihr geheimstes Sein, da schluckte sie mein eignes wieder ein," singt er von sich selbst und variiert den Gedanken mehreremal. In "An den Aether" kann sein Blick nur Schranken sehen, kann nimmer den Allumfasser umranken, denn immer wieder stösst er im "Mysterium" an die Identität, in der das All ein Ich, das

> . . . seiner Schranken
> Vergessen, an das Weltenrätsel tickte,
> Aus Notwehr, eh es tiefer dringt, vernichte.

Während er in "Mann und Weib" das Dasein einen Faden nennt, so verknüpft er diesen Faden in "Mysterium" mit Gott und Natur, ein Geheimnis, das ihm in Geist und Sinne sitzt. Nur im Heiligsten wird die Natur entriegelt, "wenn zwei sich ineinander still versenken." Das Gestaltete im Geist des Mannes, das Empfundene beim Weibe, das ergibt die schönste Mischung, zu der Gott dann die "lichten Bilder" (!), die "unverkörperten und frischen" hinzutut.

Es wäre absurd hier von Einwirkungen sprechen zu wollen, aber es darf als sicher angesehen werden, dass vom Januar bis Mai 1842 die Antike und ihr klarer Ideenreichtum, die leuchtende Ideenwelt der klaren Anschauungen der Griechen nicht ohne sublime Wirkung bei Hebbel gewesen ist. Die zitternde Wollust des Symposion, die erhabene Rhetorik der Liebe im Phaedrus und die wohltuende Freiheit der Homerischen Fülle bestärkten Hebbel jedenfalls aufs neue in seinen gesunkenen Hoffnungen und bannen

ihn wieder in seinen Idealismus hinein, in seine Pflicht gegen sein Geistiges. Er hat ein Platonisches Stahlbad genommen, bevor er Hamburg verliess.

Erkenntnis-Dramen hat Eugen Kühnemann die Platonischen Dialoge genannt. "Gedanken-Trauerspiele, in denen bald der Intellekt, bald die Phantasie vorschlägt" heisst es in einem Briefe Hebbels. Hebbel ist Idealist im strengsten Sinne Platos. Ihm sind "Einfälle keine Ideen," sondern die hart errungenen Ergebnisse des Denkens, das in konkretester Realität blind aus der Höhle nach dem Sonnenlicht tappt. "Ich habe es mir," so schreibt er am 19. Oktober 1839, "zum Gesetz gemacht, den Gedanken, den ich gestern hatte, heute nicht zu verarbeiten, sondern von jedem Tage etwas Neues zu verlangen, d.h. zu der Aufgabe, die er mir bringt, auch die geistigen Mittel sie zu erfüllen. Es geht recht gut so. Das Gegenteil führt zur Bequemlichkeit, zur Erschlaffung." Nur die strengste Geistesarbeit kann zur Tugend führen, zur Idee des Guten, die in Platos Republik geradezu der Wille des Schöpfers ist. Für Plato ist alle Philosophie der leidenschaftliche Wunsch, zur Einheit zu gelangen.

In dem wahrscheinlich vier Monate nach der ersten Lektüre Platos entstandenen Gedicht "Das höchste Gesetz" scheint mir ein Platonischer Gedanke aufzublitzen. Nachdem der Dichter von den beiden widerstrebenden Polen spricht, fährt er fort:

> Und magst du, wenn dein Blick noch an der blossen
> Erscheinung haftet, dumpf entgegenstreben,
> Bald schaust du tiefer in der Kräfte Weben,
> Und das Gesetz wird dich nicht mehr erbossen.
> Die sanfte Linie der Unterscheidung,
> Der holde Keim verborgner Möglichkeiten:
> Das Dasein, war nicht anders zu erkaufen.

In der letzten Zeile stossen wir denn wieder ganz auf die Romantik und Hegel:

> Bewegung ist die einzige Umkleidung
> Der innern Lücke; sollte es nicht schreiten,
> So musst es stockend in sich selbst verlaufen.

Was der moderne Mensch an Plato überwand, ficht den Dithmarscher nicht an, was uns heute noch an Plato begeistert, bejubelt auch er, der ihn 1846 mit Caesar, Homer und Shakespeare in eine Reihe stellt. Möge sich Plato durch seine Republik bei allen Künstlern lächerlich gemacht haben, das Pathos der edlen Begeisterung, die hohe Anrede an die Welt, sich von der eklen

Welt durch die Schöpferkraft unseres Geistes zu retten, das hat Hebbel magnetisch zum Altmeister hingezogen. In einem Brief an Gärtner vom 6. August 1855 bekennt sich Hebbel mit der Heftigkeit seiner Natur zum Missionar der genialen Anschauung und der Gefühle in dem heidnischen Lande eines so trockenen Schleichers, der Fausten einst so unziemlich gestört hat: "Dagegen führt den Künstler, er sei nun Musiker oder Maler oder Dichter jeder Weg zu Ideen, d.h. zur Anschauung der Urbilder, die allem Zeitlichen zu Grunde liegen, und das bringt eine solche Fülle innerer Befriedigung mit sich, dass es in Bezug auf ihn selbst gleichgültig ist, ob er von diesen Urbildern einen farbigen Abdruck zu geben vermag, der die Welt fortreisst, oder ob seine nach aussen gerichtete Leistung einem Regenbogen gleicht, der nicht recht sichtbar wird. Nach der ordinären Ansicht verhält es sich freilich umgekehrt, der Künstler treibt sich im Leeren herum und die direkte Landstrasse zum Wesentlichen geht durch die Pandekten."

Ganz im Sinne Platos schreibt er am 27. April 1838: "Der Künstler sieht eigentlich immer nur die Bilder der Dinge, nicht die Dinge selbst. Darum ist es so unrecht nicht, wenn das Leben ihm gewöhnlich Schlimmeres bietet wie andern." Und in diesem Zusammenhange am 27. Juni desselben Jahres: "Wer könnte existieren, wenn er nicht mit Gedanken in eine andere höhere Welt hineinragte. Und doch wie viele Menschen existieren, bloss weil sie dies nicht tun."

Diejenigen Kritiker aber, die den kühlen Skeptizismus Otto Ludwigs auch an Hebbel auszusetzen haben und seine Dramen der Ideen wegen mechanistisch, unmenschlich und kalt finden, seien daran erinnert, dass jene Stellen aus dem Phaedrus und dem Symposion, die Hebbel abschrieb, gerade den Wahnsinn preisen, der die Seher in Künstler und Begeisterte verwandelt, um in ihnen jene Trunkenheit hervorzubringen, die vielleicht für die Leitung eines Staates gefährlich sein könnte, aber als bacchantische Ausbrüche der Menschheit unentbehrlich sind. Phaedrus war der Sensualist unter den Freunden des griechischen Meisters. Sensualist war in hohem Grade Hebbel. Am 5. Mai 1835 schreibt er: "Der Dichter erlangt seine Gedanken durch Gefühlsanschauung, der Denker durch seinen Verstand." Hebbel soll bei angeregter Unterhaltungi mmer leise gezittert haben.

Um den Dichter aber dann auch wieder als Vorläufer des Realismus zu bewahren, sei immer wieder daran erinnert, dass

seine Ideen korrigiert werden müssen, das heisst, dass sein Idealismus unter der strengen Kontrolle des rücksichtslosen Denkens zugestutzt werden muss, auch wenns wie in den meisten Fällen sehr wehe tut. Dickens nennt er den Realisten, der sich ins Phantastische verliert, weil ihm das Reich der Ideale verschlossen bleibt (16. Juli 1859). An Dingelstedt schreibt er am 2. Januar 1859 von dem unzweifelhaften Realen und dem zweideutigen Idealen. Eine prachtvolle Briefstelle an Elise ist uns vom 3. September 1836 aufbewahrt: "Wie gern gönn ich der Jugend ihre Hoffnungen, um so lieber als mir die meinigen so früh zerstört worden sind, aber, wenn ich doch sehe, dass ein Mensch, der tüchtig dastehen könnte, an seinen Idealen zum Schemen abmagert, so halte ich es für meine Pflicht, seine Träume zu vernichten, damit diese nicht ihn vernichten."

Um es nun noch einmal zusammenzufassen: *Hebbel ist Hegelianer mit dem Unterschied, dass er das Drama als realisierte Philosophie, als ihre Kunstform ansieht. Auch ist seine Auffassung der Tragödie an sich von der Hegels verschieden. Er ist ebensowenig Platoniker wie Hegel es ist. Die Fortbewegung der Menschheit geschieht bei Hegel stossweise, bei Hebbel gleichförmig. Das Platonische Wesen in Hebbels Natur—man könnte sagen, Plato war ihm angeboren—retteten ihn vor den Albernheiten, in die ein Zweig der Hegelschen Schule später verfiel.*

Hebbel ist Realist im modernen Sinne, insofern das Drama den inneren Prozess des Lebens darstellt. Darum muss das Leben, wie es ist, nackt gegeben werden. Auch die kleine bürgerliche Sphäre zeigt Lebensprozesse. "Hebbels Drama ist der Ausdruck des modernen Zeitbewusstseins, dem sich die Gebundenheiten aller individuellen Lebensbetätigung immer furchtbarer offenbaren." (Zinkernagel, Die Grundlagen der Hebbelschen Tragödie. 1904. S. 186.)

Hebbel ist Idealist, weil in seinen Dramen die Idee hergestellt, nicht roh dargestellt werden soll. Die Abweichungen von der reinen Idee konstituieren das Tragische, das Leben selbst ist tragisch, pantragisch.

Hebbel weist vom Idealismus zum Realismus und zurück zum gereinigten Idealismus. Er ist zugleich und deshalb eine Korrektur des falschen Idealismus als des Unechten, weil nicht von der Wahrheit des Lebens ausgehend. Sein Gegensatz zu Schiller

ist damit geklärt. Eingehend bespricht er dies in seiner Kritik des Briefwechsels zwischer Schiller und Körner.

Hebbel ist die Korrektur des falschen Realismus als der stumpfsinnigen Photographie des Platten, Kranken, als nicht zur höheren Einheit sich Auflösenden und Versöhnenden—Versöhnung im allerhöchsten Sinne.

HEINRICH KEIDEL.

New York.

ZU GOETHES "FAUST" IN ENGLAND — J. G. LOCKHART

Von John Gibson Lockhart (1794[1]–1854) haben wir ein paar Romane, seine Übersetzungen spanischer Balladen und einige Biographien, darunter das monumentale *Life of Sir Walter Scott.* Was uns noch immer fehlt, ist eine sorgfältige Auswahl aus den Aufsätzen, die er zu verschiedenen Zeitschriften beigesteuert hat. Lockhart schrieb nicht nur viel, er schrieb auch gut und gründlich, und allenthalben wird das heutzutage anerkannt. Es ist und bleibt ein Kuriosum auf dem englischen Büchermarkt, dass trotzdem eine solche Sammlung noch aussteht. Schon 1882 rief man danach,[2] und noch 1909 befürchtete George Saintsbury,[3] dieser Teil von Lockharts Werk sei in nicht geringem Umfang überhaupt verloren. Ganz so schlimm steht es allerdings nicht. Zum mindesten von Lockharts Beiträgen zur *Quarterly Review* existiert im Archiv des Hauses John Murray (Albemarle Street) eine Liste, die seinerzeit Andrew Lang vorgelegen hat und an die 110 Titel enthält.[4] Hoffen wir, dass sie endlich einmal gedruckt wird. Einstweilen bleiben wir auf zufällige und oft nicht nachzuprüfende Mitteilungen und Mutmassungen angewiesen. Das gleiche gilt von den Aufsätzen in *Fraser's Magazine*, zu dessen regsten Mitarbeitern Lockhart bekanntlich eine Zeitlang gehörte, nur dass wir uns hier mit der Tatsache abzufinden haben, dass die ältesten Papiere der Zeitschrift unzugänglich geworden sind.[5] Noch schwieriger scheint die Sicherung von Lockharts Eigentum in *Blackwood's Magazine*, wo trotz der Bemühungen von Mackenzie, Mrs. Oliphant, Andrew Lang u.a.[6] noch gar manches festzulegen

[1] Als Lockharts Geburtstag wird jetzt überall der 14. Juli 1794 genannt, auch von Lang im *Life of J. G. Lockhart*, London 1897, I 14. In *Notes and Queries* 4th ser., VI 410 (1870) gibt Chas. Rogers den 12. Juni als richtiges Datum an und beruft sich dafür auf persönliche Einsichtnahme in das Pfarrregister zu Cambusnethan.

[2] Cf. *Blackwood's Magazine*, CXXXII 116 seq., (Juli 1882).

[3] Cf. Geo. Saintsbury, *A History of XIXth Century Literature*, N. Y. u. London, Ausg. 1909, p. 192.

[4] Cf. Lang, *Life* etc., Preface p. x.

[5] Cf. Lang, *Life*, II 79.

[6] Cf. R. Shelton Mackenzie, *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, [2]Phila. 1863/6, besonders III p. iii-xvi; Mrs. Oliphant, *Wm. Blackwood and His Sons*, [3]Edinb. u. Lond. 1897, bes. I 180 seqq.; Andrew Lang, *l.c.*, passim.

bleibt. Wie leicht wir dabei zu urteilen geneigt sind und wie verwickelt ein einzelner Fall tatsächlich liegen kann, dafür wird sich alsbald ein Beispiel zeigen, wenn wir an unser eigentliches Thema kommen.

Wir wollen hier zunächst von dem denkwürdigen Aufsatz über Goethes *Faust* handeln, der im *Blackwood* im Juni 1820 erschien. Bekanntlich gab dieser den Engländern die erste einigermassen zutreffende und weiterwirkende Vorstellung von Goethes Werk, eine eingehende Analyse der Dichtung samt umfangreichen, selbständigen Übersetzungsproben. Daran anschliessend hoffe ich etwas Zusammenfassendes und wohl auch einiges Neue über Lockharts Rolle bei der Verpflanzung des *Faust* überhaupt bieten zu können.

Die genannten Übersetzungsproben, das weiss man, stammen von John Anster von Dublin (1793–1867). Nicht so sicher sind wir dagegen über die Urheberschaft an der einrahmenden Würdigung. Und doch sind gerade diese Bemerkungen in der ausserdeutschen Geschichte des *Faust* bedeutsam, denn sie kennzeichnen die Befreiung der englischen Literaten aus der Vormundschaft von Mme. de Staël und A. W. von Schlegel.[7] Stammen sie von Lockhart, so nimmt dessen ganzes lebendiges Interesse am Deutschen in den voraufgehenden Jahren eine neue Wertung an. Lockhart suchte damals eine Brücke zwischen englischem und deutschem Geistesleben zu schlagen; dieser Faustaufsatz wäre der krönende Abschluss seiner Bemühungen. Die Lücke, die jetzt noch zwischen der Veröffentlichung von A. W. Schlegels *Lectures* (1815) und dem Jahre 1820 klafft, verschwände. Nun gehen die Meinungen über den Verfasser der Würdigung in der Tat entweder auseinander, oder haben sich, wie mir noch eher scheint, zu einem Irrtum verdichtet. Um diese Frage samt einigen andern, die damit zusammenhängen, womöglich für immer zu erledigen, will ich ausführlich sein.

Der Artikel ist No. V der *Horæ Germanicæ*,[8] durch die seit 1819 die Einführung deutscher Literatur nach England systematisch geschah. Sie werden gemeiniglich Robert Pearse Gillies zugeschrieben (1788–1858), dem Freunde Sir Walter Scotts, und zwar

[7] Mme. de Staël, *De l'Allemagne* 1813; A. W. von Schlegel, *Lectures on Dramatic Art* 1815; vgl. darüber Hauhart, *The Reception of Goethe's Faust* etc., N. Y. 1909, pp. 26 seqq.

[8] *Blackwood's Magazine*, VII 235-58 (Juni 1820).

nur mit den beiden Ausnahmen, die er selber vermerkt,[9] einen Bericht über de la Motte-Fouqués *Pilgerfahrt*[10] und eben den Faustaufsatz. Ausdrücklich ist denn auch im *Blackwood* zum Titel die Anmerkung gegeben: "We think it proper to mention that the translations in this number of the *Horæ Germanicæ* are not executed by Mr. Gillies, but by another friend, whose contributions in verse and in prose, serious and comic, have already very frequently honoured our pages." Auf diese Charakterisierung gestützt, schreibt Andrew Lang zwar nicht den Aufsatz, den er Gillies belässt, wohl aber die darin enthaltenen Übersetzungen keinem andern als Lockhart zu.[11] An eine der Maskeraden zu denken, wie sie damals in der "Maga" beliebt waren, ist ihm also nicht eingefallen. Theodor Zeiger[12] hat das Langsche Werk nicht benutzt, schreibt infolgedessen die eben angezogene Stelle aus Gillies' *Memoirs* (II, 263) unbesehen nach, ohne jedoch die darin zugegebenen Lücken auszufüllen zu suchen. Solche und ähnliche Nachlässigkeit zieht ihm eine Rüge zu von Max Batt, dem ersten, der die *Horæ Germanicæ* wieder einmal durchgesehen und Gillies' Anteil daran kritisch beleuchtet hat.[13] Die Richtigkeit seiner Ausscheidungen ist offenbar. Auch Batt (wie Zeiger) lehnt natürlich Gillies als Verfasser des Faustaufsatzes ab, verweist dabei aber merkwürdigerweise auf Lang, ohne dessen Ansicht einer näheren Untersuchung zu unterziehen. Wie es scheint, erklärt er sich den Sachverhalt, ganz einfach indem er Lockhart auch als Verfasser der begleitenden Prosa ansetzt.[14] Lina Baumann ist, soweit ich sehe, die erste, die den wirklichen Verfasser

[9] Cf. R. P. Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran*, 3 Bde., London 1851 II 263 seq.

[10] Deutsch 1816; cf. *Blackwood*, IX 481 (Aug. 1821), *The Pilgrimage.*

[11] *Life*, 1897, I 245; auch I 330 seq., wo er den Gesang des Erdgeistes "In the currents of Life, in the tempests of motion . . " sowie Gretchens "*volkslied*" am Spinnrad als Lockharts Eigentum bespricht, während er Gillies von neuem die Prosa zuweist. Oliver Elton, der sich für solche Zusammenhänge interessiert, erscheint neuerdings als Opfer dieses Irrtums. (Cf. O. Elton, *A Survey of Eng. Lit. 1780–1830*, London 1912, I 413.)

[12] Theodor Zeiger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch-englischen Literaturbeziehungen*, Lpz. 1901; wiederabgedruckt in StvglLG (Max Koch), I 239 seqq., 273 seqq.; cf. p. 251 seq.

[13] Max Batt, *Gillies and Blackwood's Magazine*, MLN, XVIII 65 seqq. (März 1903).

[14] Auch an andrer Stelle ist Batt recht sorglos; so bespricht er *l.c.* p. 68r. Scotts Götzübersetzung als von Gillies stammend!

wenigstens der Übersetzungen wiedererkennt und bespricht, den genannten John Anster.[15] Das war nun leicht genug, denn wie jeder von uns hätte gewiss auch Lang den Namen feststellen können, wenn er nur einige von den älteren Faustübersetzungen hätte vergleichen wollen: 1835 war Ansters Werk ja vollständig herausgekommen, und allein die Jahre 1883 bis 1896 hatten ein gutes halbes Dutzend Neuausgaben davon gebracht! Fräulein Baumann hält Anster natürlich auch für den Verfasser des eigentlichen Artikels, der ganzen Würdigung des Goetheschen Werks. Derselben Ansicht ist Hauhart.[16] Bei diesem fällt das schon deshalb schwerer ins Gewicht, weil er weit mehr die kritische Haltung der Faustübersetzer darzustellen sucht, Fräulein Baumann dagegen den künstlerischen Wert der vorgelegten Übersetzungen selbst. Hauhart ist wohl verantwortlich für Goedeke.[17] Auch Emma G. Jaeck schiebt in ihrer Studie über Mme. de Staël den ganzen Aufsatz John Anster zu. In Hinblick auf Gillies steht sie noch auf dem Zeigerschen Standpunkt.[18]

Nun aber zum Nachweis, dass tatsächlich Lockhart derjenige ist, der—mit Ansters Geschoss—in den Wall des englischen Vorurteils gegen den *Faust* die erste Bresche gelegt.

Anster selber löst die Frage nicht. Im Vorwort der Urausgabe seines *Faustus*[19] spricht er nur einmal von dem "article" in *Blackwood's Magazine*, sonst stets von seinen "extracts" (sechsmal). Dass damit Hinweis auf eine fremde Hand geschickt vermieden sei, wird niemand behaupten wollen. Die stärkste Stütze findet die Anster-Theorie vielmehr an andrer Stelle. Bei der Besprechung von Lord Gowers Faustübersetzung schreibt 1823 ein Ungenannter im Juliheft von *Blackwood* (XIV 35) über unsern Aufsatz: "The analysis there given of the fable, and the copious specimens of translation, were from the pen of a young Irish friend of ours, * * * ," womit natürlich Anster gemeint ist. Fragt sich, ob der Kritiker in der Lage war den wirklichen Sachverhalt

[15] Lina Baumann, *Die englischen Übersetzungen von Goethes Faust*, Halle 1907 (diss. Zürich), pp. 7, 39-53.

[16] *L.c.* [Anm. 7] p. 34 seq. Hauhart hat Batts Arbeit übersehen, wie p. 8 Anm. bei ihm zeigt.

[17] Grundriss,[3] IV, iii, 629 (1912).

[18] E. G. Jaeck, *Madame de Staël and the Spread of German Culture*, N. Y. 1915, pp. 175, 190.

[19] John Anster, *Faustus, A Dramatic Mystery; The Bride of Corinth; The First Walpurgis Night*, etc., London 1835; cf. pp. vii seq., xli.

zu kennen. Es zeigt sich sofort, dass er selber kein Deutsch konnte — oder er hätte unvorbehaltlich von Gower nicht schreiben können: " * * he has come so near perfection * * " (*l.c.*), und ferner (p. 39): "Mr. Coleridge himself will not *now* dream of translating the Faust—another hand has done *almost* all that could be done even by *him*" (Kursivdruck im Text). Müllner erscheint als Müller, Oehlenshlaeger (sic) als Deutscher; Gillies erhält den Rat, sich statt mit diesen beiden und Grillparzer lieber mit der *Braut von Messina*, dem *Tell* oder *Egmont* zu beschäftigen. Mit dem letzten ist die Allerweltsquelle, Mme. de Staëls *De l'Allemagne* auch für ihn wohl festgelegt, zumal er selber auf ihr Buch hinweist. Aus alle dem sei nur gefolgert, dass ihm bei aller Belobigung, die er auf Goethe häufte, am *Faust* nicht hinreichend liegen konnte, um etwa Studien anzustellen und mitzuteilen, wie wir sie hier treiben. Der Tatbestand war zu verwickelt für gefällige Darstellung. Zuletzt fragt es sich noch, ob Lockhart wohl je unter den Edinburgher Freunden weitläuftig als Verfasser der Kritik genannt worden ist. Das psychologische Novum waren ohne Zweifel die Übersetzungen — Bemerkungen *über* die Dichtung hatte man inzwischen oft genug unter Augen gehabt. Vermutlich wurde also von Anfang an nur Ansters Name im Zusammenhang mit diesem Faustartikel weitergesprochen. Dann aber können wir die Mitteilung des Ungenannten auf sich beruhen lassen und den positiven Beweis unserer These antreten.

Zunächst sei darauf verwiesen, dass in der aus *Blackwood* schon angeführten Fussnote nur die Übersetzungen, nicht auch die "analysis of the fable" Gillies abgesprochen werden. (Daher Langs Irrtum.) Ist nun Gillies nicht der Verfasser (und dafür haben wir sein eigenes Wort), so kommt nur Anster oder ein Dritter in Betracht. Gegen Anster spricht die ganze Abfassung der Fussnote, deren Urheber mit dem des Aufsatzes offenbar identisch ist.[20] Es muss vielmehr jemand gewesen sein, der schon vorher gelegentlich gerade über Gillies'sche Übersetzungen an entsprechender Stelle berichtet hatte. Damit eröffnet sich die ganze Frage nach den verschiedenen Verfassern der *Horæ Germanicæ* von neuem.

[20] Cf. *Horæ Germanicæ* No. XII (*Blackwood*, IX 481, August 1821), wo Ansters Übersetzung von Fouqués *Pilgerfahrt* einen ganz parallelen Fall ergibt; die Fussnote hier im Text.

Schon das erste Stück der Serie (*Blackwood*, VI 121–136), das eine Besprechung und Auszüge aus Gillies' als Manuskript gedruckter Übersetzung von Müllners *Schuld* brachte, hat J. G. Lockhart zum Verfasser.[21] Dieser Aufsatz erschien im November 1819. Im Dezember folgte ein ganz ähnliches Stück über Gillies' Übersetzung der *Ahnfrau*, das Batt (*l. c.* p. 65) mit gutem Grunde Lockhart ebenfalls zuspricht. *Horæ Germanicæ* No. III brachte eine vollständige Übersetzung von Müllners *29tem Februar*, mit einigen kritischen Bemerkungen, die wie die Übersetzung ohne Zweifel von Gillies selbst herrühren. Das gleiche gilt vom vierten Stück (Februar 1820), das eine Erzählung der Baronin de la Motte-Fouqué zum Gegenstand hat. Noch mehr trat Gillies dann April 1820 mit dem ersten Stück der *Horæ Danicæ* hervor,[22] worin er zum ersten Mal auf Öhlenschläger hinwies. Die Einleitung und ganz entschieden der Schluss sind jedoch nicht von Gillies, dem hier hohe und anspornende Lobsprüche gebracht werden. Die Einflechtung von Goethes Namen lässt wiederum Lockhart als Verfasser erkennen (*l.c.*, p. 89). Dass alle diese Arbeiten in der Tat von Gillies stammten, wusste man und debattierte man überdies.[23] Er also war sozusagen als amtlicher Übersetzer in diesen Blättern bekannt. Da kam im Juni 1820 der Faustaufsatz heraus, dem das erste Mal ein fremdes, ein Anstersches Manuskript zugrunde lag: damit ist Notwendigkeit und Bedeutung der Fussnote völlig klar. Lockhart hat eben von Anfang an eine Art Oberaufsicht mindestens über diesen Teil der Zeitschrift geführt; ihm gebührt das Verdienst die *Horæ Germanicæ*, wie die *Horæ Hispanicæ*, überhaupt von Stapel gelassen zu haben; und wir haben eine hohe innere Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass er in Fällen, die ihm besonders am Herzen lagen, gelegentlich auch selber wieder ans Ruder griff.[24]

[21] Cf. Gillies, *Mem. of a Lit. Vet.* II 248; auch R. H. Stoddard, *Personal Reminiscences by Constable and Gillies*, N. Y. 1876, p. xxiv seq.; ferner Schluss des Artikels selbst.

[22] *Blackwood*, VII 73 seqq.; Batt geht hierauf nicht ein.

[23] Cf. *Ho. Germ.* II, *Blackwood*, VI 247 Anm.; *ibid.* 398 u. VII 89.

[24] In diesem Zusammenhang gewinnt G. R. Gleigs Zeugnis in der *Quarterly Review*, CXVI 456 (1864) erneutes Interesse; auch Gleig spricht Lockhart die Urheberschaft, mindestens aber einen grossen Anteil an den *Horæ Germanicæ* zu; im übrigen vergl. Batt, der es leider fast ganz unterlässt, für die von ihm Gillies abgesprochenen Stücke Verfasser zu suchen—Christopher North nennt 1832 Lockhart, De Quincey, Gillies, Blair u.a. als Mitarbeiter bei deutschen Übersetzungen (*Noctes Ambrosianæ* LXI, *Blackwood*, XXXI 693, April 1832).

Nun hatte er, wie den Umständen angemessen war, seinem Aufsatz über Gillies' Übertragung der *Schuld* eine kurze Einleitung über die neueste deutsche Literatur im allgemeinen vorausgesetzt. In dieser kommt er (*l. c.*, p. 121 seq.) alsbald ausführlich auf den *Faust* zu sprechen, "the greatest of all Goethe's works." Trotz aller Begeisterung hält er es aber für "a mere sketch, or rather a mere fragment of a mystical romance."[25] Nach einem Vergleich zwischen Schillers und Goethes dramatischen Kräften, der namentlich durch Hinweis auf *Faust* zu Goethes Gunsten entschieden wird, geht es wie folgt weiter: "By that most untranslateable of all works, * * the great problem has been effectually solved, and for the first time—of the possibility of possessing and exercising even in immediate juxtaposition, nay, almost in perpetual interfusion with each other, the utmost powers both of clear speculative understanding and mysterious superstitious enthusiasm. If any man living can give anything like a translation of it, it must be Coleridge—but with all his majestic dreams of imagination, and all his sway of sweet and awful numbers, we fear even he would fail to do for Faustus the half of what he has done for Wallenstein." Das klingt beinah wie eine direkte Fortsetzung des Gesprächs, das Lockhart mit Scott im Oktober 1818 gehabt.[26]

Vor allem vergleichen wir nun aber die Einleitung des Faustartikels vom Juni 1820. Gleich der erste Paragraph bringt folgendes: " * * * The mysterious relation between our world and that of spirits has afforded in all ages a foundation for works of the highest poetical interest; no other works of fiction, indeed, have a firmer basis of reality in the depths of the human mind. They bring back to it its obscure longings * * * they connect the terrors and eagerness of believing childhood with the wildest and most daring speculation into which we can venture, concerning our own nature and destiny." Wer wird hierin nicht die nähere Ausführung der oben gegebenen flüchtig hingeworfenen Bemerkungen sehen? Aber lesen wir weiter: " * * * and in parts of the work, we almost believe, while we are listening, in the magical effects attributed

[25] A. W. Schlegelscher Einfluss, cf. *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, 36te Vorlesung (Böckings Ausgabe, Lpz. 1846, VI 417); die englische Übersetzung von 1815 wurde allenthalben verwässernd ausgeschrieben (vergl. auch Hauhart); Lockhart denkt demgegenüber selbständig.

[26] Cf. Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Kap. XLII, Mitte.

to sounds. Nothing that we know in our language can give any idea of the charm we allude to, but a few of the most inspired passages of Coleridge; often, while engaged in our present task, have we thought of Kubla Khan and Christabel, and felt an idle regret that we could not have the enjoyment of reading the passages which we most admired in the German tragedy, shadowed out in the rich mystical numbers of our own great poet, which often affect the heart and ear like a spell." (Folgen in einer Anmerkung zwei Zitate aus *Christabel* und *Kubla Khan*, sowie ein Hinweis auf *Remorse*.) Das klingt nun nicht gerade schmeichelhaft für Anster, d. h. falls Lockhart diese Stelle geschrieben hat. Hauptsache bleibt aber die Gleichung mit Coleridge.

Die Hindeutung auf Coleridge allein würde natürlich nichts besagen. Gerade ihm hatte ja John Murray, der Verleger von *De l'Allemagne*, schon 1814 eine Faustübersetzung vorgeschlagen; die Tatsache war bekannt, das Urteil wurde gebilligt. Wohl aber ist ganz unwahrscheinlich, dass Lockhart und Anster gerade in ihrer Schätzung von Coleridges sprachmelodischer Kraft bis in die Worte übereingestimmt hätten. Coleridge war ein lebender Dichter, und jeder der beiden hatte ohne Zweifel seine Meinung von ihm in seinen eigenen Anschauungsformen fertig, so dass auch unbewusste Herübernahme kaum anzusetzen ist.[27] Gerade bei Lockhart aber erscheint das Eingehn auf Sprachmusik bei Coleridge als eigentliches Lieblingsthema. Zum ersten Mal wird es wohl angeschnitten in *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, deren berühmte "zweite" Auflage Juni 1819 erschien.[28] Breit ausgeführt erscheint es im dritten Aufsatz über die *Lake School of Poetry* (Oktober 1819), der sicher Lockhart zum Verfasser hat.[29] Und noch mindestens einmal, viel später, in Lockharts Besprechung von Coleridges *Poetical Works* (1834), wo auch die Anspielung auf Kubla Khan wieder aufgenommen wird.[30]

[27] Übrigens erwähnt Anster 1835 (*l. c.*) Coleridge nicht.

[28] *Peter's Letters* etc., [2]Edinburgh 1819, II 220: "[Coleridge], to my ear, without exception the most musical [versifier of our age]. Nothing can surpass the melodious richness of words," etc.

[29] *Blackwood*, VI 11: "In his mixture of all the awful and all the gentle graces of conception — in his sway of wild — solitary — dreamy phantasies — in his music of words — and magic of numbers — we think he stands absolutely alone * * " etc. etc.

[30] *Quar. Rev.* LII (August 1834), p. 8: " * * not only the lines by themselves are musical, but the whole passage sounds all at once as an outburst or clash of harps in the still air of autumn."

Nach alledem ist wohl als gesichert anzusehen — ja was? Zum mindesten dass Lockhart ein Anstersches Manuskript überarbeitet hat. An sich hatte ein solches Verfahren ja damals nichts so Befremdliches. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, dass Anster die Bruchstücke seiner Übersetzung durch Inhaltsangaben der ausgelassenen Szenen zu verknüpfen gesucht hat und dass Lockhart von alle dem wieder eine Auswahl machte. Alles bloss Überleitende bin ich daher geneigt für wesentlich Anstersches Eigentum zu halten, so vor allem auch was er über den *Prolog im Himmel* zu sagen hat.[31] Die ganze Einleitung jedoch (mit möglicher Ausnahme des zweiten Paragraphen), die in so eindringlichen rückhaltlosen Worten auf die Bedeutung des *Faust* hinweist, ferner die Abschweifung über die Manfred-Faust-Frage und noch einiges lassen deutlich genug Lockharts Hand erkennen. Und das ist immerhin von gewisser Wichtigkeit. Denn gebührt auch Anster der Ruhm die erste einigermassen gangbare Vorführung des *Faust* ermöglicht zu haben, so wäre das ohne Lockhart vermutlich einstweilen Privatangelegenheit geblieben.[32] Dabei ist es von untergeordneter Bedeutung, dass Lockhart diese Übersetzungen vermutlich nur *à faute de mieux* gedruckt hat. Wir denken an den Aufsatz über Übersetzungen des *Faust*, den der neuernannte Herausgeber der *Quarterly Review* Juni 1826 erscheinen liess, wo er Anster viel Anerkennung zollte wegen seiner — *Bride of Corinth*.[33] Der Grund war wohl Abneigung gegen Ansters ausgiebige Verwendung des Blankverses, der trotz aller Formvollendung jeden Kenner der Vorlage unbefriedigt lassen musste.

[31] *L. c.* p. 236: "This contains a great deal that is written in a light and irreverent tone, and possesses, we think, very little merit of any kind," vergl. Ansters Rechtfertigung seiner spätern Sinnesänderung im Vorwort von 1835, pp. x-xix! Lockhart dagegen erteilt Lord Gower wegen Auslassung der Wette im Prolog eine scharfe Rüge, vgl. seinen Faustaufsatz von 1826, p. 138 Anm. (*Quar. Rev.* XXXIV 136-153, "Translations of Goethe's Faust"; cf. Lang, *Life*, I 404, 414).

[32] Vergl. die Art, wie Anster sein Unternehmen fortgesetzt, nach seinem Bericht im Vorwort von 1835, p. vii-ix.

[33] *L. c.* [Anm. 30] p. 136. Zur Ergänzung von Goedeke, [3]IV, iv, 100 (1913): Ansters Übersetzung der *Braut von Korinth* war zuerst in *Blackwood*, IV 688/9 erschienen (März 1819) und wurde vermutlich in seinen *Poems and Translations* etc. desselben Jahres wiederabgedruckt. Die endgültige Fassung 1835 zusammen mit *Faustus*. Goethe, der das Heft gesehn (*Werke*, W. A. IV 31, pp. 246, 394 seq., cf. Tagebuch 1819, 11.-12. Mai), hat sich jedoch nach Gräf nie darüber geäussert.

Wenn Lockhart trotzdem diese Auszüge herausgab, so beleuchtet das um so klarer, wie wohl er das Gebot der Stunde verstanden hatte, wie ernst er sich bemühte es zu erfüllen.

Und dafür können wir noch etwas beibringen, was bisher übersehen scheint. Lockhart selber, nicht Anster, ist der erste, der eine englische Versübersetzung des *Faust* aus dem Urtext versucht hat. Wir haben zwar nur wenige Bruchstücke, aber sie gehören doch auch in die Anfangsgeschichte des Goethestudiums in England, und da sie nicht überall leicht zugänglich sind, mögen sie hier immerhin ihre Stelle haben. Das erste (v. 386–97: "O sähst du, voller Mondenschein") findet sich in *Peter's Letters* (I 333).[34] (Lockhart hat eben seinen Eindruck von Edinburgh Castle bei Nacht geschildert)—: "I think it was one of the noblest conceptions that ever entered into the breast of a poet, which made Goethe open his Faustus with a scene of moonlight." Folgt eine ganze Seite über dieses Thema, den Kontrast zwischen Fausts Seelenzustand mit der Stimmung der Natur, und dann: "I wish I could do justice to his words in a translation,—or rather that I had Coleridge nearer me.

Would thou wert gazing now thy last
 Upon my troubles, Glorious Harvest Moon!
Well canst thou tell how all my nights have past,
 Wearing away, how slow, and yet how soon!
 Alas! alas! sweet Queen of Stars,
 Through dreary dim monastic bars,
 To me thy silver radiance passes,
 Illuminating round me masses
 Of dusty books, and mouldy paper,
 That are not worthy of so fair a taper.
O might I once again go forth,
To see thee gliding through thy fields of blue,
Along the hill-tops of the north;—
 O might I go, as when I nothing knew,
Where meadows drink thy softening gleam,
And happy spirits twinkle in the beam,
 To steep my heart in thy most healing dew."

[34] Das genaue Erscheinungsdatum war Anfang Juni 1819 (cf. *Blackwood*, V 493 u. 105, Monatliche Neuerscheinungen), fällt also zwölf Monate vor die Ansterschen Proben. Das Werk wurde nur noch einmal aufgelegt, im selben Jahre; ein Nachdruck N. Y. 1820. Hauhart (*l.c.* p. 121) behauptet ohne Beleg, Anster habe eine englische Fassung der *Zueignung* schon 1819 veröffentlicht; vielleicht in seinen *Poems and Translations*, die im Juni 1819 erschienen (cf. *Blackwood*, V 359 u. 493); sie waren mir unerreichbar. Goedeke (1912) schweigt.

Viel mehr wie eine Phantasie über die Vorlage ist das natürlich nicht, und Lockhart selber wird das gefühlt haben, aber er schloss seinen ersten Band damit — wirkungsvoll genug. Zwei weitere Versuche danken wir den Übergehungssünden Lord Gowers, den Lockhart derenthalb scharf rügte.[35] Für v. 1830–33 (" * * Und rings umher liegt schöne grüne Weide") schlug er vor:

"Yes—in my mind your man of speculation
Is wise—and wise too is yon elfstruck beast,
Who in his briery circle champs vexation,
While all around him, north, south, west, and east,
These fair green meadows mock the sage's feast."

Ferner, was er "the best song" in der Spaziergangsszene nennt:

" 'The shepherd deck'd him for the green,
And gaily deck'd was he;
A merrier meeting ne'er was seen
Beneath our linden tree,' &c."

Also eine Annäherung an die alte Ballade. Diese Stücke, vielleicht erst 1826 geschrieben, belegen an ihrem Teile Lockharts männliche Auffassung des Gedichts.

Wir sind nun in der Lage, etwas Zusammenfassendes über Lockharts Anschauung von deutscher Literatur überhaupt, von Goethe und vom Faust zu sagen.

Er, der Sprachenfreund, hatte für das Deutsche wohl schon in Oxford, also noch vor dem Erscheinen von *De l'Allemagne* Interesse gefasst.[36] Dass dieses durch Mme. de Staël und noch mehr durch A. W. von Schlegel kräftig gesteigert wurde, ist selbstverständlich.[37] Schon Sommer 1814, eben zwanzig alt, las er "some of the late German histories of Philosophy" und dachte alsbald daran, etwas damit anzufangen.[38] Im darauf folgenden Winter, November 1815, lernte er in Edinburgh John Wilson und in dessen Hause De Quincey kennen,[39] der mit seinen Kenntnissen

[35] *Quar. Rev.* XXXIV 140 (Juni 1826).

[36] Cf. Lang, *Life*, I 58, 73; ferner *Blackwood*, CXXXII 119.

[37] Der Wechsel des Urteils ist bemerkenswert in einer Besprechung des ersten Teils von Heines *Romantischer Schule*, die offenbar Lockhart zum Verfasser hat, cf. *Quar. Rev.*, LIII 216 seq. (Februar 1835), wo er über Mme. de Staël sagt: "It would by no means be difficult to prove that she had at best but a superficial acquaintance with the subjects about which she discourses so pleasantly * * * her analysis of *Faust*, for instance, shows that she had never read above a third of it," etc.

[38] Brief an Christie vom 3. Januar 1815, bei Lang, *Life*, I 84.

[39] Cf. Lang, *Life*, I 97.

von deutscher Philosophie vor Lockhart sicher nicht zurückgehalten hat.[40] Sein Verlangen Deutschland selber zu sehen, wurde schliesslich so stark, dass er die Ferien des Jahres 1817 zur Reise bestimmte. Wir wissen, dass ihm das Geld dazu, an £ 300, von William Blackwood auf eine Übersetzung aus dem Deutschen vorgeschossen wurde, zu der Lockhart dann Friedrich Schlegels *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur* wählte.[41] Tatsächlich finden wir ihn im Spätsommer und Herbst 1817 in Deutschland,[42] wo wir wenigstens einen Teil seines Weges verfolgen können. Es ging — falls eine Erzählung in *Peter's Letters* (I 246–50) als autobiographisch zu fassen ist — zu Pferd durch den Harz, dann von Magdeburg elbaufwärts über Dresden in die Sächsische Schweiz und von da nach Leipzig.[43] Die Hauptsache war natürlich sein Besuch in Weimar und Jena.[44] In Jena war es, wo er nach seiner eigenen Darstellung[45] Goethen zuerst zu Gesicht bekam, und zwar als dieser vom Botanisieren heimkam, und vermutlich nachdem er ihn zunächst in Weimar vergeblich gesucht hatte. Goethe verbrachte in Jena bekanntlich einen grossen Teil des Frühjahrs und Sommers dieses Jahres und kehrte endgültig erst am 7. August nach Weimar zurück.[46] Ob, wann und wo eine zweite Begegnung stattgefunden hat, ist überhaupt nicht zu sagen. Goethe glaubte sich noch nach Jahren sehr lebendig an Lockharts Persönlichkeit zu erinnern[47] und hat sich in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens wiederholt um ihn gekümmert.[48] Es

[40] Cf. Gillies' Bericht, *Mem. of a Lit. Vet.*, II 220 seq.

[41] Die Wiener Vorlesungen von 1812, die 1815 im Druck erschienen waren. Nach einer etwas dunklen Angabe in den Murrayschen Memoiren (Sam. Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends*, London 1891, II 195 seq.) hätte sich Lockhart vorher mit einem ähnlichen Vorschlag vergeblich an John Murray gewandt.

[42] Dieses Datum ist jetzt wohl gesichert, cf. Lang, *Life*, I, 118, 128; ferner *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Kap. XLI, Anfang, und *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

[43] Weitere Angaben in *Peter's Letters* über deutsche Reiseeindrücke (besonders über den Dom zu Regensburg, III 158, 167) scheinen mir wegen der Verfasserschaft nur mit Vorsicht zu benutzen. Dresden ist übrigens auch durch die Schilderung der Sixtinischen Madonna durch "Baron Von Lauerwinkel" in *Blackwood*, III 562-65 belegt (August 1818).

[44] Langs Anschauung (*Life*, I 119, cf. Register), Lockhart habe Fichte noch 1817 in Jena vortragen hören, wird niemand beirren.

[45] *Life of Sir Walter Scott, l. c.*

[46] Cf. *Annalen*, Jub.-Ausg. Bd. XXX, und *Tagebücher*.

[47] Cf. Eckermann, Gespräch vom 25. Juli 1827.

[48] Cf. Brief vom 1. Dezember 1831 (an Haydon), auch an Carlyle vom 1.

sei aber bemerkt, dass sich im ganzen Tagebuch von April bis Oktober 1817 keine Eintragung findet, die ohne Zwang auf Lockhart gedeutet werden könnte. Dieser selbst hat sich inhaltlich über die Unterredung mit Goethe nie geäussert, und man möchte glauben, er habe sich mit dem Anblick des grossen Mannes genügen lassen, wenn nicht Scott in seinem bekannten Briefe an Goethe ausdrücklich sagte, sein Schwiegersohn sei dem "Vater der deutschen Literatur" vor Jahren vorgestellt worden.[49] Jedenfalls nahm Lockhart einen mächtigen Eindruck mit — "no one who ever saw Goethe can deny that he was in reality a most sublime specimen of the human race" schrieb er noch 1835[50] im Anklang an die Schilderung, die er in *Peter's Letters* entworfen hatte.[51]

Wieder in Edinburgh brachte er alsbald seine Schlegelübersetzung[52] heraus (April 1818[53]), die noch im selben Jahr in Philadelphia nachgedruckt wurde. Eine zweite Auflage wurde 1840 nötig. Inzwischen fanden diese *Lectures* überall Besprechungen,[54] Anerkennung und Leser, u.a. erregten sie noch den Zorn Lord Byrons.[55] Obwohl, wie Bohn in seiner Ausgabe von 1859 be-

Januar 1828, W. A.; ferner Jub.-Ausg. XXXVIII 220 seqq. (zu Lockhart's *Life of Burns*.).

[49] Eckermann, Gespr. vom 25. Juli 1827, in Houbens Ausg., Lpz. 1909, p. 506. Merkwürdigerweise hat Lockhart im *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Kap. LXXIII, Mitte) gerade diese Stelle aus dem ihm 1839 abschriftlich zugestellten englischen Text gestrichen, vergl. Michael Bernays, *Schriften zur Kritik u. Lit. Gesch.*, Stuttgart 1895, I 50.

[50] *Quar. Rev.* LIII, 226, in der Heinebesprechung.

[51] I 54: " * * sublime simplicity * * * awful pile of forehead," etc.; diese Bemerkungen sind übrigens ein wenig 'kraniologisch' zu nehmen: II 302 ganz ähnlich über Scott; ferner II 338, wo Byrons Kopf der Vorzug auch vor Goethes und Napoleons gegeben wird.

[52] *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern*; from the German of Frederick Schlegel, 2 Bde., 8°, anon., Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1818.

[53] Cf. *Blackwood*, III 103; die Voranzeige war übrigens *ibid.* Juni 1817 erschienen, womit sich der Abschluss mit dem Verleger genauer datieren lässt. Wohl auf Grund von Lowndes-Bohn, *Bibl. Man.* (1863), nennt Leslie Stephen im DNB 1838 als das Erscheinungsjahr (ebenso *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., und neuerdings E. G. Jaeck, *l. c.* p. 165 Anm.).

[54] *Blackwood*, August 1818, p. 497 (vermutlich Selbstanzeige), und später; *Ed. Rev.*, Sept. 1818, p. 332; *Quar. Rev.*, April 1819, p. 271; *Ed. Rev.*, Nov. 1820, p. 284; *Westm. Rev.*, 1825, p. 321, usw.; NAR, April 1822, p. 277, 283, usw., cf. Goodnight, *Germ. Lit. in Am. Mag. Prior to 1846*, Madison, Wis., 1907.

[55] *Letters and Journals*, ed. by R. E. Prothero, V 191, 193 (28. u. 29. Januar 1821).

merkte, nur ein gefälliger, jedoch ziemlich freier Abriss der Vorlage, halten sie ganz sicher ihren Rang in der Reihe von Büchern, die von Mme. de Staëls unvergesslichem Werke angefangen die Vorstellung von Deutschland in der englischen Welt bestimmten. Wie Lockhart selber damals unter den Edinburghern erschien, lehrt wohl nichts so erheiternd wie die Strophe, die Freund Wilson (Christopher North) boshafterweise in Lockhart/Wastles komisches Epos *The Mad Banker of Amsterdam* schmuggelte (Canto II, xxvii):

> "Then touched I off Friend Lockhart (Gibson John),
> So fond of jabbering about Tieck and Schlegel,
> Klopstock and Wieland, Kant and Mendelsohn,
> All High Dutch quacks, like Spurzheim[56] or Feinagle,"[57]

usw.[58] So bildete sich die Atmosphäre, in der Gillies und bald darauf De Quincey und Carlyle gedeihen konnten.

Vor allem aber machte sich Lockhart daran, das Vorurteil gegen Goethe zu brechen, gerade hier, wo Ansichten wie die von Jeffrey und Sir James Mackintosh noch immer tonangebend waren, und immer wieder kehrte er zu der Aufgabe zurück.[59] Was ihn dabei am meisten beschäftigte, bedarf keiner weitern Beleuchtung: er wusste, der Versuch musste gemacht, der *Faust* ins Englische übersetzt werden. Ob er selber an weiter ausgreifende Übersetzungsproben gedacht, wäre müssig zu untersuchen; die Bruchstücke, die wir fanden, scheinen eher für den Augenblick geschrieben. Doch er schuf ein Organ, durch das Ansters Stimme, als sie dann kam, zu allen dringen konnte, denen z. T. er selber die Ohren und die Herzen geöffnet hatte.[60] Edinburgh war damals

[56] Joh. Chr. Spurzheim (1776-1832), der bekannte Phrenolog und Kranioskop, Mitarbeiter Galls, war 1813 bis 1817 in England und hielt u.a. auch in Edinburgh Vorträge (*Allg. Deu. Biogr.*).

[57] Gregor von Feinaigle (ca. 1765–1819), Verbreiter einer neuen Mnemotechnik, zumal in England (DNB). Vergl. Byron, *Don Juan*, Canto I, St. xi:

> "For her Feinagle's were an useless art,
> And he himself obliged to shut up shop—he
> Could never make a memory so fine as
> That which adorn'd the brain of Donna Inez."

[58] *Blackwood*, III 407 (Juli 1818); cf. *ibid.*, CXXXII, 117, 124.

[59] Z. B. *Blackwood*, II 38 (Okt. 1817); II 676 (März 1818); IV 211 (Nov. 1818) usw.; dann die *Horæ Germanicæ*.

[60] Über Wirkung und Fortwirkung der Ansterschen Proben vergl. Hauhart u.a. Von Goethe ist nach Gräf keine Äusserung darüber erhalten (cf. *Drama*, II (*Faust*), p. 318; ferner *Drama*, IV (Register), p. 572). Dagegen

auf der Höhe seines Ruhms. Es war kein Zufall, und es hatte hohe Bedeutung, dass die ersten Stücke einer Faustübersetzung, die noch jetzt ihren Wert hat, gerade hier herauskamen— während man in London Kupferstiche beguckte, mit erläuterndem Text.

Lockhart sah im *Faust* bei alle dem ein Drama, das mit aneinander messbaren Grössen arbeitet. Seine Auffassung des Menschen Faust gerät darum noch ein wenig philiströs, und Mephisto eine menschlich-allzumenschliche Seite abzugewinnen fällt ihm nicht ein — der bleibt ihm schlechtweg der Versucher, der Teufel. So kam er dazu für *Faust* den Untertitel "A Dramatic Mystery" vorzuschlagen, den Anster sich dann zu eigen machte.[61] Nicht in, sondern erst hinter der Dichtung erblickte er das Symbol, und wie er es fasste, sehen wir, wo er sich mit dem Ende der Tragödie auseinanderzusetzen hatte. Dass er dem zweiten Teile keine Herzensneigung entgegenbrachte,[62] braucht uns für die Zeit nicht wunderzunehmen, wenn wir etwa an den unnachahmlichen "Dritten" denken. Lockhart dachte sich vielmehr ein Ende im Sinne der Coleridgeschen Faustpläne,[63] also dass Faust Frieden finden sollte "in the conviction of a salvation for sinners through God's grace." Das war nicht Frömmelei, das war Pessimismus mit hilflosestem Ausdruck. Das Leiden des Lebens, das Gefühl des Verlorenseins, dem er sich doch nicht hingeben konnte, das er bekämpfte mit dem ganzen unentwegten, positiv gerichteten Sinn des Angelsachsen, das sass in ihm und frass an ihm. Mephistos gebieterisches "Her zu mir!" erschien

schreibt das *Dublin University Magazine*, dem Anster nahe stand, November 1839 (XIV 544): "Goethe was then alive, and did not withhold his recognition of their vigour and truth." Möglich, dass sie ihm zu Gesicht gekommen; vergl. Ansters Versicherung, Goethe habe im Gespräch immer die Form "Faustus" gebraucht, was auf gemeinsame englische Bekannte deutet (cf. Gräf, *l. c.*).

[61] *Quar. Rev.*, XXXIV 137 (1826); cf. Anster, Vorwort von 1835, p.xvii.

[62] Cf. *Quar. Rev.*, LII 21, Anm. (August 1834): "We make no allusion to the wretched second part of Faust, which has recently appeared. * * The editor who sanctioned its publication has done his utmost to degrade his author's reputation"!

[63] *Quar. Rev.*, LII 23, im Anschluss an *Table Talk*, 16. Februar 1833, damals noch nicht veröffentlicht. Derselbe Standpunkt aber schon 1826, *Quar. Rev.*, XXXIV 138 seq. Seine Meinung von Coleridges Befähigung als Faustübersetzer zog er nun natürlich zurück (*l. c.* p. 20).

ihm also als Schlüssel zum Ganzen, und das war doch unabhängig und tief gedacht.

Lockhart war ein Schotte durch und durch, klar, männlich, herb; selbst etwas Taziteisches in seinem Wesen, das mit der Groteskerie seiner jüngern Jahre in seltsamem, aber nicht innerem Gegensatz steht. Doch er war nicht starr. Seine Kräfte lagen nicht fest und friedlich nebeneinander — sie waren gleichsam in sich zusammengeballt, so dass sie aus sich heraus noch eine geistige Widerstandskraft und Spannkraft schufen, die ihren Träger in Dinge blicken liess, wo andre sich abwandten (*Adam Blair*, *Matthew Wald*). Der Wille die Kräfte des Unterbewusstseins als etwas Wirkliches anzuerkennen und zu behandeln war in ihm (das "Übernatürliche," Religiöse, Gewordene, *Gehörte* usw., im Gegensatz zum bloss Greifbaren und Sichtbaren, Gegenwärtigen). Das war die Wurzel seines Torytums, die innere Auflehnung gegen die Aufklärer an der *Edinburgh Review*. Die Richtung war in ihm. Er hätte sie so oder so befriedigt. Alle Literaturen standen ihm offen. Die Tatsache aber ist, dass er in einem Alter, wo die Auffassung leicht, die Eindrücke tief sind, gründlich unter die Einwirkung modernen deutschen Denkens, der Schlegel, und dann vor allem Goethes kam. Er hat ja selbst die Wirkung der deutschen Philosophie auf sein Wesen gefühlt und unumwunden anerkannt,[64] und allein schon wie er Coleridge erfasste, dessen Schuld an dieselbe Philosophie er als einer der ersten bemerkte,[65] das redet eine vernehmliche Sprache. Was er, folgerichtiger in seinem Angelsachsentum als mancher seiner Landsleute, vorzüglich suchte, fand er im *Faust* — diese Art das Leben induktiv, und doch umfassend zu nehmen, und es ist, als habe er sich bei jeder Wegbiegung von neuem darauf besonnen. Er wurde kein Weltbürger dadurch, nicht heiter erhaben über dieses Leben, wie andre den deutschen Eindruck verarbeiteten, aber er wurde was zu sein in ihm lag.

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[64] Cf. Peter's Letters, III 137.
[65] Cf. Peter's Letters, II 218.

AN EARLY GERMAN STUDENT SONG

The volume Palatine IV. 228 of the Vatican Library contains, besides some printed pamphlets, a German MS. of 59 leaves which once belonged to the famous Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg. The main part of this MS. seems to have been written in Augsburg not later than about 1517 or 1518. The contents, for the greater part copies of 15th and 16th century material are miscellaneous in character and hitherto mostly unknown: a few *Meisterlieder* and *Spruchgedichte* including a historical poem by Hans Schneider, and a remarkable treatment in thirty-seven 17-line stanzas of the legend of St. Chrysostom with features of "St. Jean le Poilu;"[1] also copies of some private letters, indulgences and prayers, Augsburg documents from 1373 on, etc., and two secular songs.[2] One of the latter is a version in ten stanzas of *Die welt die hat ain thummen mut*, which (except for the first stanza) F. M. Böhme supposed to be lost in German;[3] the other song runs as follows (fol. 15a, 15b, of the MS.):[4]

[1] wol auff, jr studentte alle,
der sumer der get da her,
die vogel singen mit schalle
vnd fliegent vnß all hin weg;
darumb so müß mir[5] vns schayden,
was mit der federnn kann,—
darnach beschicht gros laiden
vil frawen vnd wenig man!

[2] 'waffen vber waffen,'
schreytt es ainß burgerß knecht,
'die nacht kan ich nit schlaffen
vnd geschicht mir eben recht;

[1] Romance sources of the 14th century contain much related material; see A. d'Ancona, *Poemetti popolari italiani*, pp. 1 ff.; Petit de Juleville, *Les Mystères*, 2, 238 ff., 303 ff.; *Revue des lang. modernes*, 56, 427 ff.

[2] I am preparing an edition of the MS. for the University of Illinois *Studies in Lang. and Lit.*

[3] *Altd. Liederbuch*, No. 82ab; Erk-Böhme, *Liederhort*, No. 127ab.

[4] In the MS. stanzas are indicated but the verses are written along continuously without giving each a line by itself. I have only resolved the abbreviations and changed the punctuation.

[5] müß mir = müssen wir.

die studentten auff der gassen,
die hand all mall die eer
mit hoffieren vnd mit brassen,
vnd kindenß[6] noch vil mer.

[3] ach, thu ausserwölte,
laß mich dir empfolchen sein,
thu recht als du solte,
schlewß mich in das hertze dein;
laß dich die lieb nit rewenn,
soll nit verloren sein,
ich gib dir des mein trewen,
du must mir die liebest sein.

[4] alß vnnß die bücher in halttent,
vnß lernet die geschrifft,
secretal vnd clementin,
vnd andere bücher vil;
das recht wöll mir[7] nit suchen,
das hie verloren ist
so ver in alle bücher
zu augspurg in diesser frist.

[5] der vunß das liedlein hat gesungen,
er singt vnnß noch vil mer,
gott behüt alle schöne junckfrawen
jr zucht vnd auch jr eer
vor allen falschen zungen;
wens sy nit abelan,
von hinnen wirt ers künnen,[8]
der vnß gesungen hat.

So far as I know, the text above has not been preserved in any other source. A song in Paul von der Aelst's collection "Blumm und Aussbund," Deventer, 1602, No. 172, is known to me at present only through the brief mention of Hoffman von Fallersleben in *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 2, 352: "Wolauf, ihr Studenten alle, gegen diese Sommerzeit . . . " 5 stanzas "Im Ton: Nun höret zu mit schalle, ihr etc." It too has five stanzas but may be a different text, judging from the second line. At any rate the MS. version above is at least about a century older.

[6] kindenß = können es.

[7] wöll mir = wollen wir.

[8] künnen, originally kumen?

The fourth stanza would seem to be a later addition, or else it has suffered badly in transmission. Stanzas one and two contain some traditional lines, and the third and fifth stanzas are made up almost entirely of them. The fifth stanza, though, has been patched together so laboriously that one is tempted to put it in the same class as the fourth.

The first three stanzas form an *Abschiedslied* hardly surpassed in freshness and charm by any of the early German student-songs. There are few indeed which, like this one, are known to have been current four centuries or more ago. Had Uhland known this text, he would probably have given its best stanzas a place in his collection next to No. 261, "Ich waisz ein frisch geschlechte,"[9] (with the beautiful refrain: Du freies bursenleben! Ich lob dich für den gral," etc.). Compare with our song also Uhland, No. 262.

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[9] The text has, however, been worked over by Uhland himself, see his *Schriften*, 4, 243 f., and the reprint of the original in *Alemannia* 18, 215, No. 69.

RECURRENT ELEMENTS IN IBSEN'S ART

Probably one reason why so many readers frequently misunderstand Ibsen is the fact that they are apt to begin their acquaintance with him by the perusal of his later, more mature works —*The Wild Duck*, *Rosmersholm*, or *The Master Builder*. These plays are very complex, and certainly their deeper significance is not immediately evident; Brandes has indeed recently remarked that to Latin peoples, and to Italians in particular, *The Wild Duck* and *Rosmersholm* are enigmatical. But it is unfortunate to approach Ibsen by way of such plays. In its development his genius was peculiarly orderly, and, consequently, the consideration of his plays in their chronological sequence becomes extremely enlightening. Each play, as a dramatic unit, stands by itself in magnificent integrity, but the thought that lies at the core of each, is indissolubly linked with Ibsen's previous and subsequent accomplishment. To appreciate the massiveness of his intellectual achievement, it is necessary to realize this profound organic unity of his work. Concerned he always was with the problem of self-realization, the question as to how the life of the individual might be the manifestation of his deepest, most peculiar spiritual energies, but it is to the credit of his comprehensive vision that Ibsen did not view this problem always from the same angle. With utter sincerity and uncompromising courage, he analyzed the conditions under which the fullest expression of personality might be retarded as well as facilitated. Skule and Nora triumph, but Oswald and Rosmer go down in defeat.

Ibsen's first period is experimental, including such less frequently read plays as *The Feast at Solhoug*, *The Vikings at Helgeland*, *The Pretenders*, and *The League of Youth*, and closing with the publication in 1877 of *The Pillars of Society*, the first play of his second period. In these early plays he makes unequivocal anticipations of some of those themes, motives, and situations which he has elaborated in his later plays, and which are now recognized as distinctly Ibsenian. The study of these early dramas is worth while for one reason if for no other; the problems and the psychological situations, presented in their more complex phases in the later dramas, here are clearer by the very simplicity of their statement, and cast light on the dramas that are to come.

Critics have not, perhaps, given as much attention as they should to this recurrent element in Ibsen's art. At all events, in an amazing way it links together various plays, each one becoming the means of elucidating the other, and reveals his imagination, having once become interested in certain characters, motives, and situations, persistently returning to them and enriching them with fresh spiritual significance. But what affords indisputable evidence of his creative power is the fact that only after a careful scrutiny do these recurrences impress us as such, so subtly has Ibsen varied his treatment. To point out all these recurrences would require a book; in our limited space we can indicate only a few most striking instances.

Ingebjörg, the neglected mistress of Skule in *The Pretenders*, and Mrs. Alving, the dominating figure in *Ghosts*, are obviously women of a different order. The former loves with a deep affection, but too unreflecting to protest against the injustice of Skule's treatment of her, she accepts with pathetic patience and humility her tragic lot in life; whereas Mrs. Alving is richly endowed both mentally and morally, and because of her habit of facing the crises of her experience with intellectual courage, existence for her is a process of continual growth, a passage from lower to higher levels of spiritual perception. As far as I recall, it has never been emphasized that although twenty years intervened between his creation of these two characters and in many directions his genius matured, yet Ibsen represents these two women, otherwise so unlike, committing as mothers the same tragic mistake, and paying a corresponding penalty. Both women, Ingebjörg unwittingly, and Mrs. Alving deliberately and out of a false respect for social opinion, devote the spiritual energy of the most precious years of their lives to the creation of a monumental illusion in the minds of their sons: that the unworthy father of each, Skule in one case, and Captain Alving in the other, was a man of noble nature, deserving of the deepest filial loyalty. But Ibsen is no sentimentalist, and is determined to show that false ideals, even though perpetuated from the purest motives, inevitably bring disaster in their train. With unsparing irony, Ibsen drives home the cruel fact that Ingebjörg's and Mrs. Alving's years of self-sacrifice were utterly wasted, and the very illusion by which (through the power of paternal example) each hoped to ennoble her son, proves the latter's ruin. Strong in his unjustified

faith in Skule, Peter commits terrible sacrilege to aid his fathers' evil ambition, and Oswald, kept in ignorance of his father's profligacy, hastens the development of the disease that is his awful physical heritage, and then tortures himself with undeserved self-reproach.

Significant of the way in which Ibsen's imagination worked is the fact that in *The Pretenders* the mother and son are subordinate figures, but that in the later play they become the protagonists. Ibsen was content to indicate that the motive that actuated Ingebjörg's unintentional deception was single and plain—deep devotion to Skule. But when subsequently in the composition of *Ghosts*, he returned to this situation, he probed the problem to its bottom, and complicated the motivation extraordinarily. Mrs. Alving, unlike Ingebjörg, does not maintain the illusion in ignorance of the character of Captain Alving, but with full knowledge of his profligacy. Yet, in spite of this knowledge, Mrs. Alving does not act differently from Ingebjörg. It is here indeed that Ibsen reveals his ripened understanding of the ultimate springs of human conduct. Intuitively Mrs. Alving suspects that what she is doing is not right, instinctively her sincere nature rebels against such an imposition, but the moral standards of her conservative environment are too strong for her, and in obedience to them, acting against her better judgment, she carefully builds up in her son's mind a false conception of his father's character. In other words, the motive that in the earlier play had its origin merely in individual impulse, now appears as the resultant of powerful social forces bearing upon the individual from without. Mrs. Alving maintains her deception for years with a growing sense of her mistake; when she becomes convinced that society has been wrong and she has been right, her son is becoming insane, and she is helpless to retard the consequences of her deeds. Thus, as compared to Peter's death, the tragedy of Oswald's collapse is immeasureably deeper in significance because Ibsen has shown that, in the final analysis, not the mother who acted merely in accord with accepted moral standards of her time, but society itself which had formulated those standards, was responsible for the wanton sacrifice of Oswald's life, and that indeed even Mrs. Alving herself no less than her son was a victim of devastating social influences.

The masterly motivation of the character of Bishop Nicholas in *The Pretenders* is also instructive in a study of the recurrent elements in Ibsen's art. The dramatist has represented the ceaseless, restless craft of Nicholas as the expression of the Bishop's own distorted soul. As a boy he has cherished an ambition to be a great chieftain, but, as a man, he discovers that, though his aspirations for power are no less intense, he is seized with an obsessing fear whenever he issues forth upon the field of battle, and that, the mock of his companions, he never can hope to satisfy his thirst for leadership. Moreover, he passionately desires women, but here, too, he is cheated, for impotence hinders satisfaction. Blasted in his hopes, denied what he deemed his destiny, he is filled with a consuming hatred and envy of more fortunate men who are strong in the exercise of their powers and happy in the accomplishment of their aims, and he makes it the business of his life to sow dissension broadcast and to shatter human destinies in course of realization. With evil industry he estranges Haakon and Skule and seeks to wreck the ambitious designs of one no less than those of the other. Having experienced himself the pains of self-distrust, and divined with diabolic keenness the misery of Skule, he poisons his mind with doubt, and finally on his deathbed gloats over the infinite havoc he has wrought.

Now typically Ibsenian is the psychological process revealed here in the working of Nicholas' mind, namely, the individual who has the intellect and imagination to form great ideas, but is cheated of their fulfillment by circumstances, longs for revenge, and generally finds it in devastating the lives of others more prosperous than himself. The implication is that the currents of personality, dammed up and cut off from their natural channels of expression, return upon themselves, stagnate, and generate cruel, sinister desires. Denied one form of activity, the impulses inevitably seek another. A character, impelled by this motive, appears diabolic, because he may seem to be working havoc just for its own sake, but in reality his deeds are actuated by forces deep within his soul.

Are not these motives which Ibsen has attributed to Bishop Nicholas found again in his delineation of Hedda Gabler? Superficially it may appear that Hedda's hatred of Mrs. Elvsted is merely ordinary jealousy because Mrs. Elvsted has won the love of Eilert Lövborg, but the fact is that Ibsen has grounded this

hostility far more deeply. Like Bishop Nicholas, Hedda is covertly sensuous, and craves for power, but is too cowardly to dare and to do. Gradually realizing the utter futility of her marriage with Tesman as a means of satisfying her ambition, she broods morbidly over her injuries, and with feline cunning seeks to give vent to her bitter resentment against circumstances. To many Hedda's actions have seemed inexplicably fiendish. What she does is cruel enough, to be sure, but it is not unaccountable. She exults in destruction as evidence of her own power. Nicholas tried to defeat the achievement of Skule's and Haakon's ambitions; Hedda defeats Mrs. Elvsted's regeneration of Lövborg, and drives him to suicide. The outburst of the forces of suppressed individuality are as perilous in the moral world as a volcanic irruption in the physical world.

There is in Ibsenian drama another recurrent element which is, unquestionably, far more significant than any that has yet been pointed out. It has to do with the problem of regeneration—the problem that in one form or another consitutes the core of Ibsen's greatest plays. In his delineation of the moral world, Ibsen represents, as the result of the operation of two forces, the spiritual awakening of the individual who has been sunk in illusion, hypocrisy, or falsehood. One of these forces acts within the individual himself, and impels him to search fearlessly the recesses ofh is soul, and to try before the bar of his own judgment the ideals that regulate his conduct—impels him to "probe where it hurts most," Ibsen's biting phrase, descriptive of his own self-examination at a crucial stage of his experience. The other of these forces acts upon the individual from without, stimulates his sensibility to moral issues, and renders pressing his need for the revision of ethical standards. Now an instructive grouping of many of Ibsen's dramas may be made according to the degree of activity of either one or both of these forces in accomplishing the redemption of the protagonist. Obviously in *The Doll's House*, *Ghosts*, and *Little Eyolf* the desire on the part of Nora, Mrs. Alving, and the Allmers to purge their existence of error springs from within and is the outgrowth of their reflection upon experience, and their effort to fathom the causes of their bitter suffering. In *The Wild Duck* the external force, namely, Gregers Werle, is solely responsible for the shaking-up of that weakling, Hjalmar Ekdal. Finally, in *The Pretenders*, *The Pillars of Society*, *Rosmersholm*, and, perhaps,

The Master Builder, the two forces, with varying degrees of activity, coöperate in the task of bringing light to the spiritually blind. In all these plays, the external force is embodied in a character that, in view of the nature of its influence, may be accurately described as the regenerator, and that is, as a rule, endowed by Ibsen with acute intelligence and subtle power to touch and move the finer impulses of the souls of others. Frequently the motive that urges the regenerator to his self-imposed ennobling labor is a profound affection for the misguided individual he would save.

The regenerator first appears in *The Pretenders* in the person of Sigrid, the sister of Skule. Hers is a very subordinate part, her lines are few in number, but their significance cannot be ignored. She has slight influence upon the events taking place around her, but, like another Cassandra, she sees whither they are tending, and she alone of Skule's immediate associates has the insight to penetrate his weakness and to fear the tragic consequences of an ambition greater than power of achievement. In the end, when the mob is beating at the convent-gates and Skule's wife and daughter cling to him in terror, scarcely knowing or understanding what he has confessed and what he intends to do, it is Sigrid who tears him from them, and, exalted at the prospect of her brother's redemption, contemplates with passionate sympathy his spiritual struggle, urges him to the repudiation of the falsehood that has lain upon his soul, and as her feelings rise and her imagination kindles, Ibsen lets her give inspired utterance to her ecstasy in phrases of compressed poetic power:

"My kingly brother! I see you need me not; I see you know what path to take. . . Use thy wings, and woe to them who . . . would bind thee now! . . . They (the bells of Nidaros) ring for your true crowning! Farewell, my brother, let the purple robe of blood flow wide over your shoulders; under it may all sin be hidden! Go forth, go into the great church and take the crown of life."

In *The Pillars of Society* the regenerator is Lona Hessel, who returns from America, announcing her intention to resurrect the Bernick household from the vault. At first she finds Bernick's self-righteousness impregnable, but as she probes his conscience and gradually unmasks his hypocrisy, his own moral nature is awakened, and finally in self-revulsion, he publicly acknowledges his crimes. To indicate that, at the end, at any rate, the impulse

to repentance is entirely of Bernick's own volition, Ibsen has been careful to eliminate every possibility of Bernick's exposure from external compulsion: Johan who had threatened to denounce him, leaves Norway for good, and Lona herself destroys the documentary evidence of Bernick's guilt so that he may act in complete independence. Not fear, but a purified spirit, accounts for his confession. Those who had the good fortune of seeing Mrs. Fiske as Lona, will recall by what an intense, rapt expression she conveyed to the audience the impression of her spiritual joy at the contrition of the "pillar of society."

In *The Wild Duck* Gregers Werle miserably fails in his task of redeeming Hjalmar Ekdal because he is fortified with self-esteem and is lacking in the intelligence and insight characteristic of both Sigrid and Lona Hessel. With fatuous blindness, he does not recognize Hjalmar as a weak, attitudinizing sentimentalist without moral resources to draw upon to construct his life on a new basis after he has learned that Gina has been the mistress of old Werle and that Hedwig is not his own child. The impulse to regenerate coming entirely from without, meets and arouses to activity no corresponding impulse in Hjalmar's pitiably shallow soul.

It is customary to regard *The Wild Duck* as little more than Ibsen's mocking symbolization of the failure of his own efforts to awaken his fellow-countrymen to a consciousness of their spiritual decrepitude, he himself being, accordingly, a sickly Gregers Werle ministering to a no less sickly Ekdal. I myself feel, however, that we should also see beyond the possible, and indeed probable autobiographic significance of the drama, the more general and objective fact that in this play Ibsen elucidates his belief that no matter what may be the external influence brought to bear upon the individual it is powerless to accomplish his redemption if his own will does not coöperate in the undertaking. The regenerator may englighten, solace, and inspire, but in the last analysis it is the individual himself who must battle to break the shackles that impede his spiritual growth. It is this conviction that explains why Ibsen could never be induced to identify himself with any movement of public reform because not by such an external means as legislation, granting wider rights, did he think any class or sex could be really freed in the profoundest sense. For the same reason, Ibsen, unlike many of his fellow naturalists, never wrote plays of propaganda, urging specific reforms as the social panacea.

Justly estimated, Ibsen's plays are not mechanical problem-plays, but dramas in which character under spiritual stress and strain is the abiding interest.

Indisputably Ibsen's profoundest treatment of the problem of the regenerator is in *Rosmersholm*. Rebecca West does not succeed in emancipating Rosmer and in making him an uncompromising adherent of revolutionary ideas and practice because she has embattled against her all the conservative traditions of generations of Rosmers. John Rosmer himself is a visionary idealist, generous-spirited, but possessed of a will so weakened by inheritance and training that he is without the self-reliance and balance necessary for a man who would run counter to the social order. The fact is he really does little more than lip-service to intellectual radicalism; he hesitates to proclaim his agnosticism to the world, and in general is in constant need of Rebecca's stimulating sustaining presence. Rebecca, clear-sighted and far more penetrating than Gregers in the case of Hjalmar, recognizes Rosmer's weakness, but hopes to supply him with the stamina he lacks. But her expectations are doomed to disappointment. Even after, in a spirit of noble self-sacrifice, she attempts by her confession of her responsibility for Beata's death to relieve him of his sense of guilt, Rosmer cannot build his life anew, but, tormented by self-reproach and morbid doubts, puts a close to the struggle by suicide. But the play does not end in the negation of complete moral failure as does *The Wild Duck*. With astonishing subtlety Ibsen enhanced the ethical significance of the drama by representing how her sojourn at Rosmersholm redeemed Rebecca herself. She came to Rosmersholm a self-seeking individualist; in the end she acknowledges her despicable trickery and gives up her life, impelled by a love that has been purged of all selfishness. Her own conduct, at any rate, illumines her principle that existence is a perpetual rebirth.

It is characteristic of Ibsen's method with its shifting emphasis on similar situations in different plays that in *Hedda Gabler* the reclaiming of Eilert Lövborg should have already been accomplished at the opening of the drama. His savior, Mrs. Elvsted, has checked the dissolute habits that had been blighting his genius, and made it possible for him to write a great book. Not gifted with the clear intelligence and vital energy of either Lona or Rebecca, Mrs. Elvsted would have had no influence over men of

mentality as different as Bernick and John Rosmer, whereas her sympathy and affectionate fidelity were likely to appeal to the more emotional, temperamental Lövborg. Ibsen has achieved here, I think, a very fine bit of discrimination. The pathos of Mrs. Elvsted's situation is revealed when, separated from her by Hedda's contrivance, the impressionable Lövborg yields to temptation and wrecks himself completely.

Although a candid criticism of *The Master Builder* must recognize that is it marred by irritating obscurities, and although no sincere admirer of Ibsen can feel that he proved himself any greater as an artist because he introduced into a play that was intended for the necessarily rapid unfoldment of stage-presentation, symbolism that analysis in a study cannot consistently interpret, yet it must not be overlooked that there are, indeed, in *The Master Builder*, many situations easily explicable as phases of vital human life, gripping in their significance, and powerful in their appeal. Solness, the egotist, unable to reconcile himself to the demands of the younger generation, ruthlessly sacrifices his associates to maintain his own preeminence, and yet is haunted all the while by a terrible fear of ultimate defeat. It is clear that in his megalomania he is the kin of Bernick and Borkman. The lot of Solness is the eternal ironic tragedy of selfish individualism. Aline Solness, the mother whose maternal longings have been cruelly cheated, suffers as poignantly as Agnes, sacrificed to Brand's inexorable idealism. These incidents are charged with emotion, and undeniably reveal Ibsen's creative powers in splendid exercise.

It seems to me that, perhaps, we arrive at the true significance of the part which Hilda Wangel plays in the drama, if we regard her as a typical Ibsenian regenerator. She has read the soul of Solness, urges him to throw off his obsessing fear of younger rivals, and incites him to climb to the very top of the spire, that is to obtain again, though, as it turns out, only for a moment, the spiritual freedom of his former days, and the renewal of his former splendid energies. Hilda rejoices in his fall, not certainly because she is heartless, but rather because her love is so great that she exults that Solness has justified her faith in him, and dared death in his effort to lift himself above the level of mediocrity to which as an artist and a man he had sunk. Similarly, Sigrid, the earliest of Ibsen's regenerators, exhorts her brother Skule to go forth to the death she knows is certain because by this act of courage he

proves that he has flung from his soul the lies that have been corrupting it. To the regenerator physical death, when an evidence of resurrection of the spirit, is not an occasion for terror or for tears.

These are a few examples, illustrating Ibsen's habit of treating again and again from various points of view situations and characters that interested him. These recurrent elements impart to his work, as has been remarked, a fundamental unity, and knit together in philosophical significance plays widely separated in time. But neither a cursory reader nor a spectator is impressed by these elements as repetitions, so much fresh energy has been imparted to them from the dramatist's abundant imagination. Only the careful reading of the plays in close sequence reveals the attachment of each to its predecessors and its successors.

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A PRECURSOR OF *TRISTRAM SHANDY*

For a recognized plagiarist, Laurence Sterne has held a curiously isolated position in the literary history of his time. Though Ferriar and others have diligently listed his debts for specific details to Englishmen and Frenchmen of the seventeenth century and earlier, yet his claim to originality in the germinal idea of *Tristram Shandy*, and in the persons of that work, has been but slightly impugned. Historical and literary isolation Sterne's masterpiece has maintained, I believe, only because of our limited knowledge of the minor fiction that preceded him. That the Shandean types of character, sentiment, and diction, might be shown to have had prototypes of inconspicuous sort, I have suspected. One such precursor I stumbled upon, and recently I discovered that the same obscure work was known to a contemporary of Sterne's, who judged it to be not merely an anticipation of his work, but its very source.

The volume I found has a title-page much in the Shandean manner:

> The Life and Memoirs of Mr. Ephraim Tristram Bates, Commonly Called Corporal Bates, a Broken-Hearted Soldier: Who, From a private Centinel in the Guards, was, From his Merits, advanced, *regularly*, to be Corporal, Sergeant, and Pay-master Sergeant; and had he lived a few Days longer, might have died a Commission-Officer, to the great loss of his lamentable Lady, whose marriage he had intended to declare as soon as his Commission was signed and who, to make up for the Loss of so dear a Husband, and her Pension, which then no Duke on earth could have hindered, in order to put Bread into the Mouths of seven small Children, the youngest now at her Breast, the sweet Creatures being two Twins, publishes these Memoirs from the original Papers, sealed with the Seal of dear Mr. Bates, and found exactly as he mentioned in his last Will and Testament, in an Oven, never used, where in his Life-time, he secreted many State Papers, Etc. Etc. Etc. *Sublatum ex oculis quaerimus.* HOR. London: Printed by MALACHI * * * *, for EDITH BATES, Relict of the aforesaid Mr. BATES, and sold by W. OWEN, at *Homer's Head, Temple-bar*, Anno MDCCLVI.

Of this same work Mrs. Piozzi wrote in an undated marginal note to a volume of Dr. Johnson's letters:

> "What, however, is much more extraordinary, is that the famous Tristram Shandy itself is not absolutely original; for when I was at Derby in the summer of 1744, I strolled by mere chance into a bookseller's shop, where, however, I could find nothing to tempt curiosity but a strange book about Corporal Bates, which I bought and read for want of better sport, and found it to be the very

novel from which Sterne took his first idea. The character of Uncle Toby, the behaviour of Corporal Trim, even the name Tristram itself, seems to be borrowed from this stupid history of Corporal Bates, forsooth."[1]

The date 1744 is apparently a typographical error, since Mrs. Piozzi was born in 1741 (d. 1821), and *Corporal Bates* was not published, it appears, until 1756. It would seem probable that she bought her copy of *Corporal Bates* when she was in Derby on July 19, 1774 in the course of the Welsh tour with Dr. Johnson.[2] At this time *Tristam Shandy* (1759-67) must have been fairly fresh in her mind.

Though one's final judgment may be less positive than Mrs. Piozzi's, her impression as the result of a casual reading of *Corporal Bates* is easily understood and not incredible, I think. Indeed, I confess to my own first wild suspicion that I held in my hand a prentice piece by Sterne himself, not a mere exemplar. Abandoning that brief hope, I still find the little novel worth the notice of students of Sterne, surely as a sign of the times in which he worked, and possibly as an unrecorded source of some part of his material and technique.

Biographical Matter

In the handling of the life of the hero, the story has points in common with *Tristram Shandy*. It carries Tristram Bates from birth to death, dwelling feelingly on his baptism and funeral; it records his high devotion to a soldier's duty, and the disappointment of which he died, a victim of the devious political system of his time to which in part the book is devoted.

The Life and Memoirs of Mr. Ephraim Tristram Bates begins in more prompt and orderly fashion than *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gent.* Bates was born on May 1, 1720; Tristram Shandy was born on November 15, 1718; Laurence Sterne was born November 24, 1713: the three heroes were contemporaries. Prenatal influence played some part in the lives of all three, perhaps; such influence upon the character of Tristram Shandy is

[1] *Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)*, ed. A. Hayward, Esq., (London, 1861) I, 325-6; section headed, "Minor Marginal Notes on the Two Volumes of Printed Letters."

[2] *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, including Mrs. Thrale's Unpublished Journal of the Welsh Tour made in 1774*, etc. ed. Seccombe; (London and N. Y., 1910): entry in Mrs. Thrale's journal, p. 173; entry in Dr. Johnson's journal, p. 224.

well-known: as Mr. Shandy tearfully explained, "My Tristram's misfortunes began nine months before he came into the world." Of Bates we are told:

"Some glooms which were often observed in him, and which at last shortened the course he might have run, and the military Glory he might have obtained in a Process of Time, was said, by his Mother, to be owing to the many Shocks the Fortunes of her Family met with the very Year she bore him: She was the Daughter of a Gentleman, but not being an only one the Division, her Brother being living, was slender; this occasioned frequent Words between her husband and her."[3]

The naming of Tristram Shandy was a painful accident in the haste of an emergency. Bates, on the other hand, was deliberately named. "His Godfather by whom he gained the two very particular Names he bore were wealthy Farmers, and malted."[4] Later the narrative says:

"Tristram, for we shall sometimes call him by one Sponsor's Name and sometimes by another."[5]

Mr. Shandy believed firmly that on "the choice and imposition of Christian names . . . a great deal more depended than what superficial kinds were capable of conceiving."[6] Bates seems to have held a similar theory, for we find him "wishing sometimes his Godfathers had been Officers, and that his Christian Name had been Eugene, Saxe, Cumberland, or any other great General;"[7] and in a postcript to his dying letter to his wife he says: "I request that our Son, christened, you remember, by the several names (as foreign Children often have) of Marlborough-Eugene-Turenne-Peterborough-Saxe-Cumberland, etc. etc. be not brought up a soldier—but if so, never to know the Mathematics."[8]

The christenings of both infants were ominous in effect. The irretrievable mistake in the taming of his son, seemed to Mr. Shandy the loss of the "one cast of the die left for our child."[9] The christening of Bates involved a more deliberate enchantment, in the telling of which appears a fanciful episode touched with

[3] *Corp. Bates*, p. 7.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 8.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 22.

[6] *Works of Lawrence Sterne*, ed. J. P. Browne, (Lond., 1885) I, 44. All later references to *Tristram Shandy* are to this edition.

[7] *Corp. Bates*, p. 131.

[8] *Ib.*, p. 232.

[9] *Tris. Shan.*, p. 263.

salacious humor, and a parodying of the rite of the church, crude, yet of a type which Sterne would have enjoyed.[10] Of the godfathers, we are told:

"Like most Persons on that Day they promised what they never intended to perform; for, besides engaging properly to instruct or see him instructed, they never ask'd him a single Question in all their lives for his Good; they also promised and swore to it, for they only vow'd to the first, as they both had separate interests with the Great, that whatever Way of Life he pursued they would provide for him. Thus ended the Ceremony."[11]

Then came the mock christening:

"The House being cleared of the Doctor and the grave Sponsors, some young Ladies now drew up the Curtain of their Play. Come, blooming Girls and Maidens fair, says Miss Betsey, for many were present, Square-toes the Right Reverend is reel'd off, and the old Buck and Doe below stairs are half asleep under the Rose, but not the Doctor's. I don't believe, really, the few Words he gabbled over the dear Boy, and the hard Pump-water he spatter'd upon his pretty, loving, and lovely Eyes, then kiss'd them, with his gouty Chalkstone Fingers will ever be lucky, for all he calls himself a Man of the Lord; follow me, and I'll turn Priestess myself, and see who is most Fortunate. Away they went, the House was large, and at the End of a very long Gallery they found a snug Room, when Betsy shut the Door. Come, says she, Ladies! This Room was once a chapel, and we'll consecrate it again, tho' now a Cheese-chamber. My Lord Bishop, who is the Landlord, has no Objection, because these bring him in his Rent, which dry Prayers would not: Besides it was a Chapel for Papishes, and therefore could never have been a Holy Place. Come, you have often stood up for Men at a Wake, rather than baulk a Dance, when such Commodities were scarce, which, heigh ho! is too much the Case now with us, hang the Wars, what say you, Hah? The Jest took, the Circle was immediately formed, and, off Hand, she made an Oration, by Way of Parady to the Doctor's Prayer, that would not have disgraced even a Barrister from the North for Eloquence, Persuasion, and Harmony and when it was Necessary to sprinkle the Babe of Grace, still to imitate the whole Ceremony, she produced a China Bason . . . she touch'd him gently, in Opposition to the hard-fisted Doctor, and said, 'be Wise, be Happy, be Brave, and be as Tender to our Sex, when a Man, as now I am to you; be as silent of Favours you may receive from us hereafter as you now are, though not so insensible and unfeeling.

[10] In comparing the "Demoniacs" of Crazy Castle with the "Monks" of Medmenham Abbey whom they imitated, Mr. Cross says: "The monks retired to their abbey for the worship of Satan and the Paphian Aphrodite in parody of the rites of the Church of Rome . . . Hall-Stevenson may have visited Medmenham, and Dashwood, with little doubt, sometimes came down to Skelton, where he was known as 'the Privy Counsellor.' Sterne when away addressed the company at Skelton as 'the household of faith' and sent them, in parody of the words of St. Paul, the apostolic benediction." *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

[11] *Corp. Bates*, p. 8.

of them; never be cruel to her who shall then be kind to you, and you will meet with Kindness enough.'

"The Ceremony being over, they all came down, and Betsy with great Command, kept her Countenance, though by some winks and Gestures of the other Young Ladies, the old Folks were rendered something Inquisitive; and a few Days after the Secret came out, which much vex'd Madam Bates, who was not only a great Puritan, but of a Nature leaning to Omens. Night coming on, Betsy, and with a Smile, peculiar to her, and inherited by no one else, said, blushing, 'Remember what you have promis'd when you come to Age, my dear Boy,' then kiss'd him and departed."[12]

This ceremony, then, not his name, proved the ill-omen of Bates's life, and is referred to as such repeatedly in the ensuing narrative. Mr. Shandy, with the advice of Parson Yorick, realized that the mischief could not be undone. Madam Bates was less well-informed:

"Dr. Cassock was sent for next Day to undo Betsy's Charm, which he vainly and foolishly thought he could have done; and, being in a most particular Manner enjoined Secrecy, he took Care to wait on the Archdeacon next Day; he, in the Absence of the Bishop and Dean, being the commanding-Officer, and having but lately come into Power, was found to shew it and gain Strength with his Superior, which Treachery is too often apt to do; away it flew to London, and the great-Council of the Nation, having little else to do, talk'd a whole Evening about it, as it was whisper'd afterwards; and woe to Betsy had she been a Man: But as it was she quitted the Country, being pestered with the hard Names of being an Athist, if not a Papish."[13]

When "poor Tristram" Bates enlisted, and was disinherited therefor, we hear:

"And now poor Betsy was pulled over the Coals again, and all was attributed to her: ''Tis a Judgment, says Madam Bates, for profaning the Ceremony as she so Athistically did:—She, nor he, will ever thrive; the Devil owes them both a Grudge."[14]

This ceremony reappears as a contributory cause or an ill-omen many times.[15] Finally at the very end of the book we are told: "and Bate's Mother still says that *Betsy's wicked Scheme* ruined her Son."[16]

The account of Bate's education, his growing love of military science and the more martial aspects of the curriculum, to the sacrifice of all others, might be that of the youth of Uncle Toby.

[12] *Corp. Bates,* pp. 10-13.
[13] *Ib.*, pp. 13-14.
[14] *Ib.*, p. 30.
[15] *Ib.*, pp. 37, 47, 48, 135, 148.
[16] *Ib.*, p. 238.

Of Bates's education we are given the following report:

"Bates throve so well under his many fair Nurses and nursing Friends, that he went to School, and knew his Letters before some Boys find the right End of their Lesson. He tore off the Horn of his little Book the first Day, in great Wrath, hinting that it looked like a Fraud not to let him see the very Letters fairly, and touch them: and this was a presage of his Skill in the Mathematics, where the whole Business is to unravel, and get at naked Truth. Instead of admiring the Pictures on the Cover, he was always busy at the Inside. As he advanced in Youth, History, and Books of Heroes struck him greatly, insomuch that he told a Friend of his, as an inviolable Secret though, for he was a little asham'd of his Ignorance even then, that seeing in the News-papers a new Edition of Martial was published, he wrote for it, with Money he had got by Prize-verses, and was surprized on receiving it, not to find it a Military Book.

"He early made a Model, from the words of the Commentaries, of the famous Bridge Caesar made across the Rhine."[17]

Certain clerical advisors, alarmed by his evident preference for military affairs now advised Bates's parent "to breed Ephraim a Parson."[18] For Bates's military games began to work havoc with his education. His master, "Ebenezer Birch, M.A., Fellow of Queen's Oxon., Curate of . . . " now wrote to Mrs. Bates:

"'Your Son has very good Parts, but applies them very strangely . . . His Books are all Military and whatever he sees in them he instantly puts in Practice . . . and when I punish him for it, tho' my arm is now tired of doing it, he Cries, I read of the Duke of Marlborough's doing so.'"[19]

His vacation exploits with rockets and combustibles caused his parents to spend more money "in rectifying his Military Mistakes" than their purses could stand. His godfathers, when at last besought to get him a commission, replied that "had he stuck close to his Book they would have done anything, and got him a Vicaridge; but he might be hanged for ought they cared."[20] Then a recruiting sergeant came to town, and in spite of parental efforts Bates ran away to enlist.[21]

[17] *Corp. Bates*, pp. 16-17.

[18] *Ib.*, p. 17.

[19] *Ib.*, pp. 20-21.

[20] *Ib.*, p. 24.

[21] The story of that recruiting party which Bates joined at the age of sixteen, suggests the experience of Sterne's father, Roger Sterne, who, likewise, at the age of sixteen seems to have joined the Thirty-fourth, the Cumberland Regiment of Foot, which was recruiting at Leeds in 1708, from thence he went to the Netherlands and joined the main army of Marlborough; only to return in 1713 to be "broke," though the regiment later reformed in 1715 with Roger Sterne ranking as ensign. Cross, *Life and Times of Lawrence Sterne* (N. Y., 1909) p. 12.

So great was Bates's zeal for the service that we find him by moonlight practicing the use of his firelock in a "Bowling-green . . . so surrounded with a Hedge-row that no one suspected any People there at that Time."[22] This secluded scene of Bates's military practice might be compared with the scene of Uncle Toby's mock campaigns: "at the bottom of the garden, and cut off from it by a tall yew hedge, was a bowling green. It was sheltered from the house, as I told you, by a tall yew hedge, and was covered from the other three sides, from mortal sight, by rough holly and thick-set flowering shrubs; so that the idea of not being seen, did not a little contribute to the idea of pleasure preconceived in my uncle Toby's mind."[23]

Bates's rise in the regiment to the rank of corporal was rapid; then "the Regiment assembled and was broke," and Bates, turned upon the world, played the Prodigal Son.[24] After a period of civilian life, during which he had many adventures and was forced to turn his hand to many kinds of service, "a War threatens —the Companies of the Guards are all filled up."[25] Bates had well-founded hopes of a commission, only to be frustrated at last. He died broken-hearted because of the system of graft and political corruption by which preferments of every kind were controlled. This part of the story is evidently intended as a satirical exposure of the devious distribution of patronage which flourished especially during the ministry of the Duke of Newcastle who came to the front on the death of his brother Pelham in 1754, and remained powerful during the minstry of Pitt.[26] This point, the main purpose of the book, seems true to historical facts.

[22] *Corp. Bates,* p. 34.

[23] *Tris. Shan.,* p. 87.

[24] *Ib.,* 72-3. Compare with this event in the story Sterne's account of his father's experience: "My birthday was ominous to my poor father, who was, the day after we arrived, with many other brave officers *broke,* and sent adrift into the wide world with a wife and two children. . . . The regiment with which my father served being *broke,* he left Ireland as soon as I was able to be carried, with the rest of his family, and came to the family seat at Elvington, near York, where his mother lived. . . . There we sojourned for about ten months when the regiment was re-established." Cross, 13-14.

[25] *Corp. Bates,* p. 185.

[26] Green, *A Short Hist. of the Eng. People,* (N. Y. and Lond., 1898) 748. Green goes on to say of the beginning of the Seven Years' War: "Newcastle was too weak and ignorant to rule without aid, and yet too greedy of power to purchase aid by sharing it with more capable men. His preparations for the

Military Material

It is in the handling of military matters that the parallels between *Corporal Bates* and *Tristram Shandy* are most obvious. As memorable as any passages in the latter are the accounts of Uncle Toby's interest in the campaigns of King William's wars, especially of the attack on Namur of which he was an eye-witness, which, however, he found it difficult to discuss because of the intricacies of "scarp and counter-scarp,—the glacis and covered-way,—the half-moon and ravelins."[27]

Though he fought in later wars, Bates mingled with his admiration for the prowess of Cumberland and Saxe a veneration equal to Uncle Toby's for the genius of Marlborough, Eugene, and Turenne; and to the arts of fortification and of artillery practice he devoted as assiduous attention though his eye was to the future instead of the past. His military heroes, as we have seen, he honored in the naming of his son, and longed for the support of such a name himself; in school he had "read of the Duke of Marlborough's doings"; he recalled how "Marshall Turenne when a Boy, and a puny one, was found sleeping on a Cannon, I wish there was one here, he said."[28]

gigantic struggle before him may be guessed from the fact that there were but three regiments, fit for service in England at the opening of 1756." *Ib.* Of Newcastle's part in the Pitt administration Green says: "For all that Pitt coveted, for the general direction of public affairs, the control of foreign policy, the administration of the war, Newcastle had neither capacity nor inclination. On the other hand his skill in parliamentary management was unrivalled. If he knew little else he knew better than any living man the price of every member and the intrigues of every borough. What he cared for was not the control of affairs, but the distribution of patronage and the work of corruption, and from this Pitt turned disdainfully away." *Ibid.*, 749.

[27] *Tris. Shan.*, p. 70.

[28] *Corp. Bates*, p. 37. *Ib.* 50. A list of the generals mentioned is as follows:

Marlborough, pp. 21, 67, 165, 213, 232, 234.
Eugene, pp. 131, 213, 232.
Turenne, pp. 37, 213, 232.
Saxe, pp. 131, 232.
Cumberland, pp. 131, 232.
Marshall Bellisle, p. 50.
General C—b---e, p. 65.
Peterborough, p. 232.
Col. Ross, pp. 67-8.
Gen. Guest, p. 42.

"Because at School his Amusements were always Military; such as exercising Soldiers, raising Banks, and sinking Trenches, to imitate things he had seen in Books of War," his mother's clerical advisors said using some of Uncle Toby's favorite terms:

"I fear his Head is turned to be a Soldier; prevent it early; I hear him talk often of Doubts, Rideouts, Ravelins, Javelins, Half-moons, Whole-moons, Carps, Counter-carps, and the Lord knows what."[29]

As an officer, Bates put into practice what he had learned:

"Bates had often, even on the Route with his young Recruits, given them such a Thirst for military Glory, that on the Road, tired as they, sometimes, were with the Day's March, Bates would contrive an Ambuscade, or divide his men into two Colums, as he calls them, and by sending one of them a different Road, so manage it, that they should meet, take to their Arms, and A Mock-fight us'd to ensue. . . . The Sound of small Arms was so pleasing to him, next to Artillery, that he would rather baulk himself of a hot Supper, after the Fatigue of the Day, than have your childish dumb firing, as he called it. They may as well, says he, present Broomsticks. . . . 'Tis not the Thing. . . . No, No, I'll have it complete, or not at all."[30]

When his regiment was broke he continued his military studies and observations:

"He made Trips to Douay in Flanders, (the great French Arsenal) Mechlin, and that of the Austrian Netherlands, and could not be easy 'till he saw Toulon and Brest, where he made such excellent drawings, as he has been told, of the Port, Harbour, Batteries, etc., that, says he, 'one of these Days (for I'll never part with Papers again) these shall be a little Fortune to me.'"[31]

"He would often take long Walks, and sit unobserved on a Bench at Chelsea-Hospital, to hear old Firelocks (as he called them) there, talk of Battles, now almost forgot but by antiquarians—Ramilies, Oudenarde, Hochsted, etc."[32]

His interest in artillery practice led him to the arsenal at Woolwich. His account of this episode again reveals the particular purpose of the book, as well as salient points of method and style:

"'But I must away for Woolwich, I have an experiment or two to make there; and, as I know some of the Matrosses, no doubt they will let me Practice them, and be glad (if they succeed) to copy me.' Bates arrives at Woolwich, and soon making himself and his business known to a few Friends, they lik'd the Scheme, but said, without leave, they could not oblige him with Powder; 'Oh, says Bates, I have Powder about me, I bought some on purpose at Greenwich just now.' 'Why! then, says an honest Fellow, by Name Cohorn, you can't hurt the Piece by a little Firing.' Bates now lugg'd out his Powder, and

[29] *Corp. Bates*, p. 18.
[30] *Ib.*, pp. 64-5.
[31] *Ib.*, p. 184.
[32] *Ib.*, pp. 202-203.

wish'd he could have brought Ball too; 'Oh! no matter, says Cohorn, Iron is cheap enough.' Bates prepares, and at the first Explosion an Officer, who had bought in, I believe, came up and inquired who he was? 'Please your Honour, says Cohorn, a young Lad, who loved Engineering and Gunnery; has been in France on Purpose to improve, and is come here in pure good Nature to instruct us.' 'Damn him, says Captain Bladder, (that was the Name of this bloated Commander, and I shall never forget him or his Name) 'Tis a Scheme; some frenchified Papish, coming here to blow up the Magazine perhaps—besides I don't like your learning *new* Ways—we are *skilled* enough;—no Country has more knowing People in our Way,—have we not near 500 Bombadiers? Half as many Miners? No, no,—send him packing,—I see into the Fellow,—he's a Bite,—follow the Way you are taught,—'tis an excellent one,—you can never find a better;—we want no Instructions,—bid him take up his Books of Pothooks and Hangers,—we never use Books,—all by the Head, which is more certain;—'there, use him well, says Bladder,—but see him clear of the Town;—I'll seal up his Books of Gunnery, as he impudently, or rather foolishly calls them, and send them to the Council,—I shall perhaps advance myself by it;—he's a Spy,—and writes a Cypher—the proper Officer shall have them,—and I'll warrant we'll find him out;—buying Powder, to be sure, is an excellent Blind! Why, we have not not a Matross (much more an Officer) but would do as much—.Then turning into his Guard Room, Bates saw him in less than a Half a Minute, asleep in an easy Chair"[33]

When Bates seeks employment, his Master says, "The Letters you have brought mention your great Skill in the Mathematics, particularly Gunnery and Fortification."[34] During his employment Bates "kept up his study of the Mathematics. At Hours of Relaxation, Books of foreign Wars relieved the Mind, after such close Attention . . . to the abstruse Sciences."[35] At last Bates finds that by voting for the wrong candidate he has become enmeshed in political enmities and his hopes of a commission are doomed. His friend enlightens him:

"Bates, I fear we are blown up! Spontoon was to have had a Regiment but his Election has stopt it; the last is given this Morning,—whether the Subalterns are filled, I can't say. Spontoon is sure of this, for being with the great Ruler of the Kingdom this Morning, he saw a M.S. Book lie open, and while the great Man stept aside, he ventured to peep in it; he saw his Name with a B. opposite it, which (for 'tis called Dooms-day Book) we, who know the World, know to be fatal.[36]

[33] *Corp. Bates*, pp. 177-180. See ref. to Capt. Bladder in the notice in the *Critical Review*, *infra*, p. 249.

[34] *Corp. Bates*, p. 88.

[35] *Ib.*, p. 150.

[36] *Ib.*, p. 224.

And Bates replies:

"I would there were a Battle this Morning! I would court Death if he would not seek me! Am tired of Life."[37]

Finally he dies as Uncle Toby might have done, his faithful heart broken by the defeat of the King's Arms which he was not allowed to serve. As Uncle Toby said of death," 'Tis better in battle than in bed,"[38] so Bates had said of another soldier, " 'Twas Pity he died in any Bed but the Bed of Honour."[39]

His last words were of "Mahon," referring to the news "that a certain Island of an In-land Sea was taken" which caused his death. These words seem to date the book, and to show it to have been written in the year of its publication, for in 1756 occurred the fall of Port Mahon, in Minorca, the key to the Mediterranean.

The handling of this and other military events marks the author as an interested observer, if not a man professionally concerned. The generals mentioned are those of prominence in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War; the campaigns of Cumberland and Saxe he knows in a general way at least. That his military knowledge is so minute and technical as to indicate more than a general interest, I do not believe. He is a man awake to governmental misdemeanors, as he is alert to human foibles in other walks of life. The character of Corporal Bates seems the satiric conception of the perfect soldier drawn from outside the profession, with an eye to literary effects, by a detached but not uninformed by-stander; it does not seem the product of vocational bias.

Satire on the Church

Next in importance to the treatment of military matters in *Corporal Bates* is the satire on the Church. The mock christening, and the satire on the sponsor's vows, we have already seen; as well as Dr. Cassock's futile attempt to undo the wrong. The clergy are satirized in Dr. Cassock, whose Shandean portrait will be quoted later, whom Betsy refers to as "Square-toes the Right Reverend" as if he were a bishop. Bates's boyish model of Caesar's bridge "was shown to many Clergymen, who, because it was a Roman Structure, and out of a Classical Book, pretended to know a great deal of it. But he then discovered much Arrogance

[37] *Corp. Bates*, p. 225.
[38] *Tris. Shan.*, p. 318.
[39] *Corp. Bates*, p. 67.

and Ignorance in those Gentlemen, and never thoroughly could forgive their ungenerous Usage of poor Betsy."[40] In his travels "Bates found Dr. Cassocks in ev'ry County, Men who by their Profession are set apart for Meekness, Forgiveness and Humanity—Quite—*But*, says he, *they know no better.*"[41] That is a Shandean twist at the end. Cassock, Sponge, and Sedentary are three of the clergy he mentions, and Mr. Paradox, "a pert Oxford Scholar" was a parlour-boarder at Dr. Cassock's. The names are significant. There is a final slap at ecclesiastical preferment, that perhaps goes farther than anything in the satire of Sterne's *Political Romance*; Bates encounters "a Highlander born (now a Rector in Surrey, obtained by betraying his Country's and his Friend's most intimate Secrets. Thus, when the Doors and Common Avenues to Preferment are clos'd, some scale the Walls—often succeed—and some break their Neck in the Attempt.)"[42]

Humor

The humor of *Corporal Bates* is difficult to treat: though it has something of the Rabelaisian quality in which Sterne delighted, it has rarely any of Sterne's adroitness of treatment, and its coarseness frequently renders the most characteristic passages unquotable.

As an example of the comic episode there is Betsy's christening party, already quoted; one more episode will serve to illustrate this class of material and the technique with which it is handled. His regiment being broke, Bates returns home, but is refused admittance, whereupon he goes to Dr. Cassock's house:

> "A pert Oxford Scholar, his old Comrade, and who was once a Parlour-boarder to Cassock, and now on a Visit in Vacation, began, in the Name of the whole Village to *roast* away. . . . Well! A Gentlemen's Son turn'd to a Sergeant of *Feet*. . . . 'Tis not *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, though 'tis an odd Metamorphosis. . . . I forgave this Crime in him of punning, because he was come from the *Spring-head* of those Idlenesses."[43]

Paradox goes on to twit Bates upon his impecunious condition:

[40] *Corp. Bates*, p. 17.

[41] *Ib.*, p. 83.

[42] *Ib.*, p. 106.

[43] Cf. "Dennis the critic could not detest and abhor a pun, or the insinuation of a pun, more cordially than my father;—he would grow testy upon it at any time;—but to be broke in upon by one in a serious discourse, was as bad, he would say, as a fillip upon the nose." *Tris. Shan.*, p. 93.

"Bates, seeing him unarm'd, scorn'd to attack him, as a Man, and having slipt off his Sword, which was flung over his Shoulder short for marching with more Ease, he took him in his Arms, and having carried him a few Yards . . . and oh! dreadful to relate! whip't him with Nettles, at ev'ry Lash repeating this Line,—very slow—*Qui Color albus erat nunc et Contrarius albo.* . . . 'Now says Bates . . . I think my Pun, in return for your Metamorphosis, has a Sting in the Tale—your's was rather blunt.' And now it came to pass, that Mr. Paradox did not sit other than Edge-ways for some Weeks afterwards."

Bates, to escape the persecution that must follow his act, "regirted on his sword" and set out for London:

"every now and then recollecting the odd Position Mr. Paradox must sit in, and smiling to think how dangerous it is to depend on Classical Parts, without the least Tint of Good-manners. You will find Bates not of a cruel Temper in any Part of his Life but this, for the Ladies said . . . *Why did he use stinging Nettles of all Things*? . . . Why? that Mr. Paradox might remember the Better. And it is said that he never has or will forget it—but vents in his very Sermons great Venom against Soldiers and their licentious Behaviour, Cruelty and Blood Thirstiness; which Bates and all true Soldiers says . . . 'Is a Tale told by an Ideot—full of Sound and Fury, signifying Nothing.' "[44]

Satire on particular professions has been illustrated in the treatment of the Church in Dr. Cassock, and the army in Captain Bladder. Doctors are satirized in the report of the following encounter:

"Bates willing to converse with ev'ry one going the same Road, now overtook a Sow-gelder. The fellow was drole and gen'rous. Bates called him Dr. Cheselden,[45] sometimes, which almost afronted him, for he said he imagined Bates was joking him, and that there was as much Skill in cutting his Patients, for so he called the Pigs, as Mr. Cheselden's."[46]

Lacking the personal animus, this has of course little of the biting quality in Sterne's pillorying of Dr. Burton as Dr. Slop. As an illustration, however, of the technique of satiric personal description in *Corporal Bates*, the previously mentioned description of Dr. Cassock may be quoted as comparable, though crudely so, to Sterne's portrait of Dr. Slop:

"Dr. Cassock, for that was the Vicar's Name, mounted, as well as his fair Round-belly and the Beer he had tunn'd would permit him, his dock'd-tail

[44] *Corp. Bates*, pp. 73-76.

[45] Dr. William Cheselden (1688-1752) was a noted surgeon of the time: "He was celebrated for his lateral operation for the stone and for operations upon the eye. He wrote 'The Anatomy of the Human Body' (1713), 'A Treatise on the High Operation for the Stone' (1723), 'Osteographia, or the Anatomy of Bones' (1733)." *Century Cyclopaedia of Names*, I, p. 242.

[46] *Corp. Bates*, p. 80.

Chaise-horse with Oil-skin Housings, and a small Bag of Malt before him, which, hanging equally on each Side, had a distant Appearance of Holsters, for that was his Equipage on Worky-days."[47]

Another comic description is that of an inept colonel whom Bates watched on parade:

"When now, calling for his Beast, the better to survey the whole crooked Line, (whether the Beer he had that Day drank, or whether the Beef he had ate to Breakfast, Dinner, and Afternoon-luncheon, or whether it was the natural Tendency of his Pate, but on clamb'ring up the outside of his War-horse, he hung over his saddle with his Head downwards, like the Sign of the Golden-Fleece (for he was indeed all Gold). Thrice he essay'd to raise himself, thrice he failed; when descending again (the better to accomplish his Design) some valiant Sergeants, who saw his Distress with Concern, ran to his Assistance; and (over eager to save the Credit of the Regiment and their Colonel) they jointly put their Hands under his Crupper so violently, that he fell over the other Side of his Horse, who luckily having been hard work'd in a Colour-mill, (for he borrow'd him that Morning) stood quiet enough, or Mr. Colonel must have been the only dead Man that Day, except the many who were only dead drunk."[48]

As might be expected much of the humor centres about sexual relations. A digression recounting the conversation of Betsy's friends quotes at length Jenny who "had married an honest Breeches-maker."[49] Of Bates's affairs, for which Betsy's christening is given part credit, we are told: "His Amours may be the Subject of future Books."[50]

Sentimentalism

The sentimentalism in combination with this humor is an interesting Shandean feature. Whereas much of the humor might be credited to the influence of Fielding, this sentimentalism is less easily classified. The old soldiers weep unabashed, we observe:

"The old Soldier was amaz'd at his Memory and Cleverness: But, having heard the News from the Kitchen that he was a young Fellow of Family and Fortune, almost wept."[51]

On hearing that the regiment is to be broke Bates is sad:

"Bates, recovering himself, said, 'I will entirely take your Advice.' Then with a Sigh, 'Ah! my Hopes are blasted. Forgive me, but I must out with it—

[47] *Corp. Bates*, pp. 8-9.

[48] *Ib.*, pp. 166-7.

[49] *Ib.*, p. 31.

[50] *Ib.*, p. 48. For other examples of humor of similar sort see pp. 86-7, 214-5, 112-3, 155, 18, 19, etc.

[51] *Ib.*, p. 35.

This is the State of Man—to Day he puts forth
The tender Leaves of Hope, tomorrow Blossoms.'—

And so went though the Whole with Voice and Action, second to one only, who is truly first of this or any Age."[52]

Bates's captain was deeply moved by his professional devotion on one occasion:

"'I don't know whether he did not, as Shakespear says, *play the Woman* a Moment, for he had been disappointed, and seen many Friends much more so: If he wept it was for them . . . therefore I'll believe he did.'"[53]

On hearing the tales of an older soldier, "Bates wept! and wished he might ever have the same opportunity of being *stript to the Skin*, too, for the sake of a *brave Soldier.*'"[54] Such tears are surely legitimate, for Uncle Toby said, "Tears are no proof of cowardice, Trim.—I drop them oft-times myself, cried my uncle Toby.—I know your Honour does, replied Trim, and so am not ashamed of them myself."[55]

Like a Man of Feeling Bates's sympathies are stirred by the old soldier's needs:

"Seeing the poor Fellow without a Cravat (and the Evening cool), Bates took off his own, put it round his Neck, buttoning his own Collar close, and so set off for London."[56]

A conversation with another veteran has a melancholy ending:

"'I wish my Age would permit me to sit longer—*my Candle is out*—I know little of the World; and little do I desire to know further of it; the Curtain between that and me will soon drop, and I care not how soon the Play is over. The Earth is grateful, it yields what you desire it—Plants, Flowers, Trees, Animals, the same,—Man, only is *ungrateful!* I wish you may not find it so, young Gentleman. Good Evening to you, Sir.' Could I paint to my Reader the Complacency, great Carriage, Humanity, and Modesty of this Person, while he spoke these and many other Things he would join, indeed, with my ever noble Captain, and say, *there was a Time.* Sure, says I, this seems the first Adam

In himself is all his State.

I followed this most venerable Figure, at a Distance, but lost him (thro' Fear of offending by going closer), somewhere about Grosvenor-street. That Night I dreamed much of him. But Dreams are accidental! *daily* I think of him, and ever shall; would I could speak with him again! for

Whilst I talk'd with him I seem'd in Heav'n.

[52] *Corp. Bates,* p. 62.

[53] *Ib.*, p. 42.

[54] *Ib.*, p. 205.

[55] *Tris. Shan.*, p. 243.

[56] *Corp. Bates,* p. 206.

I never saw so much before, and never shall again. My Eyes looked their last (not daring to follow him) when I said to myself, in my fav'rite Milton,

Thou to Mankind be good and friendly still,
And oft return—"[57]

And here again the chapter ends.

After his regiment was broken Bates undertook a veritable sentimental journey of the sort that Sterne and Mackenzie popularized later, a device involving the gift of benevolence, humane interest, and sensibility to the picaresque hero of earlier times. On his journey from Shaftesbury to London, Bates encountered a friendly itinerant taylor who supplied the lack of a ferrel on Bates's cane with a thimble from his own stock.[58] At Hereford he meets a good woman "who practiced a little Surgery besides lodging travellers" who said, " 'Tis a sad thing to be hungry on the road . . . do put a Slice of that in your Pocket, here's Paper for you, and God Bless you.' I went a 100 Miles in search of such an Heart," adds Bates, "and might go twice as far before I could find another."[59] He met also the sow-gelder, and a knife grinder, and finally made the last stage of his journey in a "burial Equipage" where the man-servant and the maid-servant "were on the Fume to guess the Legacy they were to meet with on opening the will of my Lady, when they got to London."[60] It should be noted that after the manner of Fielding's and Sterne's travellers, Bates marks his itinerary by the names of the towns he passes through: Hereford and Worcester and Abington. The places named in the book are almost all in southern or south western England.

The account of Bates's death must now be quoted in full, (having been saved for use in this connection) as the crowning touch of sentimentality in the book:

"While he was busy, giving the Word of Command, News was brought that a certain Island of an In-land Sea was taken—'Damn them, says he, (the first Oath that ever was heard to fall from him)[61] I told them of this when I shewed them my Plans.' If any Dorsetshire Men were there I'm sure the Enemy had Business enough. I hope my Countrymen had the Honours of War! I can't but wish I had been there.' Then turning *very pale*, and leaning

[57] *Corp. Bates*, pp. 208-9.
[58] *Ib.*, p. 78.
[59] *Ib.*, p. 80.
[60] *Ib.*, p. 84.
[61] Compare Uncle Toby's famous oath on which "the recording angel, as he wrote it down, dropp'd a tear . . . and blotted it out forever." *Tris. Shan.* p. 380.

against a Tree, he was soon observed to be unfit for his Duty any longer, and they begged him to *Retreat*. 'No, says he, I'll give the Command with my *Stick*, as my Voice is too faint to be heard.' Still growing worse, some Friends, who felt for him (without knowing the Cause) cry'd fetch a Sedan Chair out of Queen's Square, and carry him Home: 'No says he, 'tis not a Carriage for a Soldier—give me some lusty Fellows' Backs, and I'll go home.'—There was such a rush at once, of Volunteers to do this, seemingly, last Kindness to Bates, that, instead of *assisting* him, they had like to have thrown him down. 'Let me have them *all Corporals*, says he, if possible; (I remember Alexander, somewhere, said, I'll play at any trifling Game you will, only let me have Kings to play with.)—But if not, I'm content.' He was then carried home, followed by more real Mourners than those who lie in State at the Jerusalem Chamber, and are buried near Kings and Queens at Midnight . . He called for a Pen and Ink, and declaring he could not live, wrote a Letter; when, before he had sealed it, his Tongue failed him, and nothing but *Moan, Moan*, was heard: They often asked him Why he *moaned* so? He then would shake his Head and wave his Hand, and repeat *Moan, Moan*, so that many who know the Secret of his Death now think he meant *Mahon*, an Isle in an In-land Sea;—and then he expired in the Arms of Sergeant Platoon, and Corporal File, in the Presence of many more; who all cryed, *'Tis a greater Loss to us than a Battle!* The Street was so crowded 'till he was buried, that *Passengers* thought the Companies were paid thereabout, they attended so constantly."[62]

Then follows his letter to his wife, explaining that their marriage had been kept secret heretofore because, "We both agreed the Name of a Wife and Family might hinder my Rising in Life, as the World it too apt to fly from Misfortune."[63] He then instructs her about publishing his Memoirs and other papers: "Publish my Life first; after that, if they succeed to you, follow the Numbers as they stand."[64]

The last melancholy chapter is presumably of Mrs. Bates's adding:

"Mrs. Bates was found, tho' too late to cloas those Eyes, which would have look'd their last on her; judge her Situation! The Avenues and Stairs of Bates's Lodging were so crowded for a Week, that 'twas difficult to pass; some said there was to be a Review, others new Cloathing giv'n out, and others again that the Men were paid somewhere thereabouts. So eager were People for anything that ever belong'd to him, (much more his Coarse) that a Grenedier, who took some Halfpence at first, to shew his Halbert, Sword, and Regimentals, now rais'd it to Sixpence; . . he nobly return'd the whole to his Wife and

[62] *Corp. Bates*, pp. 227-230. Is Corporal File the prototype of Corporal Trim?

[63] *Ib.*, p. 231.

[64] *Ibid.* Were other books planned and given up because of the failure of this one? Or is this a mere literary device?

Family, being near 10 Pounds. His Burial was a well attended as his Grace of Marlboro's, with respect to Numbers."[65]

"He order'd plain Stone should be fixt over him, with this Inscription:

—Vivat Rex!—

Corporal BATES

Liv'd—and wou'd have dy'd, in the Service of his

—Country.—

But, etc. etc.

No Year, nor Age. He thought it sufficient, and his Words were strictly obeyed. Sergeant Platoon says (who took it down) that 'tis exact; but Posterity will be much divided (who know not the *Secrets* of Things) what was to have follow'd the Word *But*; — — whether it was. But for his own Mismanagement; — — But for the treachery of seeming Friends; — — But for the Persecution of his Enemies; — — But for his ill Stars; — — or, But for his skill in the Mathematicks;—and no Wonder Posterity will be ignorant, when even his Contemporaries could not learn from his own Mouth what he meant, but are left to guess at it, from Circumstances and the Face of Things."[66]

Next appear certain clauses in his will, and then:

"Thus ended the Life of a very ingenious and brave Man, (scarce 35 Years of Age) which, tho' short, was *for his Station* full of Honour; and rais'd for the Time as high in Rank as Merit alone carries any Man. The Stone Mason at the Savoy tells me, he can scarce go on in his Work, on account of the numberless Questions ask'd him; and scarce an Hour in the Day passes, but Strangers inquire for his Tomb; and, striking their Breasts, Cry!

Alas! poor Bates.

"The News has reach'd Shaftsbury, Dr. Cassock and his Brethren *cruelly* exult;—and Bates's Mother still says that Betsy's *wicked Scheme* ruined her Son. Here end the Memoirs of Corporal Bates!"[67]

There are many touches in these last two chapters suggestive of Mackenzie in the *Man of Feeling*; and of course the very last looks forward to that passage in *Tristram Shandy:*

"He lies buried in the corner of his church-yard in the parish of — — under a plain marble slab which his friend Eugenious by leave of his executors, laid upon his grave, with no more than these three words of incription, serving both for his epitaph and elegy:—

Alas, poor YORICK!

"Ten times a day has Yorick's ghost the consolation to hear his monumental inscription read over with such a variety of plaintive tones as denote a general pity and esteem for him; a footway crossing the church-yard, close by the side of his grave, not a *passenger* goes by without stopping to cast a look upon it, and sighing, as he walks on,

Alas, pore YORICK!"[68]

[65] *Corp. Bates,* pp. 233-4.
[66] *Ib.,* pp. 235-6.
[67] *Ib.,* p. 238.
[68] *Tris. Shan.,* p. 29.

Literary Allusion

The amount of literary allusion in the book, both English and Latin, is greater in amount than in any novel of the period that I know of, in proportion to its size.[69]

Among the classical references are the quotation from Horace on the title page, and allusions to Ovid[70] Livy,[71] Martial,[72] and Caesar's Commentaries.[73] There are five Latin quotations,[74] allusions to Cincinnatus, Alexander, and the Castilian Spring, and a few other Latin words and phrases. One passage at the end of chapter XXIII is worth quoting for its satire on the clergy, and its quirk at the end of the chapter so suggestive of Sterne:

"To rise by Merit was all Bates's Scheme; and when Strangers concurred that he deserved a Halbert, he then thought 'twas fair to accept it; not before! He wishes the Voice of the People was more listened to,—

Interdum Populus rectum putat, etc.

What says Bates, did you think I had forgot my Latin? Like the Bishop of"[75]

The quotations from, and allusions to, English literature may be listed as follows:

Shakespeare, 18.
Milton, 13.
Pope, 5.
Swift, 3.
Beggars' Opera, 2.
Aesop, 1.
Pastoral Ballads, 1.
Britons Strike Home, 1.
Ode to the Memory of Col. Ross, 1.
Wit without Money, (comedy), 1.
Spectator, 1.
Rochester, 1.
Joseph Andrews, 1.
Bland's Military Discipline, 1.
Addison, 1.
Tamerlane, (Rowe's, 1746?) 1.
Oroonoko, (Southerne's) 1.
History, and Books of Heroes, 1.
Occasional Pamphlets, 1.
Unindentified, 10.

Corporal Bates also contains considerable satirical material about the booksellers and hackwriters of Grub Street, along with the ridicule of the demands of public taste and the means taken to supply these demands.[76]

[69] The novel is small, 8vo., 238 pages.
[70] *Corp. Bates,* p. 74.
[71] *Ib.*, p. 154.
[72] *Ib.*, p. 17.
[73] *Ib.*
[74] *Ib.*, 135—Vergil, Ecl., 140, 193, 197, 221.
[75] *Ib.*, p. 193.
[76] *Ib.*, pp. 101 ff.; 181 ff.

Before we leave the discussion of the material in the novel, certain miscellaneous matters may be briefly mentioned: the sympathetic treatment of Irishmen on several occasions,[77] the satirical treatment of Scotchmen or "North Britons," and finally the following account of a ceremony at Cambridge which suggests first-hand observation:

"The Colonel now arrived from the North, and Bates, for a while, resumed his Post there. At first Sight the Colonel smiled and said, 'Pray give me my new Title (you know I'm fond of Feathers): I called at Cambridge in my Way, and, at the grand Installation, was made a Doctor of Laws. 'Tis a Dream to me, for I never read a Page in my Life.' Says Bates, 'to a Man of a speculative and observing Turn of Mind, like your Honour, there must have been high Food for you.' — — 'High enough, says the Colonel: But the highest Character was the Organist there; who, to look fine, wore a suit of Velvet, on a Day I could scarce bear my silk Coat there with a Holland Waistcoat, Ha, ha, ha!—He had it for the Time, I suppose, and was determined (as Sailors do with hackney Horses) to have his Pennyworth. The Simpleton, like me, got an idle Degree given him, which, I hear, he looks upon as a Peerage. *Honores mutant mores.*—And I wish I don't grow proud too. If you see me alter, correct me.' "[78]

So much, then, for the material in the *Life and Memoirs of Mr. Ephraim Tristram Bates.* In its satiric handling of military and ecclesiastical matter, in its mingling of humor of character and of situation with sentiment and pathos, in its wealth of literary allusion, classical and modern, in the drawing of a main character who is humorous, and minor characters that are humors, this novel is significant to literary history as anticipating the later and greater novels of Sterne, whether or not we believe that Sterne knew of this earlier work.

Technique and Style

As regards the technique of *Corporal Bates* much has already been presented with illustration, such as the method of personal description with emphasis on pose and gesture, and with a selection of realistic details, crudely suggestive of Sterne at certain points. The abrupt chapter-endings with a twist at the end have also been pointed out. Digressions play no such obvious part in this work as in *Tristram Shandy:* there are, however, such important ones as the previously mentioned conversation of

[77] *Corp. Bates,* 45-6, 102, 166.

[78] *Ib.,* pp. 149-150. This is introduced quite unnecessarily.

Betsy's friends, the account of the Colonel's Cambridge degree, and the fame of Godfather Ephraim in chime-ringing which was commemorated in an anonymous poem.

Biblical allusions direct or in solution are somewhat frequents Among the most unmistakable are the following: When Bates'. captain tells him that the regiment is to be broke he says, "A bare thanky will be all at parting. They will say, *well done thou good servant* [Then follow two lines of asterisks] and that will be all."[79] Bates then plans to return to his family, thinking it "would give them pleasure to see their *prodigal* Son, as they called him, returned . . . Away he goes. Suppose him arrived. Knock, and it shall (*not*) be open'd, for he had been descried the Length of the Common."[80] At another place we have, "And now it came to pass."[81]

In a comic scene in a coach where "a Green-Grocer's Wife in the Corner fainted for want of Food," on being revived by donations from the supplies of all present, "She ask'd, if Nobody in the Coach had any Mustard about them. Upon the answer, No, going round, she said, then they could not be Christians: Had you read the Chapter of the Samaritan ever, you would have ev'ry Thing about you."[82]

To analyze the style with any definiteness or to any practical purpose is difficult. The passages already cited have illustrated repeatedly the type of broken sentence, the abundance of dashes and parentheses, the mixture of very long sentences and very short sentences which prevails, and which, without any of the perfect fluidity of Sterne's style, yet suggests his method in the rough, as it suggests somewhat the style of Mackenzie whose name is so often coupled with Sterne's. The use of asterisks has already been illustrated in one passage quoted above from page 71. Other examples of this practice may be given:

> "'No, says Merit, but 'Tis esteemed right to do so. I never wish'd it an old Regiment 'till now, and that for your Sake, * * * * * I am tired of the Life. A slight Opposition of my Uncle's in * * * * * * * has twice thwarted my View for the Lieutenant colonel-ship."[83]

[79] *Corp. Bates*, p. 71.
[80] *Ib.*, p. 73.
[81] *Ib.*, p. 75.
[82] *Ib.*, p. 114. Is this reminiscent of the satire in *Joseph Andrews?*
[83] *Ib.*, p. 58.

"'Why, then, for we are alone here, when an Officer is to be advanced, or first appointed, the Man in Pow'r, * * * * * for *one* generally rules the rest, is better pleased when the Candidate has Merit, etc."[84]

"You must always, if you have a Freehold, which I hear you have, approve of that Member sent down to you from, * * * * (Whisper again,) * * * * or else your Name is mark'd and 'tis Difficult, in the Professions of Law, Church or Army, ever to get the Blot out.[85]

The Author and his Book

In general, the novel seems to fit into that class of political writings, pamphlets and journals for the most part, which from 1754 to 1775 marked the struggle between Whig and Tory, a conflict not only for supremacy in leadership, but a struggle against governmental corruption and incompetence waged by a resentful middle class.[86] Of this political strife *Corporal Bates* is the only reflection in the fiction of the time that I know of, except Shebbeare's *The Marriage Act* (1754). But united to this obvious political purpose (the military situation is fundamentally a political one) is an obvious literary interest in telling a whimsical tale without let or hindrance from orthodox canons, with a delight in eccentricities of character and situation and style. 'Twere easy to point out here the influence of Fielding, and there the influence of Swift. That Cervantes, the inspiration of these and of Sterne, though unnamed was also this author's inspiration, consciously or otherwise, may be suggested. Surely the guileless fool type of hero, of which Parson Adams, Uncle Toby, and Corporal Bates, all are examples, is a subclass under the Quixotic.

A few postulates may be ventured in regard to the anonymous author: that he was a man of university training, possibly of Cambridge, with a taste for English literature as well as the classics; that he was perhaps a clergyman of rather slight professional zeal; that he had some military connections and military information, but, as before said, that his views on these subjects show a somewhat literary detachment; that he knew something of Grub Street, and something of the stage; that he lived in the south of England.

[84] *Corp. Bates*, p. 60.

[85] *Ib.*, p. 61.

[86] *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, X, 438.

Notices or reviews of his novel appeared in the leading periodicals. The *Monthly Review* conceded novelty to the work, though it saw nothing else to commend:

"The Life and Memoirs of Mr. Ephraim Tristram Bates, commonly called Corporal Bates; a broken hearted Soldier. 12mo. 3s. Owen.

"The chapter of Novels is not yet quite exhausted. This is one of a new stamp, and is intended as a satire on the methods of gaining promotions in the army. It is a very poor performance; being destitute of character, sentiment, incident, sense, wit, or humor."[87]

The *Critical Review* gives excerpts and a long review. It begins with reference to "Mr. Tristram Bates, the hero of this motley production," and goes on to say, it is

"obliged to pronounce this book among those of the lowest class . . . We find the Author attempts often, but in vain, to be witty. . . . There are some characters here and there sketched from the life, and the following one of Bladder may be easily applied. . . . Upon the whole the Life of Corporal Bates seems if not the production of a fellow of the college of St. Luke's Moorfields, at least the work of a correspondent of that respectable body. . . . We shall not here examine the looseness and want of connection of its material; neither shall I enter into a disquisition of its style; these are everywhere so obviously so contemptible, so full of ignorance, and so open to ridicule, that to engage our reader in such a review would be an insult to his understanding."[88]

It is to be suspected, however, that the author of this work, like the author of the greater one appearing four years later, deliberately,—through whim and not through ignorance,—aimed at that "looseness and want of connection" which so disturbed the orthodox reviewers. In addition to these reviews, two notices of the novel appeared, identical in form:

"Memoirs of Corporal Bates, a broken hearted soldier. 3s. Owen."[89]

The British Museum Catalogue lists two editions as follows:

"Bates (Ephraim Tristram) The Life and Memoirs of Mr. E. T. Bates, commonly called Corporal Bates, a broken-hearted Soldier, etc. [A fiction] London, 1756, 12mo.

[Another copy.] [With a dedication signed Edith Bates] London, 1759, 12mo. A duplicate of the preceding, with a new title page.

Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* contains the only other notice of the book I have found:

"Bates, Ephraim Tristram.—1756. The Life and Memoirs of Mr. E. T. B., commonly called Corporal B.; a broken-hearted Soldier. Lond. Owen, 12mo. 2s."

[87] *Monthly Rev.*, XV (Oct. 1756) 426.

[88] *Crit. Rev.* II, (1756) 138-143; cf. *ante* p. 9-10.

[89] *Gent. Mag.*, XXVI (Aug. 1756) 405; *Scots Mag.*, XVIII (Aug. 1756) 424.

About Owen, the publisher, I have been able to find but little, and that little only shows him to have been a bookseller of somewhat dubious practices. According to Timperley, William Owen, a bookseller at Homer's Head near Temple Bar, was tried at Guildhall on July 6, 1752 for printing and publishing a libel entitled "The Case of Alexander Murray, Esq.," but was acquitted.[90] He was editing in 1752 the *Magazine of Magazines* in which Gray's *Elegy* appeared without the author's consent, forcing the hasty authorized publication by Dodsley.[91] Timperley writes of the death on Dec. 1, 1793, of "William Owen, an eminent bookseller in Fleet Street, publisher of the *Gazeteer*, and proprietor of the mineral water warehouse in Fleet Street. He was master of the stationers' company in 1781."[92]

That from this book Sterne actually "took his idea," I think cannot be proved, yet like Mrs. Piozzi I am struck by parallels in matter and method in the two novels. Many interests in common Sterne and the anonymous author possessed: military matters Sterne touched through his father's experience and his early home-life; party politics in their governmental and ecclesiastical aspects he knew intimately through his connection with his uncle Dr. Jacques Sterne whom he aided in support of the Whigs up to 1747, and later quarrelled with. In 1759 Sterne allegorized the struggle for preferment in the see of York in his *Political Romance*.[93] The Church and its clergy he knew of his own experience. Meanwhile, he was so situated that any new book pertinent to any one of his various tastes and interests might be readily obtained. The surplus from the second payment on *Tristram Shandy* was left with a bookseller for an order of seven hundred books,—evidence of Sterne's book-buying bent. Mr. Cross points out, "York was the centre of the northern book trade. From the surrounding district, libraries of country gentlemen were sent to Caesar Ward, John Todd, and other dealers, to be disposed of at auction or private sale."[94] It is possible, then, that the *Memoirs of Corporal Bates* came promptly to his notice, through his own purchase or that of his friends of similar tastes, and that it served to stimulate him to

[90] Timperley, *Cyclopaedia of Printing*, p. 682.

[91] *Ib.*, p. 682; *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* X, 139.

[92] Timperley, 781.

[93] Cross, pp. 72-84, 153 ff.

[94] *Ib.*, pp. 130-1.

the use of the accumulated results of his own recollections and reading.

In any case, even though unknown to Sterne, this crude little tale is significant to students of his work for the light it casts upon the tastes and tendencies evidently fully established in fiction more than a decade before *Tristram Shandy* appeared. It was but one of the multitude of minor novels (many of them yet unexplored) which in halting fashion prepare the way for the more perfect works of masters coming after, reflecting, meanwhile, conditions of life and art of which the masterpieces are the complete but not the initial expression.

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THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF HALL'S CHRONICLE

I

The date and authorship of Edward Hall's "Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York" have been subjects of dispute and controversy ever since the chronicle made its appearance in the middle of the 16th Century. The responsibility for writing and publishing the work was one of the chief points in the long and bitter quarrel of Grafton and Stow; and the problem of dates and editions has given trouble to antiquarians from the distinguished Thomas Hearne, to the recent editor, Charles Whibley, who remarks: "here is a puzzle for the bibliographers hitherto unsolved and perhaps insoluble."

In dealing with a problem that has given so much difficulty, I shall be content to review with some detail the contentions of opposing schools of opinion, gathering together widely scattered comment, and then to present some new evidences of my own gained from a close study of the sources out of which the chronicle was made.

Hall's Chronicle, according to Bishop William Nicolson, was dedicated to Henry VIII in a very flattering epistle."[1] Thomas Hearne writing to Murray on February 9, 172⅔ asks regarding Nicolson's statement: "Pray, did you ever meet with a copy with such a dedication? 'Tis dedicated to Edward VI in the copies I have seen & the epistle is far from flattering. . . . One would think that Bp. Nicolson had never seen the Book, at least never read it." On March 14, Murray replies that he knows of two editions only of Hall's Chronicle, both dedicated to Edward VI. Two days later Hearne writes: "There are two editions of Halle's Chronicle, one in 1548, and the other in 1550, and both are dedicated to K. Edward the 6. The last page of the first edition has K. Hen. the VIII sitting on a Throne, with his counsel on each side of him, and at the Bottom, 'God save the King,' wch, perhaps, is the reason that makes some, one of wch is Bp. Nicholson, say that it is dedicated to H. VIII. They are both printed by Grafton."[2]

[1] English Historical Library, Fol. edit. 1696–99, p. 71.

[2] Hearne's Notes and Collections, Oxford, VIII, pp. 42, 47, 54.

Thomas Tanner, however, in his Bibliotheca Britannica 1648 (p. 372.) states that Hall's Chronicle was published by Berthelet in 1542, and that it extended "a tempore sc. Henrici IV. ad unionem per connubium Henrici. VII cum Elizabetha filia Edwardi IV." He then adds that Richard Grafton continued to the death of Henry VIII: "continuavit etiam ad mortem Henrici VIII Ric. Graftonus typographus ex Mss. Halli. Lond. MDXLVIII. fol. edit. per Grafton."

Since the time of Hearne and Tanner, bibliographers have been divided in their allegiance to 1542, and to 1548 as the date of the first edition of Hall. Those favoring the early date accept Tanner's explanation why no copy of the 1542 edition has ever been found. He records the fact, citing Fox (p. 1547), that the chronicle was condemned by royal authority in 1555—Fox having said that it excited the anger of Mary because of its pronounced anti-Catholic sentiments. On this evidence Whibley says that the first edition was "so effectively burnt by the order of queen Mary that it exists only in fragments" (Cambridge History of Literature, III, 359). As such an effective suppression would have destroyed also the 1548 and 1550 editions printed by Grafton, Tanner's explanation does not seem very sound, especially since many copies of Grafton's editions are extant in the British Museum and other libraries.[3] In the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and also in the University Library of Cambridge, are copies which are supposed to contain the fragments to which Whibley refers as belonging to an earlier edition. These two copies bear the date 1548, but differ from other editions of 1548, or 1550, as Herbert, who first referred the Cambridge copy to Berthelet, has explained:—"The introduction and former part of the reign of Henry IV by the initial blooming letters, the same to each, having the ascension represented in it, appears to be of the edition of 1542, differing in that particular from either of the other editions." (Typographical Antiquities, II, 526 ff.; so also the Grenville collation, citing Herbert, Bibliotheca Grenvilliana I, 297.).

But Herbert and the compiler of the Grenville Catalogue did not know that, as Hazlitt justly remarks, "there are probably a larger number of variations in the copies of this book than in

[3] The Library of Congress, Washington, has copies of the 1548 and 1550 editions. The latter was Tanner's own copy, for it bears his signature at the bottom of the first page.

any in the language." Since then W. T. Lowndes has made independent collations and comparisons of existing editions, and subsequently H. Pyne (quoted by Hazlitt) has constructed a table for the purpose of identification from the many copies in his own remarkable collection.[4] These later bibliographers are all agreed that there were no less than four distinct issues of the 1548 edition, portions being in each case reprinted by Grafton; and that three or four titles differing in wording and spelling were given to the various issues. Again, of the first 250 leaves there were two impressions employing different type, a fact which accounts for the variations in the lettering of Henry IV to which Herbert alludes. (Hazlitt, Bibliographical Collections, 1876, I, 486.) Moreover, a comparison of the Herbert and Grenville collations with those of Lowndes and Hazlitt makes it evident that these copies belong to the differing issues by Grafton of the 1548 edition, and have been fictitiously ascribed to Berthelet. (Lowndes, Bibliographers Manual, 1859, IV, 983–4.) Therefore the many changes in the 1548 edition, and the varying type do not warrant Herbert's supposition that Hall's Chronicle was issued by Berthelet in 1542.

This conclusion of the bibliographers is also substantiated by internal evidences which demonstrate that the first part of Hall's Chronicle, extending from the reign of Henry IV to the end of Henry VII, could not have been written until after January 1543. This fact is made plain by an examination of the sources upon which Hall relied when compiling it.

II

Attention cannot too often be called to the fact that Hall is not a first-hand authority for the reigns from Henry IV to the death of Henry VII. In spite of the careful explanations of Pauli, Gairdner, Busch, and other historians, Hall is often cited as an original writer of history that he adopted from predecessors, altho he candidly states that he "compiled and gathered out of diuerse writers, as well forayn as Englishe" his "simple treatise." Unless we hold that Hall wrote the second part on the reign of Henry VIII, an opinion that is hazardous, we may believe that he was in truth not an original writer of history, but rather a collector

[4] Pyne, List of Eng. Books, London, 1878; also Catalogue of Library of Pyne.

and embellisher of the chronicles of others. Let us first, however, consider the dates of Hall's labors as a compiler of history.

Stow is authority for the statement (Preface to Summary, 1570) that Hall "after certaine yeares spent in the Kings Colledge of Cambridge, was admitted felow of Grayes Inne at London, where he profited so much in the lawes of the Realme, that he was chose under-sheriffe of ye Citie. *At that time* (*being stired up by men of Authorities*) he writ with a lustye and florishing stile, the union of the houses of Lancaster and Yorke." As Hall became sheriff in 1536, we may judge that about that date he was urged to write a history. He could not have begun to work up his materials before 1534, because he made large use of Polidore Vergil's first edition of the "Anglica Historia" (1534). Since he also employed Grafton's Continuation of John Hardyng's Chronicle, which came out in January, 1543, and since he died in 1547, we may conclude that his devotion to history was confined to the last few years of his life. Moreover, if he took verbatim the text of Grafton's Continuation of 1543, his chronicle could not have been published by Berthelet in 1542; and Grafton's edition of 1548 must have been the first. This view is already corroborated by the praise which a contemporary, John Bale, bestowed, evidently upon Grafton, in the following year 1549, commending him that "brought to lyghte the great worke of Edwarde Halle."[5] Bale would not have used the phrase "brought to lyghte" if Hall's Chronicle had been accessible in print for six years in a Berthelet edition of 1542. With this preliminary fixing of the date of the first edition at 1548, we may proceed to demonstrate Hall's indebtedness to earlier sources upon which that date depends.

The first part of Hall's Chronicle (Henry IV—Henry VII), as has been intimated, is a compilation and elaboration of divers sources. For the reigns from Henry IV to the death of Edward IV, Hall relied mainly upon Polidore Vergil, but also consulted many minor sources such as Fabyan, and the Brut.[6] Arriving at Richard III, he adopted bodily Grafton's edition of More (or Morton's) history as it had appeared in the Continuation of Hardyng (1543), making a very few slight verbal changes and additions. For the conclusion of Richard III, and for the reign of Henry VII, Hall resorted again to Vergil, copying still at large from Grafton, who

[5] Bale's edition of Leland's "Laboryouse Journey." Copinger, Manchester 1895.

[6] Kingsford, Eng. Hist. Lit. in the 15th Cent. p. 262.

had appended Vergil's narrative to More's unfinished story. There are many coincidences throughout both in language and statement for which Vergil affords no basis. Hall also had Vergil's Latin text before him, for he expanded the translation beyond that of Grafton's Continuation. He also made some additions of his own. Professor G. B. Churchill in his study of the Richard story[7] has worked out very carefully the relationships between Hall and the Grafton Continuation, noting the important changes and differences. In order, however, that this indebtedness may be specifically established, the following parallel extracts are given, which illustrate Grafton's union of More and Vergil, and Hall's verbatim adoption of it.

GRAFTON CONTINUATION

"Then longed the duke yet moch more to wit what it was. Wherupon the byshop said: in good faith my lord, as for the late protector, sith he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weale of this realme, wherof his grace hath now the governance and wherof I am myself one poore member, I was about to wish, that to those good habilities wherof he hath already right many, little nedyng my prayse: it might yet pleased Gode for the better store, to haue giuen him some of suche other excellente vertues mete for the rule of a realm, as our lorde hath planted in the parsone of your grance. (END OF MORE.) The Duke somewhat marueylyng at his sodaine pauses, as thoughe they were but Panentheses, with a high countenance sayde: my Lorde I euidently perceuye and no lesse note your often breathing, etc. . . ." (VERGIL).

HALL

"Then longed the duke muche more to wete what it was, whereupo the bishop sayd. In good faith my lorde, as for the late procyectoure, sith he is nowe kyng in possession I purpose not to dispute his title, but for ye wealthe of this realme, wherof his grace hath nowe the governaunce and wherof I myself am a poore membre, I was aboute to wishe that to those good abilities wherof he hath already right many, litle neading my praise, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellente vertues mete for the rule of the realme, as our lord hath planted in the person of youre grace, The duke somewhat maruelyng at his sodaine pauses as though they were but parentheses, wyth a high coutenaunce saied: my lorde I evidentlye perceyue & no lesse note your often breathynge."

III

It is thus plain that Hall's Chronicle up to the death of Henry VII is substantially a compilation of other chronicles. But if there is little originality in historical matter, there is much in style. In fact this part of the chronicle differs so widely from the

[7] Richard III up to Shakespeare, Palaestra X, pp. 173 ff.; 182 ff.

second part in style and treatment that critics have been hard pressed to explain how the author of the first part (Henry IV—Henry VII) could have written the second part (Henry VIII). Whibley suggests that up to the death of Henry VII Hall "accepted the common authorities and translated them with new words and strange images. With the accession of Henry VIII he began a fresh and original work. Henceforth he wrote only of what he saw and thought from day to day." But Professor G. P. Krapp (Mod. Lang. Notes XXXI p. 135-8) has shown the unlikelihood of any such "sudden conversion," and has advanced the opinion that Henry VIII is the work of Grafton. In the following discussion I shall avail myself of the arguments that Professor Krapp has given for this view, which seems to meet all difficulties, and offer additional evidences of my own.

The differences between the two parts in style and purpose are obvious. Hall loves to embellish his sentences with imposing words of French and Lation origin, frequently employing doublets with wearisome effect. He is fond of using the fashionable rhetorical devices of the age, alliteration, exclamations, questions, and appeals to the reader; and his own additions to the sources are usually confined to literary elaborations, extended speeches, and flowery introductions. He introduces every reign with a grand flourish of imposing sentences, and then proceeds copying the text of his sources but frequently interrupting it with sententious moralizings. For the purpose of clear and effective historical writing, Hall's style is the worst possible. It is as though he had been bent on tricking out the simple prose of others in the most fashionable attire of the time for a visit to the royal court. Ascham, who watched with uneasiness the growing passion for fine writing said in his Scholemaster that in Hall's Chronicle "moch good matter is quite marde with indenture English" and that it was necessary in order to improve the style to "change strange and inkhorne tearmes into proper and commonlie used wordes; next specially to wede out that that is superflous and idle, not onlie where wordes be vainlie heaped one upon an other, but also where many sentences of one meaning be so clowted up together, as though M. Hall had bene, not writing the storie of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching schole." This is perhaps as good a criticism as could be made of Hall's affectations. A good example of his embellishments and additions is afforded by comparing his indenture revision of Vergil with Ver-

gil's simple, direct, and unaffected prose,—a passage that is not present in Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng.

VERGIL[8]

"But King Richard, delyuered by this fact from his care and feare, kept the slaughter not long secret, who, within a few days after, permyttyd the rumor of ther death to go abrode, to thintent (as we may well beleve) that after the people understoode no yssue male of King Edward to be now left alyve, they might with better mynde and good will beare and sustayne his government. But when the fame of this notable fowle fact was dispersyd thorowgh the realme, so great griefe stroke generally to the hartes of all men, that the same subduing all feare, they wept every wher, and when they could wepe no more, they cryed owt Ys ther trewly any man lyving so farre at enmytie with God, with all that ys holy and relygyouse, so utter enemy to man, who wold not have abhorryd the myschief of so fowle a murder?"

HALL[9]

"Kyng Richard by this abominable mischyef & scelerous act thinkyng hym self well releuyd bothe of feare and thought, would not haue it kept counsaill but within a few daies caused it to ronne in a common rumor that ye ii chylderen were sodanlie dead, and to this entent as it is to be demyd that now none heyre male beynge a liue of Kynge Edwardes body lawfully begotten ye people would be content with the more paciet hart, & quiet mynd, to obey him & suffer his rule and gouernaunce; but when ye fame of this detestable facte was reueled & devulged through ye hole realme, ther fell generally, such a dolor & inward sorow into the hartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set a syde, they in euery toune streate, and place openlie wept, and piteously sobbed. And when sorowe was sumwhat mitigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crye out in places publike and also priuate furiously saieng, what creature of all creatures ys so malicious and so obstinate an enemye either to God or to christian religion, or to humayne nature, whiche would not haue abhorred, or at the lest absteyned from so miserable a murther of so execrable a tiranye.

[Hall's added moralzing]

To murther a man is much odius, to kyll a woman, is in manner unnatural, but to slaie and destroye innocent babes, & young enfantes the whole world abhorreth, and the bloud from the earth crieth for vengaunce to all mightie God."

[8] Camden Society translation, p. 188-9.

[9] Hall's Chronicle, Ellis, London, 1809, p. 379.

Hall's purpose like that of his predecessors, Fabyan, More, and Vergil is to magnify the House of Lancaster. Although he is celebrating the "Union" of the two houses, he is thoroughly Lancastrian in sympathy, and tends to go out of his way to denounce and to moralize over the picture of wickedness displayed by Richard III and the Yorkist following, and to paint in additional black details of his own. His conception of history is that of a lawyer and a scholar trained in Gray's Inn, careful of his attitude toward royal prerogative, yet eager to save the past from the "cancard of oblivion." Unlike Grafton's succeeding account of Henry VIII, Hall displays no interest in the pageants and feasts of the court, or in the life and gossip of the common people of London.

Grafton's Henry VIII is entirely different in style and in aim. His fresh and unaffected prose, full of color and animation, comes as a welcome relief after struggling with the involved and pedantic periods of Hall. His narrative is "about four times as long as the average for the reigns of the earlier kings, and is full of picturesque detail." Whole pages are devoted to minute descriptions of feasts processions and pageants with elaborate notes on food and ornament. More realistic and democratic than Hall's narrative, it sometimes champions the Londoners in their revolts against the encroachments of Wolsey, and also displays an ardent sympathy with the Reformation. But throughout it is a glorification of Henry VIII, who, however much he may twist and turn his course, can never do wrong. Veritably reveling in the gorgeous trappings of his retinue, it is just such a history as a London citizen like Grafton would write, who had risen in favor to the position of printer for the king, and who had been captivated by his richness and splendor. In short, it is not only one of the finest examples of historical writing in the age, but also one of the most authentic and original sources for the history of the period.

These apparent differences in style may be shown by comparing Hall's introduction to Henry IV with Grafton's to Henry VIII.

HALL

What mischief hath insurged in realms by intestine deuision, what depopulacion hath ensued in countries by ciuil diecension, what detestable murder hath bene comitted in cities by separate faccions, and what calamaties hath ensued in famous regions by domesticall discord and unnatural controversy:

Rome hath felt, Italy can tastifie, Fraunce can bere witness, Beame can tell, Scotland may wyte, Denmark can shewe, and especially thys noble realme of Englande can apparauntly delcare and make demonstracion . . . "

GRAFTON

Now, after the death of this noble Prince, Henry the VIII sonne to Kyng Henry the VII beganne his reign the XXII daye of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1509 and . . . the morowe folowyng beyng Saterdaie, the XXII of the saide monethe, his grace, with the Quene departed from the Tower, through the citie of London, agaynst whose coming the streates where his grace should passe, were hanged with Tapistrie and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte of the southe side of Chepe with Clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also . . . "

IV

In addition to these differences of style there are many other evidences that point toward Grafton as the author of Henry VIII. The word "Finis" printed at the end of Hall's ornate eulogy of Henry VII, and not present at the close of preceding reigns, marks the actual end of Hall's work. Moreover, if his original intention was, as his dedication declares, to tell "the calamities, trobles, and miseries whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of the said contentious discension," and the "many notable actes, worthy of memorie dooen in the tyme of seven Kynges, which after Kyng Richarde succeeded," he did not need to write about the eighth king, Henry VIII. That he did not so intend is plain also in the wording of the elaborate title, which shows the scope of the chronicle as he planned it: "Beginning at the tyme of Kyng Henry the Fowerth, the First aucthor of this devision and so successively *proceadyng to the reign of the* high and prudent prince King Henry the Eight. . . . " In view of Hall's passion for fine titles, it is certain that he would have made mention of the story of his own sovreign had he written it.

When Hall died in 1547, his collections, and in all probability the manuscript of his chronicle, came into the posession of Grafton. In the address to the reader, which Grafton added to Hall's dedication, the printer remarks that Hall was not so "painful and studious" in his later years as he had been. He also says that Hall continued to the year 1532, a statement that would tend to prove that Hall must have written part of Henry VIII as well, where the style is radically different from what precedes. Grafton then adds that he "put together" the remainder of the reign with Hall's notes "without any additions of his own." Now this

assertion is not true, because, as Gairdner has shown (Lollardy and the Reformation, II, 201–2), statements are included in the reign that must have been written after Hall's death. Professor Krapp conjectures that "when Grafton says that Hall had finished the reign of Henry VIII to 1532, he probably means that Hall had collected materials to that date, but that in his less "painful and studious" years, he had remitted his diligence for the later years of Henry's reign." Moreover, the entire narrative of Henry VIII, as Whibley says, is a "separate and coherent biography." There is no break in style or treatment at the year 1532, and Whibley, accepting Grafton's statement without qualification, praises the printer for being able to continue Hall's work so that no difference is perceptible. But it is evident that the whole of the reign in its present form is the work of a single hand, and there are more substantial proofs that the hand was Grafton's.

In the prefaces of the 1570 and 1572 editions of Grafton's Abridgement of the Chronicles of England, the printer bears witness to his friendship with Hall. "And here I note to all men, that I do reveuerence Hall in hys woorke, hee beeinge dead, as much as I did when hee was alyue, *with whō I was of no small acquaintance*, & I am readye to aduance his praise and commendacion, & readier (if I may saye it without offence) than hee that found faulte with mee."[10] The fault finder was no other than John Stow, who in his Summary of 1570, hinted pointedly that "somebody (without any ingenious and plaine Declaration thereof) hath published but not without mangeling, maister Halles Booke for his owne."[11]

It might be contended that if Grafton had written Henry VIII, he would have published it under his own name, and not issued it as the work of Hall. Strong evidence of Grafton's authorship is adduced by the very fact that when Stow began to accuse him of mangling Hall, Grafton defended himself with two distinct statements insisting that he did write with his own hand a part of Hall's Chronicle.

[10] Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, II, 504-5.

[11] Stow's accusations were directed not against Grafton's edition of Hall, but against Grafton's Chronicle of 1568-9 in which Grafton had copied from Hall. In fairness to Grafton, it should be stated that he did not 'mangle' his source any more than Stow mangled sources for his own chronicles. Moreover, much of Hall that Grafton used was, if the theory advanced in this paper is true, his own original work, and no one had a better right than he to do what he wished with his own.

In the same prefaces of 1570 and 1572, answering the charges of his rival, Grafton says: "I haue not made Halles Chronicle myne own chronicle, *although the greatest parte of the same was myne owne chronicle, and written with myne own hand.*" Also in the Catalog of Harleian Mss. 1812, I, 212, no. 367(9), is the description of a draught of Grafton's complaint against John Stow. . . . "Herein Grafton asserts that he composed the greatest parte of Halles Chronicle, *contenting himselfe with the paynes, yealding unto Halle the prayse.* . . . " The greatest part of Hall's Chronicle can be no other than the reign of Henry VIII, which takes up alone over one-third of the entire book. Although Grafton nowhere specifies his exact share in the chronicle, every evidence bears out the truth of his defence. Superficially one might think that had Grafton written such a brilliant history, he would not have treated his offspring with such early disregard. It must be remembered, however, that Grafton's Henry VIII has a superior value to us, because it satisfies our taste for realism and human interest, as well as for unaffected style. In the 16th Century, Hall's reigns with their aristocratic tone and elevated style would have been more highly regarded in contrast to Grafton's plain and, what would have been deemed, rude narrative. If we also take into consideration that Grafton was a burgher, and Hall a gentleman, we may see why Grafton would not be reluctant to append his work to that of his high-born friend, and issue the whole as Hall's Chronicle; and why only the persistent and unjust charges of his bitter rival would suffice to arouse him twenty years later to claim what was due him.

Another objection might be raised. If Grafton could write a history like Henry VIII, why are there no evidences of such genius in his other historical publications? The answer is that there are. Some weight might first be given to the consideration that Grafton's main business was that of a printer, not that of a man of letters, and that he was obliged to hold himself ready at the call of King Henry and King Edward to print their proclamations and official documents, as well as to supply the trade with bibles, prayer books, and chronicles. Under these circumstances he had little time for fine writing of the Hall order, and was compelled to resort in the many editions of his Abridgements and Manuals of history, as well as in his longer Chronicle of 1568,9 to compiling and adapting the works already at hand. Wherever his own writing appears, how-

ever, it is, as Professor Krapp remarks, "much more mature than Fabyan and far less pedantic than Hall." Bearing no trace of rhetorical tricks, or inkhorn terms, it is justly called by Hearne a "masculine" style. The earlier example of Grafton's narrative, identical with that in Henry VIII, is found in his Continuation of Hardyng 1543, in which he has already begun to describe the processions of Henry VIII. In order to differentiate these original parts from the rest of the Continuation, it is necessary to refer again to the manner in which Grafton compiled the narrative.

V

From the titles and prefaces of the work, we learn that Grafton planned to continue Hardyng's metrical chronicle "in prose to this our tyme,"—"begynnyng wher John Hardyng left, yt is to saie frome the begynnyng of Edward the fourth *vnto this present* thirty & foure yere of our moost redoubted soureign lorde Kyng Hery ye eight." He states frankly that the Continuation is a compilation "gathered oute of the most credible and autetique wryters," "oute of diuerse and soundrie authors of most certaine knowlage & substanciall credit yt in latin or els in our mother toungue haue written of ye affaires of Englande." It has already been shown how Grafton made up this Continuation by welding More to Vergil, and then resorting to Vergil again up to the death of Henry VII. This was as far as Vergil had written, for not until 1555 did he issue a second edition with the reign of Henry VIII in a xxvii book. The only source available then for the reign of Henry VIII was the 1542 edition of Fabyan, which differs from earlier issues by the addition of a bald chronicle from the accession of Henry up to the year 1541, tabulated year by year after the manner of the London Chronicles from which it was probably taken. The noteworthy fact, however, is not that Grafton employed this brief chronicle, but that he almost immediately inserted several descriptive passages of his own, which wholly differ from the rest of the text, and which are couched in precisely the same style as the Henry VIII in Hall, and are written with identical wealth of color and detail. No one who compares the following passages from each, or who reads for himself the elaborate processions in both chronicles, will deny that they are products of the same pen.

GRAFTON'S CONTINUATION pp. 590-4.[12]

And vpon Saturdaie, aboute foure of ye clocke at after noone, the kyng came ridyng through Cornehill in moste honourable wise, before whom roade the said knightes of the Bathe, in blew lōg gounes with hoodds upō their shoulders, spreade after the manner of masters of arte, and tassalles of white and blewe silke fastened vpon one of their shouldres. The duke of Buckyngham roade next before the kung, except the mayre of London & certain sergeauntes and heraulde; the whiche duke roade in a long goune of nedle woorke right costly and riche, & bare a litle white staffe of siluer in his hand, in signe and token yt he was high and chief steward of yt feast of coronacion. And the said duke had aboute his necke a broade and flat close chein of a new deuise not before vsed fret wt precious great rubies and other stones of greate value: and ouer the kyng was borne a riche canapie by the foure barones of the foure portes, and there folowed seven foloers, wherof the first was trapped in the armes of sainct Edwarde, the second . . . & the vii in sondry trappors of riche cloth of gold wt costely deuices. . . . And when ye copaignie was thus wt all honoure passed . . . came the quene sittyng in a horsse litter alone, clothed in a riche mantell of tissue, in her heare, wt a circulet of silke, golde, and perle, aboute her head. But whē her grace was a litle passed the signe of the cardinalls hat in Cornehill, suche a sodein showre there came, & fell wt such force & thicknesse, yt the canapy borne ouer was not sufficient to defend her fro wetyng of her matell & furre of powderd ermines wtin yesame, but yt she was fain to be coueightd under the houell of the drapers stalles till ye shower were ouer passed, whiche was not long and then she passed her waie . . . (p. 592). And, after all the forsaid chariottes & gentlewome, came ridyng vpon a bushement ccc. of the garde, ye more parte of theim hauyng bowes & arowes, and the other hawberdes & other weapos, and ye shall vnderstand yt all the side of Cornehill, from sainct Mighelles to the Stockes, was hanged wt greined clothe of soundrie colours, as scarlettes, crimosins, sanguines, murries, light & browne, & beuties and violetes, and vpon the otherside, all wt riche tapettes & clothes of golde, of veluet & of silke in moste richest wise, wheron was dooen no litle hurte with the forsaid showre."

HALL[13]

And the morowe folowing . . . his grace, with the quene departed from the Tower, through the citie of London, agaynst whose coming the streates where his grace should passe were hanged with Tapestrie and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from ouer agaynst Grace Churche, unto Bredstreate in Chepside, where euery occupacion stode, in their liveries in order, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so assendyng to the worship full craftes, highest and lastly stode the Maior with the alderman. The Goldsmithes stalles onto the ende of the Olde Chaunges beeing replenished with Virgins in white, with branches of white Waxe, the priests and clerkes, in rich Copes with Crosses and censers of siluer, with censyng his grace, and the Quene also as they passed. The

[12] Edited by Ellis, Lon. 1812.

[13] 1550 edition, fol. ii ff. of Henry VIII's reign.

features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable vysage, princely countenaunce, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to euery man knowen nedeth no rehersall, consideryng that for lacke of cunnyng, I cannot express the giftes of grace and of nature that God hath endowed hym with all yet partly to discriue his apparell, it is to be noted his grace ware in his upperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Veluet, furred with Armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embroudered with Diamondes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Baudericke about his necke of greate Balasses. The trapper of his Horse. Damask gold with a depe purfell of Armyns, his knightes and esquires for his body, in Crimosyn Velvet, and all the gentel men, with other of his chappell, and all his officiers and household servaunts well appareled in scarlet.

Annexed to these descriptions is the remainder of Fabyan as far as the 31st year of the reign where Grafton ends his Continuation with a glowing tribute to the King. This conclusion was written in 1543. From these detailed passages of description, it is clear that by that date Grafton had already described some of the splendors of his king, and the following passages seem to show that he was waiting only for leisure to narrate the entire reign. In the midst of the brilliant accounts, he interrupts himself again and again to complain of the lack of space and time that prevent him from telling all that he wishes. It is as though his memory were overflowing with a riot of color and detail. Only with reluctance does he forego his evident pleasure in describing ceremonies, and return to Fabyan.

(p. 595) "in sundry pageants and goodly deuices, whyche here I wyll ouerpasse, for as much as the day folowyng they ferre exceded; *wherof the declaration wyll aske a long leysoure.*"
(p. 595) "But if I should here reherse the straunge and costly apparell which the fore ryders were clothed in with theyr ryche trapper and other deuyses *I shoulde here make a long tariynge.*"
(p. 600) "after these royall justes, was made a solmpne and sumpteous banket, the order of whiche *I ouerpasse because it would bee too long to reherce.*"

We may conclude, therefore, that from 1543 up to 1548 while Hall was busy compiling and dressing up the reign of Henry VII, Grafton was equally busy writing the history of Henry VIII which he had begun in 1543 only to postpone. Henry VIII died on January 28, 1547, and Edward VI was crowned on February 20th. By this date Hall had nearly completed his part of the chronicle, for before his own death later in the year he had written the title and the aureate dedication not to Henry, but to Edward VI. He did not live, however, to see his chronicle given to the

world. It had to be "brought to lyghte" in the following year, 1548, by his friend, Richard Grafton, who more generously than he realized, "yealded" the undying, if undeserved, honor and "prayse" of posterity to Hall by annexing thereto his own Henry VIII.

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THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLAY OF *ALBION KNIGHT*

It has been generally recognized that the mid-sixteenth century play *Albion Knight*,[1] of which a fragment is extant, was political in character.[2] Little attempt, however, has been made to throw further light upon it, either by fixing more definitely the period to which it belongs, or by analyzing the theories of the commonwealth which it upholds or satirizes. Collier[3] suggested that it might be identical with a play acted at Court in 1559, which gave such offence to the Queen that the players were commanded to leave off, but a careful study of the allusions in the fragment makes this suggestion very doubtful. Nevertheless the play seems to have a close connection with political affairs in England between 1559 and 1566; and it is the purpose of this article to bring together certain historical facts in order to indicate how they correspond to lines and incidents in the play.

According to Collier, the play was intended as a lesson in statecraft to Queen Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign, a lesson which she regarded with displeasure. Had such been the author's intention, it is likely that the main character would have been Principality, as it frequently was in political moralities from Lindsay down; but instead the central figure is Albion, a personification of England. If the references made to Principality were meant to be censorious, at least they were very discreetly worded. The argument in this connection is that Principality is in danger of causing harm to the country owing to the machinations of Division and Injury, who attempt to sow strife between him and Commonalty. It is difficult to see why the Queen at the beginning of her reign should have found this warning objectionable. Moreover, supposing that this were the case, it is hardly likely that Colwell would have printed *Albion Knight* in the year 1565-6,[4] when

[1] Collier describes it in his *History of Dramatic Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 369, and prints it in the Shakespeare Society's *Papers* I, pp. 55 ff. Also printed by the Malone Society, ed. W. W. Greg. *Collections* I, iii, pp. 231–242.

[2] Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama*, p. 109.
Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit., V, p. 139.
Collier & Greg, v. *supra*.

[3] Collier, Shakespeare Society's *Papers* I, p. 55.

[4] Arber's *Transcript* I, p. 299.

the reign was yet new and the various parties in the State were striving for power.

It appears from some of the speeches that comparative peace and plenty prevailed in England, and a desire to continue in such a state.[5] But when Elizabeth ascended the throne, persecution at home and losses abroad were far from making England a land of security. Not until some years later could anyone have complained, as Injury does,[6] of the lack of "any enterpryse" in the country. By 1566, however, it seems that the country was enjoying prosperity. In his closing address to the Second Parliament, in 1566, the Speaker expressed gratitude for the benefits which England was enjoying—"Yet this our Native Country he hath blessed, not only with the like, but also with much more fruitfulness than any other; of which great and inestimable benefit of Gods preferment which appeareth better by the want that others have of the same, I am occasioned now to speak, the rather to move and stir up our hearts to give most hearty thanks to God for the same."[7] This agrees notably with some of Injury's complaints in the play.

In spite of this underlying care for preserving Peace and Plenty, the more obvious allusions in *Albion Knight* are political rather than social. The emphasis is laid on the method of making and executing laws; the author's satire is directed against both the Parliament and the Administration.

We are told that Justice is not upheld. However good an Act may be for the common weal, if it brings loss to Principality, the Lords, Temporal or Spiritual, or the Merchants, it will not be put into force. Injury's business is to see that this injustice is kept up. Ll. 133 ff.

> When I agaynst ryght make styffe defence
> That Justyce in his seate may not be enstabled
>
> Yet mayntenaunce and I wyll kepe the chere.

Double Device, too, intends to raise the suspicions of the Commons against Principality by suggesting, Ll. 290 ff.—

> That his lawes indifferently
> Be not used, but maintenaunce and brybary
> Is suffred alone without reformacion.

[5] Eg:Ll. 345–357.

[6] Ll. 51–54.

[7] Simonds D'Ewes, *Journals of all the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Ed. 1682, p. 114.

It cannot, of course, be said that defects in legal justice were peculiar to any period. Nevertheless, this was a special grievance during the first years of Elizabeth's reign. Thus Camden mentions the difficulty of putting into operation the early statutes concerning religion, because the justices themselves were Catholics.[8] The Council of 1565, he tells us, desired to grant "unto the Bishops more ample authority to exercise the Ecclesiastical Laws, against that Scare-crow of the Praemunire which the Lawyers cast in their way . . . and by compelling the Judges of the Land (which were almost all of them Papists) to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy by Oath."[9] Inasmuch as many Merchant Laws were passed during these years, it is reasonable to suppose that attempts would be made to evade their restrictions, especially at first.[10] There was a growing feeling against the officers of the Queen's Household and the Government, which crystallised in laws limiting their power. Whether their former power was contrary to law or not is not easy to say. Some of the Bills passed in the Parliament of 1566 throw an interesting light on the administration of justice. One notes for example:—

A Bill for the execution of certain statutes, and for the reformation of certain disorders used in the law.

A Bill for execution of Penal Laws.

A Bill to avoid delays upon verdicts and demurrers in law.

A Bill to avoid long delays in civil and marine causes.[11]

Still more striking are passages from the Lord Keeper's speeches at the end of Parliamentary Sessions.

At the close of the First Parliament in 1559—

"For the second [i.e. Administration of Justice] you are to provide, that all Embracers, Maintainers and Champerties, which be utter Enemies to the due Execution of Justice between Subject and Subject, be neither committed by any of you, nor (as near as you can) be suffered to be committed by any other. . . . Is it not (trow you) a monstrous disguising to have a Justicer a maintainer, to have him that should by his Oath and Duty set forth Justice and right aginst his Oath and Duty to offer injury and wrong; . . . by *leading* and *swaying* of Juries according to his Will, acquitting

[8] Camden, *History of the Princess Elizabeth*, Ed. 1688, p. 76.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

[10] E.g. see D'Ewes, pp. 68-73, in the Parliament of 1562–3.

[11] D'Ewes, pp. 99, 110, 128, 129 respectively.

some for Gain, enditing others for Malice. . . . "[12] This injunction speaks definitely of the evil itself, and of the means by which it flourished. As in the play, maintenance and bribery were the prominent means of corruption. The references to this injustice were vaguer at the close of the sessions of the Second Parliament, in 1563[13] and 1566.[14] The tone of the Lord Keeper's addresses, however, and the laws which it was found necessary to enact, prove sufficiently that the evil had not ceased to exist.

In the play Injury tells Albion that this difference between the law as made and as executed brought "universall derysion" upon him, so that he was regarded as "half a man and half a wild goose." The saying of the Guises in 1563 is not quite parallel—"Neither was there any confiding in the Authority of a Parliament; for in England, what one Parliament established, another repealed,"[15] since this refers to the making rather than to the carrying out of laws. It is well-known, however, that at that time English sentiment was particularly sensitive to opinion. The loss of Calais was still felt keenly. When peace was made with France in 1559, we are told that it "was ill taken by the people, as dishonourable to the English for the Loss of Calice, and not restoring thereof."[16] It is not taking too great liberties, perhaps, to give a general significance to Injury's words here, rather than to insist on their context and refer them only to the matter of the execution of the law.

The references to legislation which one finds in the play afford no evidence that the author wrote against the power of Parliament as such. Injury describes the members as "babbling," and seems to satirise their debates in lines 233 ff. when he says that he will so act,

> That the poore comons is in altercation
> Of this matter and wote not what to say.

What the author is concerned about is not so much the wisdom of Parliament as the importance of concord between it and Princi-

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 116. Cf. also p. 152, where the Address at the close of the Parliament of 1571 shows that the difficulty continued.

[15] Camden, *op cit.*, p. 68.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

pality. This is in danger for Division plans to send his spy "Double Device" to say to Principality:—Ll. 275 ff.

> That the commons' hartes do aryse
> Against him, when that he doth aske
> In tyme of neede, our money for taske,

and to inform the Commons that Principality rebels against equity, and thinks more of himself than of the Common-weale. He is careless of their defence by sea and land, so that "thieves and murders" are permitted. Laws are overcome by bribery and maintenance. As a result, the Commons will not know whether to grant the money or not. In addition, Division must warn Albion that Principality:—Ll. 366 ff.

> in no wyse
> His will with equytie will graunt to exercyse
> But that the law shuld be but after his lyking
> And euery wryt after his entytelyng
> And that his will who ever lyst to stryfe
> Shuld be the best part for hys prerogatyfe.

It has been shown already that "bribery and maintenance" were popular grievances of the period. The other causes of dissension, supply, defence and royal prerogative, were first felt in 1563, and became critical in the second session of that Parliament, 1565-6. Need was felt of strengthening the Navy and Garrisons in 1558, but there seems to have been absolute agreement upon it. At the beginning of the Session the Lord Keeper addressed the Houses on the Queen's graciousness in consulting with them on any matter of weight before making any Resolutions.[17] At the end of the Session, they were praised for the grave consideration which they had given to the disputable matters.[18]

But if there was no tension in the First Parliament, the Second was by no means quiescent. The Crown's power to grant Patents was challenged by the passing of various Bills to confirm the patents which the Queen had granted.[19] In his address at the close of Parliament, the Speaker referred to this—"Although there be for the Prince provided [in our Common Law] many Princely Prerogatives and Royalties, yet it is not such, as the Prince can take money, or other things, or do as he will at his own pleasure without order; but quietly to suffer his Subjects to enjoy their own

[17] D'Ewes, *op cit.*, pp. 11–12.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 128, 131.

without wrongful oppression, wherein other Princes by their Liberty do take as pleaseth them."[20] The Queen's reply through the Lord Keeper was sharp, and a little more definitely parallels the play- "Politick Orders be Rules of all good Acts, and touching those that you have made to the over-throwing of good Laws, they deserve reproof as well as the others deserve praise; in which like case you err, in bringing her Majesties Prerogative in question, and for that thing, wherein she meant not to hurt any of your Liberties. And again, the grant of her Letters Patents in question is not a little marvail, for that therein you find fault; which is now no new devised thing, but such as afore this time hath been used and put in practice."[21]

The question of Supply came up more frequently, though not more specifically, than that of Prerogative. During the session of 1562-3, members began to be restive concerning the matter of the Queen's Marriage and the Succession to the throne. A petition was sent to the Queen. Her vaguely-worded answer was temporarily satisfactory. During the second session the subject was revived. It was decided then that the motion concerning the Succession and the vote of Subsidy should "proceed together." Both seem to have caused much discussion. On the 18th of October "A Motion was made by Mr. Molineux, for the reviving of the Suit touching the Declaration of a Successor, in case her Majesty should die without Issue of her own Body: and that the said business touching the Declaration of the Successor, and the Subsidy Bill might proceed together, which Motion was very well approved by the greater part of the said House."[22] Cecil and Knolles tried to divert the discussion, but without avail, and it seems that the motion of the Succession and the Subsidy with an ominous extra third of the Rate went through the House at the same time. The question of "liberties and privileges of the House" was mentioned when the Queen sent her commands to the House to proceed no further in its suit. The storm calmed when, some days later, she remitted the extra third that had been voted. D'Ewes's note on this incident, however, is instructive—"That here her Majesty (as is very probable) did remit this third and extraordinary payment of the Subsidy the more yet to withdraw them from the further

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 124 ff.

prosecution of that great business touching the Declaration of a Successor, (mentioned at large on Monday, the 25th day of this instant November foregoing) in which those of the House of Commons had proceeded with great violence: and that her Majesty had this intent in remitting the said third payment, is the more apparent, because it had been formerly given by the said Commons, thereby the rather to induce her Majesty to the said Declaration of a Successor."[23] In the Speaker's address to the Crown at the close of Parliament, the grant of Subsidy is again linked with services from her Majesty. The Speaker regrets that the Queen would not accept the extra "third," and proceeds to explain that the Subsidy is granted in the way of Policy for their defence, and of duty, as an honest return for the benefits conferred by her Majesty. He ends with "thanks to God, for that your Highness hath signified your pleasure of your inclination to Marriage . . . *which is done for our safeguard.*"[24] [Italics are mine.]

It is necessary to notice here that the Delay of the Subsidy was, in fact, associated with the matter of the Succession, whereas in the play it was associated with the removal of grievances. Not until 1571 was it definitely proposed that no Supply should be voted until the Queen should remove stated wrongs from which the country was suffering. But this is after all not a real discrepancy.

In the first place, the Succession movement was always inspired by a fear of the dangers which would follow were the Queen to die without an heir. Thus D'Ewes quotes from the Commons' petition of 1562—"They cannot, I say, but acknowledge your Majesty hath most graciously considered the great dangers, the unspeakable miseries of Civil Wars, the perillous and intermingling of Foreign Princes with seditious, ambitious, and factious Subjects at home, the waste of noble Houses, the slaughter of People, subversions of Towns, intermission of all things pertaining to the maintenance of the Realm, unsurety of all mens Possessions, Lives and Estates, daily interchange of Attainders and Treasons. All these mischiefs, and infinite other, most likely and evident, if your Majesty should be taken from us, without known Heir."[25] The safety of the realm and Succession were linked together; both matters were connected with the opinion of the Commons that—

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 131. Also Camden, *op cit.*, pp. 85-6.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 81 ff.

they ought not to pay
To pryncypalytie theyre duety of very desarte
Except lyke duetie be mynistred on hys parte.

Secondly, it is very likely that the Subsidies may have been more closely scrutinised than we are aware of, and that improvements in government were expected.

Particular mention is made in the play of the lack of defence by sea and by land. This was a matter of moment during Elizabeth's reign. In the first Parliament, the Ministers pointed to the necessity of being careful in executing Justice against rioters and all who create uproar, of making laws against those private men who practised things contrary to the Commonwealth of the realm.[26] Each of the early Parliaments legislated against vagabonds. In these ways, an attempt was made to give quiet and security on land. The safety of the sea was a matter of equal concern. There are references to the need for it before Elizabeth's time. John Bale in his *Vocacyon* relates that a ship of Lynne and a ship of Totnes were captured by a Flemish boat in one day.[27] That was during the early part of Mary's reign. Her successor aimed at maintaining a powerful navy and garrisons on the seacoasts The Address of 1558[28] enumerates rather fully the particular defences that were needed. Yet there was no immediate protection on the seas. In 1561, Camden[29] tells us that English Merchants' ships were taken on the coast of Britain. In 1563[30] "the Spaniard's conceived anger he openly discovered —by laying hands on certain English Merchants Ships in the Havens of Boetica (now called Andalusia) for that the English in pursuing the French, had taken certain Ships of the Spaniards." In the Parliament of 1563, there seems to have been some debate concerning the Bill for increasing the Navy,[31] though no record of criticism is preserved. At the end of the session we are told— "The Estates, congratulating the Happiness of the Times, granted unto the Queen, for Religion reformed, Peace restored, England with Scotland freed from the Foreign Enemy, Money refined,

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 12, 33.
[27] *Harleian Miscellany* I, p. 355.
[28] D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[29] Camden, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[31] D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87. (March 2nd, 9th and 11th.)

the Navy renewed, warlike Munition by sea and land provided, and for the laudable Enterprize in France for the securing of England and of the young king of France, and the recovering of Calice, (they granted, I say) the Ecclesiastical men one Subsidy, and the Laity another, with two Fifteens and Tenths."[32] Thus in 1563 we find money granted as the price of specified things done for the country. It would be but a step from this to a refusal to grant a subsidy because certain things had not been done. Moreover, in 1566 the Ministers were careful to remind the House of the Queen's "late great and extraordinary expences, to proportion out some supply accordingly."[33]

This care to show that the Supplies were used for ensuring the safety of the country makes us remember that ordinary people would be more concerned with peace and prosperity than with the question of an heir to the throne. Though there is no record to show that the subsidy was used as a weapon to secure effective defences, it is clear that it could be so used. To some extent such pressure was used in the case of the Succession. That it could be made heavier is shown by the letters of Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador. He is writing of the bill for legalising the new Bishops' Orders, which had passed the Commons, but discussion of which had been prohibited in the Lords. "She [Elizabeth] would be glad if anyone would stand up in Parliament, and oppose these religious innovations, as she feared that if they were passed, such pressure would be brought to bear upon her that she could not refuse her assent. This is so, for although they have voted the supplies, they have not yet presented them to the Queen, with the intention of making her first consent to what they want, and although the Commons have passed the Subsidy, the House of Lords has not done so. It is true she has no reason to doubt them (the Lords), and they are delaying for the purpose that I have mentioned." Later he wrote of the Queen's forbidding the debate in the Lords, and finally the postponement of the closing of Parliament—"The cause of the delay was that the members of the Commons being offended at the Queen's forbidding the discussion in the Upper House of the proposals which they had adopted respecting religious innovations, they refused to agree

[32] Camden, *op. cit.*, p. 63 f.

[33] D'Ewes, *op. cit.* p. 124. Cf. also the Speaker's Address at the close of this Parliament, p. 273 *supra*, D'Ewes, p. 115.

to the continuation of certain laws necessary for the good government of the kingdom, which it appears are not perpetual, but have to be renewed from Parliament to Parliament."[34]

Perhaps one must not take too seriously the suggestion in the play that Principality worked for his own ends. On the other hand, as early as 1562, Purveyors' Commissions were considered a grievance, and were revoked, both for the Garrison of Berwick and for the Royal Household.[35] A large proportion of the supplies, it may be noted, was assigned to the expenses of the Queen's Household.[36]

The fragment of the play is too incomplete to tell us whether the devices of Division, Injury and the spy were successful against Principality and Commonalty. Historically the strife was unmistakable, as appears from passages already quoted from the Lord Keeper's Addresses. The Queen's own Address in 1566 is still sharper, though more general in tone—"I have in this Assembly found so much dissimulation, where I always professed plainness, that I marvail thereat, yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succession and Liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied or deferred. In granting whereof, they had their desires, and denying or deferring thereof (those things being so plaudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that mischief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pass, which is the hatred of my Commons. But alas they began to pierce the Vessel before the Wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end, how by this means I have seen my well-willers from mine Enemies and can as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four. . . . "[37] The general sentiment of *Albion Knight* is almost identical with that of this address.

Division plans to aggravate the strife in the country by sending Old Debate to cause a wrangle between the Lords Temporal and the Lords Spiritual. The Lords Temporal were to be informed—

[34] *Calendar of Spanish Papers*, 1558-67, pp. 604-7.

[35] Camden, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Purveyance had become a heavy grievance by 1571. V. D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

[36] D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117. Cf. Camden, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

That the spyrytuall men wolde rule all
And say it were shame to them by the rood
That ben descended from the noble blood
To suffre any other of such powre to bee
To haue the gouernaunce about principalytie
Sythen they inheritoures are borne to bee
Of the hye counsell by blood and dygnytie.

The Lords Spiritual should be told—

that god of his hye great grace
To them hath geuen good fortune and space
By lerning sadnes and grauitie
.
That they ought by reason to rule thys land
Because the power of temporaltie
Hath no knowledge in conning perdie. . . .

Division hopes that

This gere will worke after my fantasye
To make of an old grudge a new frenesie.

It is to be noted that allusion is not made here to religious controversy except perhaps in the words "old grudge," but to a dispute for predominance. But little evidence of such bickering is to be gained from the records of the time. D'Ewes relates that in the Parliament of 1558-9, the Spiritual Lords showed great obstinacy in voting continually against Protestant Bills, even when they had no hope of seeing them collapse.[38] The Queen's frustration of the attempt to pass certain religious Bills in 1556 has already been noted. Da Silva regarded the outcome as a victory by the Queen with the help of her temporal peers over a Protestant House of Commons and a Protestant episcopate.[39] Either of these incidents might have appeared to a politician-dramatist as a wrangle between the Spiritual and the Temporal Estates, but their relation to the lines quoted is too vague to be satisfactory commentary. Perhaps a key to some of the lines is to be found in the doings of the Parliament of 1562. The Com-

[38] D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19:—Bill for the Restitution and Annexation of First Fruits and Tithes, and a Bill adding Provisoes to it; p. 28:—The Bill for the Supremacy of the Crown over the Church, and the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Church Services.

[39] V. p. 275 f. *supra*; *Cal. Span. Papers*, 1558–67, pp. 604-6; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 284. D'Ewes (pp. 132-3) makes no mention of this struggle.

mons seem to have refused to pass a Bill prepared by Convocation.[40] In addition, there was opposition to the Bill of Supremacy, which made treason the refusal of the oath for the second time. In the debate in the Lords, Lord Montague argued that the bishops ought not to have any part in making the law, because of their partisanship. Their business was to decide on doctrine and to excommunicate those who followed the false. It belonged to the secular judges to award the temporal penalties. They would act "according to the necessity of the commonwealth, for peace and quietness of the same." The speech ends with an exhortation to the Spiritual Lords, who do not "endanger their lives and goods, if any war should happen within the realm or with their neighbours," not to be led away by self-seeking men who "look to wax mighty and of power by confiscation, spoil and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men."[41] The correspondence between this and the play is not direct, but in both cases the Temporal Lords are jealous of their own power, and mindful of their nobility and ancient order.

The other side, the bishop's opinion of the functions of the peer, was given in the House of Lords during the discussion on the Bill of the Liturgy in 1559. The Bishop of Chester, after explaining that he did not desire to "speak in derogation of Parliament, which is of great strengthe in matters whereunto it extendeth," went on to say that it ought not to meddle with matters of religion. The reasons which he gave were twofold:—"Parteley for the certeintye which ought to be in our faith and religion, and the uncerteyntie of the statutes and actes of parliaments. . . . And partelye for that the parliament consisteth for the moste parte of noblemen of this realme, and certeyn of the commons, beyinge laye and temporall men: which although they be bothe of good wisdom and learninge, yet not so studied nor exercised in the scriptures, and the holie doctors and practysses of the churche, as to be competent judges in suche matters. Neyther dothe it apperteine to their vocation. . . . "[42] The Bishop's second reason is precisely the same as the argument which Olde Debate was to use in the play. The only difference is that the

[40] Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Ed. 1725, I, p. 355.

[41] *Ibid.*, I, p. 298.

[42] *Ibid.*, I, Appendix X, p. 28. (Quoted in a different form by Selbie, *Nonconformity*, p. 27.)

Bishop limits the peers' lack of "lerning sadness and grauitie" to spiritual matters.

The above parallels between the play of *Albion Knight* and historical incidents extend over the years 1559–1566. The question of mal-administration of justice was prominent during the first year of the reign, but it remained as a matter of some concern through and beyond the period. The more important causes of friction between Queen and Parliament were not active until 1562; they grew in intensity during the following years. The references to Spirituality and Temporality are more indefinite, and the parallels quoted from speeches made in 1559 and 1563 cannot be said to be more than suggestive. The more significant analogies are connected with the Second Parliament, the years 1562–1566. One may infer that the play was written during that time, that is to say immediately before the date of its printing.

Albion Knight throws somewhat interesting light on the growth of the democratic temper, of which we have but sporadic indications in the records of these early years of Elizabeth. One wishes that one had the whole play, in order to see how Albion eventually overcomes the difficulties that beset him. But even the fragment is sufficient to indicate that the author believed strongly in Queen, Bishops, Lords, and Commons, and only desired that they might work together in unity for good government, peace and prosperity. It is far from being a "court" play, though one can imagine Sir William Cecil approving of it when Paul Wentworth, burgess, became refractory in the House of Commons.

Of the author as a dramatist, there is little to be said. He took the political morality as it had come down from Lindsay. He introduced one significant change in making Albion or England the central character, and making Principality subservient to it.[43] For the rest, we have the usual incidents—the advice to Albion to waste his goods in mirth and prodigality; the rollicking of the evil characters; and the use of disguise. It is interesting to note that the manner of the disguising is different from the ordinary type. Injury comes on the stage already disguised as Manhood; his meeting with Division later is closely akin to the meeting of Ill-Will and Shrewd-Wit in *Health and Wealth.* The manner of

[43] Bale had personified England before in *Kyng Johan,* of course. *Albion Knight* is the first example of it in a morality.

the entrance song of Division, and Injury's pretence at first of having become united with the good characters are closely similar. Both these plays have the same belief in the good of wealth and ease for the commonwealth, and the same desire for order and peace. Its Parliamentary atmosphere is the trait which distinguishes *Albion Knight* from other secular moralities.

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NOTES ON BURNS AND THE POPULAR BALLADS

Burns lived during a period of wide-spread and enthusiastic ballad collecting. Percy's *Reliques* was the first of a series of important works that appeared during his life; four years after the *Reliques*, in 1769, came Herd's first collection, and in 1776 his second, in two volumes. Pinkerton's less valuable work appeared in 1781 and 1783; Ritson added to the list in 1783 and 1784; in the latter year came Caw's *Poetical Museum*, and between 1790 and 1795 five more collections edited by Ritson. Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* appeared in six volumes between 1787 and 1803, Burns himself being virtually sole editor of II, III, and IV, and having a considerable share in V.[1] All of these works contained texts of the popular ballads.

That Burns himself was acquainted with the ballads his own words make certain. Indeed, had he known none of the collections just referred to, he could hardly have escaped the many chapbook and garland texts which were in circulation, nor have stopped his ears against the ballads that were still current in oral tradition. Without leaving his cottage walls he had one source of information in his wife: "Mrs. Burns," he writes in 1788, " . . . scarcely ever in her life, except the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Psalms of David in metre, spent five minutes together on either prose or verse. I must except from this last a certain late publication of Scots poems, which she has perused very devoutly; and all the ballads in the country."[2] Moreover, Burns has left explicit record of his acquaintance with several of the collections listed above. For instance, "The ballad on Queen Mary was begun while I was busy with Percy's 'Reliques of English Poetry.'"[3] Again, "The old ballad, 'I wish I were where Helen lies,' is silly to contemptibility. My alteration of it, in Johnson's, is not much better. Mr. Pinkerton, in his, what he

[1] Bibliographical information concerning these works is easily accessible in Child's "Sources of the Texts," *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, V, pp. 397 ff.

[2] Burns to Miss Chalmers, 16 Sept. 1788; *The Works of Robert Burns*, ed. Wm. Scott Douglas; V, p. 157. The "late publication" was probably volume II of the *Museum*.

[3] Burns to Dr. Moore, 27 February 1791; Scott Douglas V, p. 349.

calls, ancient ballads (many of them notorious, though beautiful enough forgeries) has the best set. It is full of his own interpolations—but no matter."[4] That he knew Herd's collections, and in addition had access to Herd's MSS, the editors of the *Centenary Burns* make quite certain.[5] A casual reference like the following is not without interest in this connection: "I remember a stanza in an old Scottish ballad, which, notwithstanding its rude simplicity, speaks feelingly to the heart:

'Little did my mother think,
That day she cradled me,
What land I was to travel in,
Or what death I should die.'

Old Scottish songs are, you know, a favorite study and pursuit of mine."[6] The following sentence is more significant, because it indicates that despite his habitual use of the word "ballad" to indicate almost any brief verse that could be sung, Burns did distinguish between the narrative poem to which the term might properly be applied, and the lyric which was merely a lyric: "You must, when all is over, have a number of ballads properly so called: 'Gil Morice,' 'Tranent Muir,' 'Macpherson's Farewell,' 'Battle of Sheriff-Muir,' or 'We Ran and They Ran,' . . . 'Hardiknute,' 'Barbara Allen.' "[7] Since Burns's notes in the interleaved copy of the *Scots Musical Museum* have been accurately transcribed and published,[8] more definite evidence of his acquaintance with the traditional ballads has been accessible. And that he himself had a share in the ballad collecting which was then general, is proved by the number of versions that found their way through his hands to various editors, and eventually into Child's edition. The list

[4] Burns to George Thomson, July 1793; *The Works of Robert Burns*, Globe edition, 532. The ballad referred to, "Fair Helen of Kirkconnel Lea," is not a traditional ballad. See *The Minstresly of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson; III, p. 114.

[5] *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, ed. W. E. Henley and T. F. Henderson; III, p. 296. Hereafter referred to as "the *Centenary*," or "*C.B.*"

[6] Burns to Mrs. Dunlop, 25 Jan. 1790; Scott Douglas, V, p. 285. The ballad is "Mary Hamilton," Child 173-R.

[7] Burns to Thomson, Sept. 1793; *Globe*, 536. Of the ballads mentioned only the first and last are genuine traditional ballads (Child, 83 and 84).

[8] *Notes on Scottish Song by Robert Burns*, ed. J. C. Dick, London, 1908. See for instance Burns's comments on "The Lass of Lochryan" (Child 76) p. 2; "Gil Morice" (83) p. 41; "Hughie Graham" (191) p. 53; "Lord Ronald my Son" (12) p. 56.

is comparatively large: "Lord Randal" (Child 12-F); "Sheath and Knife" (16-C); "The Cruel Mother" (20-B); "Tam Lin" (39-A); "Gude Wallace" (157-C); "Mary Hamilton" (173-R); "Hughie Graham" (191-B); "The Lochmaben Harper" (192-Ab); "Geordie" (209-A); "The Duke of Athole's Nurse" (212-A); "The Braes of Yarrow" (214-P); "Rare Willie Drowned in Yarrow" (215-Ba); "Katherine Jaffray" (221-Ab); "Rob Roy" (225-G); "The Rantin Laddie" (240-Aa); "Get up and Bar the Door" (275-C).[9]

That Burns knew a large number of the popular ballads is obvious. In the notes that follow I have pointed out some instances where these ballads seem to have influenced his verse.[10]

A. Popular Ballads Re-told by Burns

1. "Lord Gregory" (*C.B.* III, p. 220) is a re-vamping of "The Lass of Roch Royal" (Child 76). (Cited in *C.B.* III, p. 455; see also Angellier, *Robert Burns*, Paris, 1893, II, p. 21.)

2. "Kellyburn Braes" (*C.B.* III, p. 129) is Burns's version of "The Farmer's Curst Wife" (Child 278). (Cited *C.B.* III, p. 392) Burns's refrain is suggestive of those of "The Cruel Brother (Child 11-A), "Leesome Brand" (15-B), "Sheath and Knife" (16-A) "The Cruel Mother" (20-B), and others of the same class.

B. Imitations of Ballad Forms and Methods

1. "The Five Carlins" (*C.B.* II, p. 177), though a political song, is to the tune of "Chevy Chase" (Child 162-B), and is in

[9] Child's headnotes to the various texts, and the notes in the *Musical Museum*, ed. 1853, give the details of Burns's connection with the ballads listed. Dick, in *The Songs of Robert Burns*, London, 1903, 496, says that Burns contributed a version of "Hind Horn" to Motherwell, but leaves the statement unsubstantiated.

[10] Burns does not seem to have drawn any line between the genuine traditional ballads and those which, like "Sheriff-Muir," for example, were of respectable antiquity, but the work of known individuals. He was, of course, ignorant of the controversial possibilities that the theory of communal composition was before long to open to scholars, and like Sir Walter, considered the ballads to be the work of individuals: "There is a noble sublimity," he writes, "a heart-melting tenderness, in some of the ancient ballads, which show them to be the work of a master hand." (Commonplace Book, Sept., 1784; *Globe*, 297.) For the purposes of this study, however, I have limited myself to those ballads which Child included in his edition.

some minor details of phraseology reminiscent of stock ballad expressions.[11]

2. "John Barleycorn" (*C.B.* I, p. 243), which Burns calls "a ballad," is in the "Chevy Chase" stanza, and makes use of some snatches of ballad phraseology.

3. "Grim Grizzel" (*C.B.* II, p. 459) was undoubtedly written in jovial imitation of the ballads. The stanza is that of "Chevy Chase"; there are suggestions of the characteristic incremental repetition, and a good many echoes of ballad phraseology.

4. "Elegy on Willie Nicol's Mare" (*C.B.* II, p. 223) shows what might be considered a reminiscence of incremental repetition in the use of the first line of stanza I to form the first line of each of the following stanzas; but the point should not be pressed.

5. "The Fete Champetre" (*C.B.* II, p. 174) shows distinct traces of ballad influence in the first stanza, where the entire form of the stanza—"O, wha will to," etc.,—is almost certainly conscious ballad imitation. There is nothing in the Jacobite song "Killiecrankie," which furnished Burns with his tune, at all parallel with these opening lines.

C. Echoes of Ballad Phraseology

1. "The Duchess of Gordon's Reel Dancing" (*C.B.* II, p. 61) l. 1:

"She kiltit up her kirtle weel."

With this cf. "Tam Lin" (39-A) st. 3:

"Janet has kilted her green kirtle."

(The A-text of the ballad was communicated by Burns to the *Museum.*) See also "Hind Etin" (41-B), st. 2. The expression is a ballad commonplace.

2. "Highland Harry" (*C.B.* III, p. 42), st. 2, l. 1:

"When a' the lave gae to their bed."

The expression derives ultimately from the commonplace "When bells were rung and mass was sung, And a' folk bound to bed."

[11] Ritter, *Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns*, Berlin, 1901, p. 240, notes: "Zuweilen verwendet Burns auch stereotype Balladenwendungen in bewusst komischer Absicht; so 'Might nae man him withstand' in *The Five Carlins*; 'Ere to-fa' o' the night' in *John Busby's Lamentations*; 'He looked east he looked west,' 'Now wae betide thee . . . An ill death may ye die' (Grim Grizzel); 'O haud your tongue,' . . . etc., (*The Deuks Dang O'er My Daddie*; vgl. auch *Gat Ye Me*), 'Ah! little kend,' etc. (Tam o' Shanter;)."

(Cited Ritter, 208) The same may be said of the line in "The Last Braw Bridal": "The bells they rang and the carlins sang."

3. "John Anderson, My Jo" (*C.B.* III, p. 63) l. 4:

"Your bonie brow was brent."

With this cf. "Lady Elspat" (247) st. 1:

"How brent is your brow."

4. "The Rantin Dog" (*C.B.* III, p. 70) l. 1:

"O, wha my baby clouts will buy?"

With this cf. "Fair Annie" (68-E) st. 1:

"O wha will bake my bridal bread,
And brew my bridal ale?"

Cf. also "The Lass of Roch Royal" (76-A) st. 18:

"O wha will show my bony foot." (Cited Ritter p. 131).

Passages of a similar nature occur in many of the ballads.

5."My Hoggie" (*C.B.* III, p. 14) l. 13:

"When day did daw, and cocks did craw."

With this cf. "The Wife of Usher's Well" (79-A) st. 11:

"The cock doth craw, the day doth daw."

6. "The Bonie Lad that's Far Awa" (*C.B.* III, p. 94) l. 4:

"O'er the hills and far awa."

The line derives ultimately from "The Elfin Knight" (2-A). But the expression, in various adaptations, is found in a large group of songs which were nearer to Burns's song than was the ballad. See *C.B.* III, pp. 369 ff.; also Ritter p. 184.

7. "Lady Mary Ann" (*C.B.* III, p. 126)st. 1:

"O Lady Mary Ann looks o'er the castle wa',
She saw three bonie boys playing at the ba',
The youngest he was the flower amang them a'."

The editors of the *Centenary* point out (III, p. 390) that Burns "got the germ of his song . . . from a fragment in the Herd MS." The second of the three lines is, however, closer to a ballad commonplace than to the fragment from Herd. See for instance "Sir Hugh" (155-A) l. 1:

"Four and twenty bonny boys
Were playing at the ba'."

See also "The Bonnie House o Airlie" (199-B) st. 3:

"The lady looked o'er her own castle wa."

Again, the third line of Burns's stanza is nearer to a line in "The Bonny Earl of Murry" (181-A) than to anything in the Herd song:

" . . . the bonny Earl of Murray
Was the flower amang them a'."

8. "Charlie He's My Darling" (*C.B.* III, p. 154) st. 3:

"Sae light he's jimped up the stair
And tirl'd at the pin;
And wha sae ready as hersel'
To let the laddie in!"

With this the editors of the *Centenary* point out (III, p. 414) one ballad parallel; see also "Glasgerion" (67-A) st. 10; "The Grey Cock" (248) st. 4; "Auld Matrons" (249) st. 2; and elsewhwere.

9. "The Lass that Made the Bed" (*C.B.* III, p. 162)

a. st. 5: "I laid her 'tween me and the wa'."

With this cf. "King Henry" (32) st. 18; "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" (46-A,B,) st. I; "Prince Heathen" (104-B) st. 4.

b. st. 7: "She took her mither's holland sheets
An' made them a' in sarks to me."

With this cf. "The Elfin Knight" (2-A) st. 7 and 8; "Jellom Graeme" (90-B) st. I; "Johnie Scot" (99-A) st. 12 and 13. Of course both *a* and *b* may have come to Burns from Scottish song, though the expressions were common in the ballads.

10. "It Was A' for Our Rightfu' King" (*C.B.* III, p. 182)

a. st. 3: "He turn'd him right and round about."

Burns's expression, though connected in some way with "Mally Stewart" (see *C.B.* III, p. 435) resembles more closely the phraseology of several ballads. See for instance "Young Hunting"(68-A) st. 16; "Willie and Lady Maisry" (70-B) st. 15; "James Harris" (243-F) st. 3; and elsewhere. The third stanza of this text of "James Harris" is so suggestive of Burns's first and third stanzas that it may well be quoted entire:

"He turned him right and round about
And the tear blinded his ee:
'I wad never hae trodden on Irish ground,
If it had not been for thee.'"

This text of "James Harris" was published in the *Minstrelsy*, 5th edition, 1812 (Child's headnote). Laidlaw had written to Scott concerning the ballad in January 1803. If it was current in this form before Burns wrote his song, it, as well as "Mally Stewart," may have helped shape Burns's lyric. It is quite possible, too, that Scott had the ballad unconsciously in mind when

he wrote the song in "Rokeby" for which the editors of the *Centenary* say he "adopted" Burns' third stanza.

b. st. 5: "When day is gane, and night is come,
And a' folk bound to sleep."

The expression does not appear in "Mally Stewart," but is a modification of the ballad commonplace "When bells were rung," etc. (Cited Ritter p. 208.)

11. "Young Jessie" (*C.B.* III, p. 226) l. 1:

"True hearted was he, the sad swain o' the Yarrow."

The editors of the *Centenary* say (III, p. 460): "It is probable that Burns refers to the hero of the old ballad *The Dowie Dens of Yarrow.*" It should be noted, however, that Burns sent the B-text of "Rare Willie Drowned in Yarrow" (215) to William Tytler in 1790. He may have had either of the two ballads in mind.

12. "O, Let Me in This Ae Night" (*C.B.* III, p. 274).

The editors of the *Centenary* note: "Founded on a song in Herd's *Collection* (1769) which Burns revised for Johnson's *Museum.* The first stanza and the chorus are borrowed from the Herd set, which is one of many derivatives from a group of black letter ballads." The idea of the song, and to a considerable extent the phraseology of the chorus, may be paralleled in the ballads. Cf. "Erlinton" (8-A) st. 4; "Glasgerion" (67-A) st. 10; "Willie and Lady Maisry" (70-A) st. 7, and others.

Some persons would undoubtedly point out more "parallels" or "adaptations" than I have included in these brief lists; others would strike out some of mine as insignificant. In any case, one comes to the conclusion that Burn's immediate debt to the ballads was slight.

Why the poet, with his well known fondness for re-working old material, should have made so little use of ballads that were ready at hand, it would be profitless to discuss at any length; three suggestions however, may not be out of place. First, Burns had a native preference for lyric over narrative forms; it was an easier and more congenial task to build up a song around an old chorus, than to rewrite a ballad. Second, the fact that other men were already collecting and publishing ballads may have had something to do with Burns's neglect of them. Herd, Pinkerton, and Ritson had already scoured the field. Third, Johnson's plan,

in the *Museum*, was to furnish a complete collection of "Scots Songs" for the use of "admirers of social music."[12] He was as much interested in the publication of tunes as of suitable words for tunes. This interest, which to a larger extent than is usually recognized Burns seems to have shared, made it inevitable that the poet should turn to Scottish song rather than to the ballads. There were ballad tunes to be had, but the song tunes were far more numerous; this fact in itself would have determined the line along which Burns was to work.[13]

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[12] Original preface to Vol. I., *Museum*, ed. Stenhouse, 1853.

[13] Angellier, commenting on Burns's neglect of the ballads, writes: "Il avait l'âme passionnée, et non romanesque. Il fallait, en tout ce qu'il faisait, qu'l sentît, entre les mains, de la réalité, quelque chose de présent et d'immédiat. Son éducation littéraire s'était formée à regarder la vie et les gens qui l'entouraient. Son génie était fait d'observation, bien plus que d'imagination. Il avait l'esprit net et pratique, il ne l'avait jamais exercé à se transporter dans d'autres temps. Il ne savait pas vivre parmi d'autres hommes que des hommes réels et vivants." (*Robert Burns*; II, p. 19) The existence of "Scots Wha Hae," and of the numerous Jacobite lyrics—to mention only the songs that come first to mind,—makes this explanation inadequate, though there is a general truth in it.

FIVE SPENSERIAN TRIFLES

(1) *Amoretti* 19

Sonnet 19 of Spenser's *Amoretti* begins thus:

> The merry Cuckow, messenger of Spring,
> His trompet shrill hath thrise already sounded,
> That warnes al lovers wayt upon their king,
> Who now is comming forth with girland crouned.
> With noyse whereof the quyre of Byrds resounded
> Their anthemes sweet, devized of loves prayse,
> That all the woods theyr ecchoes back rebounded,
> As if they knew the meaning of their layes.

The rhyme is evidently defective, and as there is no possibility of emending *crouned*, it only remains to change the three other rhymng words by dropping the *-ed*. The printers probably did not recognize Spenser's manuscript *sound* (=*souned*, *sowned*) as the past participle (cf. *F. Q.* 1.1.41.4; 2.5.30.3; 2.6.47.7; and especially 3.4.30.8), and so appended the *-ed*, thus rendering it necessary to do the same for *resound* and *rebound*. The result as respects the rhyme with *crouned* they failed to observe, and the editors have been equally unheeding. Compare *F. Q.* 2.3.38.8-9; 6.11.26.6,8; also *T. M.* 22; *F. Q.* 6.10.10.5; 1.6.14.2; *Epith.* 13,14,18.

(2) *Amoretti* 43

The omission of *both* from line 5 would improve the metre.

(3) *Amoretti* 45

The *by which* of the last line is metrically superfluous, and might therefore be dropped. Cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II* 1.1.26:

> As well appeareth by the cause you come;

1 *Hen. VI* 2.5.54–5:

> Declare the cause
> My father, Earl of Cambridge, lost his head;

2 *Hen. VI* 1.3.68-9:

> As I was cause
> Your highness came to England.

(4) *Amoretti* 49

Mighties (line 3), as an appellation for God (in the possessive) is otherwise unexampled in Spenser (as a common noun once, *F. Q.*

4.8.1.3). Read, perhaps, *th' Almighties* (cf. *T. M.* 389, 510; *F. Q.* 1.8.21.8; 1.9.50.4; 4.10.30.7.; 5. Pr. 11.2; 5.10.1.7; *Epith.* 211).

(5) *Commendatory Sonnet* 1

The of the first line should be read as *thee.*

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE LIFE OF KARL FOLLEN. A Study in German-American Cultural Relations. By Spindler, George W., Ph.D. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Illinois, 1917.

The work in question is the first of a series of historical monographs published under the auspices of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois, edited by Professor Julius Goebel. It is certainly a good beginning. In the first place, Dr. Spindler has rendered a really scientific account of the life of Karl Follen. All previous attempts in this direction contained too much of the personal element, and for the most part they were very fragmentary. Dr. Spindler has made careful use of all the widely scattered material, has conscientiously weighed conflicting evidence and striven for no other goal than for the attainment of the truth. In the light of his findings, Karl Follen appears as a man of wide learning, keen insight, a fearless thinker, who pursued every thought to whatever conclusion it led him, and who had the courage to apply these conclusions to his own conduct, regardless of the possible consequences to himself. But we should be wrong if we were to assume that Follen's superior intellectual power was the most important trait in his make-up; he was above all a man of the heart, his heart, and not his reasoning was the main spring of action with him.

The social and official position of his father and Follen's own ability would have made a splendid career possible, nay easy for him, if he had only known, or been willing to compromise. At the outset, his youthful enthusiasm led him to radical demands for political reform; he desired the unification of his fatherland, or rather of all the people of German blood, under a republican form of government, embodying the principles of liberty, equality, and human brotherhood on a far loftier plane than has ever been attained. His aspirations were born of a religious fervor that knew no impossibilities. In the poetic production of his youth, he advocated indeed violence, it would seem, but one must agree with Dr. Spindler that it is incompatible with Follen's character and his actual, practical conduct, to see in those verbose utterances anything but poetical exaggerations. It appears likewise unfair to accuse Follen of complicity in the murder of Kotzebue, or charge him with the moral responsibility for it The evidence is conflicting on that point, but the adverse part of it is by no means clear; it operates far more with possibilities and suggestions than with plain statement of facts. Since according to Follen's views, the state has no existence apart from the individuals that compose it, and the aggregate is amenable to the same ethical laws as

the individual, it seems unlikely that he instigated a deed of aggression for the welfare of the whole which he never could have committed in his own interests. Investigations and trials instituted at the time produced no evidence of Follen's complicity in the deed; but he remained an object of suspicion and when in January 1820 his elder brother and a friend were arrested as political suspects, he feared for his own safety and fled the country, never to return. Not until nearly five years later, did Follen emigrate to America. At first it seemed that his troubles were ended when he reached these shores Follen, some time after his arrival, wrote home glowing accounts about American freedom, institutions and conditions, but he soon discovered that perfect liberty had not yet been achieved here, and true to his principles, he made himself again the champion of the oppressed by joining the abolition movement, with the result that he again had to sacrifice his material welfare to his devotion to an ideal. Even if his life had not been cut short by an untimely death, he probably would have never attained worldly success, but in the realm of the spiritual his achievements were of the highest order.

The most important part of Follen's life were, of course, the fifteen years he spent in the United States, and Dr. Spindler properly puts the emphasis upon that part. But he has given us here far more than a mere account of Follen; he has rendered a clear, concise, and yet complete presentation of the religious, philosophical and political tendencies of New England life at that period. In doing so, he has not digressed, for Follen's life was so intimately associated with all this that its significance cannot be made comprehensible apart from its setting.

In December 1825, after a year's residence in this country, Follen came to Cambridge and entered at once upon his duties as instructor in German at Harvard College. Inasmuch as German never had been taught before at any American college, Follen had to perform the difficult task of the pioneer. What this meant, one can scarcely imagine at the present day. Follen not only had to create an interest in the subject taught by him for the first time, but he also had to create simultaneously the instruments indispensible for carrying on his work. There was no grammar or reader in existence, suitable for use with American students. But by indefatigable labor, Follen quickly supplied the want, and, especially as regards the reader compiled by him, with great skill and success. The fact that this reader was still used at Harvard in the sixties of last century speaks well for its merits. His summary of German literature as given in general lectures, particularly his analysis of some of Schiller's works, show not only a thorough grasp of his subject, but also great originality and independence of thought. In spite of the fact that, at first, library facilities for his work were almost entirely lacking, he accomplished enviable results.

Soon his influence broadened with a corresponding increase in labor; for since 1828 he taught ethics and history in the Harvard divinity school for a time. Just as important as his influence as a teacher of German language and literature were his efforts to disseminate some knowledge and create a correct appreciation of German philosophical thought among an ever growing number of New England scholars and divines. The paramount difficulty which he had to overcome in this field was of a somewhat different nature, but hardly less formidable. Above all he had to combat a widespread prejudice against German philosophy. Dr. Spindler is here as elsewhere very careful not to attribute all progress made in this direction by the intellectual men of New England in those days to Follen, but one must agree with the author that Follen's influence was no small factor

His efforts did not cease here. Being thoroughly convinced that a sound mind presupposes a sound body, he established gymnastics at Harvard, like instruction in German an entire innovation, at least as a systematic course. Follen even found the necessary time and energy to devote considerable attention to the work at the public gymnasium established in Boston. If we look into the system of gymnastics taught by him, we find all the essentials of our present day physical training, to be sure: without any elaborate physiological theory for its foundation. Here Follen was not absolutely the first in this country. Gymnastics had been introduced as a part of the regular instruction at another school two years before the course at Harvard was established, as Dr. Spindler was well aware. The institution in question, the Round Hill School of Northampton, Mass. was opened in the fall of 1823 by George Bancroft and Joseph Green Cogswell. The two men sought to realize educational ideals which they had formed abroad, especially by contact with the educational life of Germany, and they strongly believed in the truth of the saying, *mens sana in corpore sano*. In "Some Account of the School, etc." of the year 1826 the statement is found: "We are deeply impressed with the necessity of uniting physical with moral education; and are particularly favored in executing our plans of connecting them by the assistance of a pupil and friend of Jahn, the greatest modern advocate of gymnastics. We have proceeded slowly in our attempts, for the undertaking was a new one; but now we see ourselves near the accomplishment of our views. The whole subject of the union of moral and physical education is a great deal simpler, than it may at first appear. And here, too, we may say that we were the first in the new continent to connect gymnastics with a purely literary establishment."[1] In a circular of later date we read: "The rest of the intervals is appropriated to exercise. Riding on

[1] Bassett, John Spencer, The Round Hill School, p. 41. Reprinted from the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1917. Worcester, Mass., 1917.

horseback, gymnastics, bathing, and dancing are prescribed recreations, under the same regulations as the literary exercises."[2]

Follen's views on educational matters in general were in advance of his times. He at one time contemplated establishing a school at which the study of the classics was to yield first place to the pursuit of the natural sciences and modern languages. In the education of children, he insisted that their play instinct be made the basis of all work, anticipating the Montessori method, though only in theory, and that instruction must be solely governed, not by the future requirements of the man, but by the present needs of the child. Then the child would grow up into a far better citizen, than by any endeavor to instil into the child directly views and principles supposedly conducive to good citizenship.

The last years of his life, Follen spent in the ministry of the Unitarian church, and in this field, too, he achieved great success, but also met, as was natural, with a good deal of opposition. Religion was for him conviction with love for its vital force; creed and dogma were negligable externalities. Follen hoped to realize in his own day what has not yet been accomplished, namely the unification of all Christian people in one great religious body, without, however, disturbing the different confessions of faith. Material success was impaired, in this field, too, by the antagonism aroused by Follen's attitude towards slavery. It is a highly significant fact that the Church in those days was arrayed almost solidly on the side of slavery. The United States were then as now, the land of religious freedom; the right of worship was granted to the adherents of any creed whatsoever. But the separation of church and state had not brought about the spiritual liberation of the former, its separation from the material interests of the day, and so it only followed where it should have led.

Follen took a conspicuous part in the propaganda for the abolition of slavery, a movement which was frowned upon by legislatures and courts alike, and, of course, attempts were made to prohibit all utterances directed against this institution. In this connection, Follen rose to a most bold, lucid, and glorious defense of free speech. The privilege of free speech, he declared, was the unalienable right of every citizen, at times of stress and great differences of opinion only more so than ever. He considered it the right, nay the duty, of any minority to strive to constitute itself a majority by exercising the right of free speech, and he justly regarded interference on the part of a democratic government as a far more serious menace to liberty than suppression of free utterance on the part of an absolute monarch. If we take into account the general sentiment of the time, we are not surprised that all the churches of Boston and some others, besides, were

[2] Outline of the system of education at the Round Hill School. June 1831, p. 13. Boston, 1831, from N. Hales Steam Power Press.

refused for the purpose of holding a memorial service in honor of Karl Follen, when he had lost his life at sea in January, 1840. His unconditional, fearless attitude in all questions of liberty and justice made his life a failure according to worldly standards, but "in all that is best worth living for,—growth, peace, love, usefulness, honor, and abiding presence in greatful memories, Karl Follen was crowned with a perfect success."

Dr. Spindler's presentation leaves the reader with the satisfaction derived from the perusal of work well done. Some casual users will probably feel the lack of an index, especially because of the great abundance of material.—But few typographical errors have come to my notice. Page 14, note 1: *acheologist* instead of *archeologist*; page 52, line 10: *aufgegagngen* instead of *aufgegangen*; page 188: no indication in the text to what note 1 refers. The bibliography appended contains valuable data for any one interested in that period of New England intellectual life coinciding with Karl Follen's sojourn in the United States.

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DIE ZECHER- UND SCHLEMMERLIEDER IM DEUTSCHEN VOLKSLIEDE BIS ZUM DREISSIGJÄHRIGEN KRIEGE von Max Steidel. Karlsruhe, J. Liepmannssohn. 1914. 107 pp.

During the last score of years the greater part of the important publications on the early German folksong have been reprints or studies of source material The title of the above Heidelberg dissertation gave one the hope of finding the work an adequate comprehensive treatment of one of the most important groups of songs. But an examination of the essay brings a considerable degree of disappointment. The author was not equal to his task.

An introduction of twelve pages does not pretend to do much more than to give a sketch of the part played by drinking and drinking customs in Germany of the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The main part of the study begins with a discussion of miscellaneous stereotype expressions of the drinking songs, and proceeds in a second division to those that are found in wine songs in particular. Then follows a consideration of the relatively few beer songs; the kinds of glasses and drinking vessels mentioned in the songs; the almost universal custom of *Zutrinken* (fairly well worked out); gambling, music, and the serving of food at drinking bouts; the behavior of the intoxicated; and, finally, woman as she appears in convivial songs. A third brief section is devoted to quotations from some of the temperance literature of that day in prose and verse, particularly the contrafacts.

Criticism of the work may begin with its title. *Volkslied* hardly belongs there, for so many of the texts Steidel uses had been patched together to carry tunes of various musicians and composers of the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. They contain popular expressions and verses, it is true, but they were and remained in fact *Kunstlieder*, often very much overdone on the artistic or artificial side. The author does not distinguish clearly enough from Zecher*lieder* of two or more stanzas those short popular elements—little drinking rimes or rimelets—which floated about and appeared as texts or as parts of song texts in the old printed collections. With all this in mind, such a title as "Deutsche Zecher-und Schlemmerpoesie bis zum Dreissigjährigen Kriege" might have been less objectionable.

There is a bibliography of original sources used,—printed songbooks, fugitive prints and MSS. For the printed collections it shows too great a dependance upon the now inadequate list in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, 2^2, §§ 109 f. and overlooks a good deal of material. A table of contents would have been convenient and a complete list of first lines should most certainly have been added.

One is surprised at the statement, on p. 2 in characterizing the sixteenth century, that it lacked completely "irgend welche feinere Sitte bis in die höchsten Kreise hinauf."

P. 18. "Er setzt das gleslein an sein mund." Steidel was not acquainted with the text in Daubmann's collection of 1558, reprinted in Neue Preuss. Provinzial-Blätter, Königsberg, 1856, p. 265. There should also have been a reference on p. 18 to the reprint of Scandellus 1570, No. 10, in *PBB.* 35, 437, No. 64.

P. 23. In discussing expressions praising the beneficial effect of wine, the author ought to have known the reprint in *PBB.* 37, 267 of "Mancher spricht in dem meyen" ending, "Kumm her lab mir mein hertze, Vnd sey der Artzet mein."

P. 94 ff. "Den liebsten bulen den ich han." The version in *Euphorion* 2, 300, should have been considered.

Steidel apparently undertook to mention Fischart as a source whenever he treated one of the numerous songs which happened to be represented in the Gargantua of that author. He usually does not indicate, though, whether Fischart quoted the whole text or only a fragment and always neglects to refer to the reprint (by Alsleben, Neudrucke, Halle), where the quotation might be found. His superficial treatment of Fischart's drinking songs may be considered more in detail.

P. 21 and 88. "Ach Wein du schmackst mir also wol." Cf. Gargantua reprint, p. 146, lines 23 ff. The fragment is part of five stanzas from one of the freshest convivial songs of the sixteenth century and Fischart is its chief source, (*PBB.* 35, 453, No. 113). One doubts the statement on p. 31 that the expression

"drumb lass ich Vöglen sorgen" is "ganz unmotiviert im Zusammenhang" in this song.

P. 31. He gives Scandellus 1570 credit for being the earliest source of the rime, "Trinck wein so beschert dir Gott wein." He might have found it in Forster's fifth collection, 1556, No. 39, if he had looked through the *text* of M. E. Marriage's edition, p. 202 (Neudrucke, Halle), instead of depending on the index in which the first line of this rime is lacking. He did not know the still earlier references to the rime and Fischart's treatment of it, as given in *PBB.*, vol. 35, 434, and vol. 37, pp. 263, 268. His supposition that the version in Knöfel 1581 represents an older form of the rime is false.

P. 34. Fischart is overlooked as a source of the rime "Ist keiner hie," etc. (*PBB.*, 35, 451).

P. 36. In discussing the expression "Frisch auff," the comical use of it in the Gargantua (reprint, p. 130, l. 7 from bottom) should have been considered (*PBB.*, l.c., p. 441, No. 76).

P. 55. Again, in connection with the expression "Zum Biere," Fischart should have been referred to, (*PBB.*, 35, 451, No. 106). Steidel might well have called attention to the fact that Fischart, who lived in a wine region, made a humorous change in stanza 8 of "Ich zeunt mir nechten einen zaun" in order to take a rap at beer (l.c., p. 402).

P. 64. A reference might have been made to Fischart in connection with "tummel dich guts weinlein" (*PBB.*, l.c., p 431).

P. 71. Steidel does not recognize that the fragment "vnd wer des weins nit trincken mag, der ist nit vnsers fugs" is from the very popular song "Ich zeunt mir nechten einen zaun," quoted also by Fischart (cf. *PBB.*, 35, 431).

P. 105. Fischart is overlooked in connection with "Ein abt den wöll wir weihen" (*PBB.*, 35, 426).

Steidel mentions on p. 95 the poem in 20 nine-line stanzas "Ir narren die so trincket" (doubtless by a churchman), which compares the drinker unfavorably with the ass that cannot be made to drink more than he needs to slake his thirst. But he fails on p. 106 to note in the Trunken Litanei (*Gargantua*, ed. Alsleben, p. 149) a stanza, "Den Esel wil ich preisen" which seems to be part of a parody, from the standpoint of the *drinker*, on that long and solemn song (*PBB.*, 35, 453).

One doubts that Steidel's acquaintance with the Gargantua quotations extended beyond a cursory reading of Ch. 8 (Trunken Litanei), supplemented by the references to Fischart's drinking songs in the notes of modern printed collections (of F. M. Böhme, *et al.*). After once setting out to mention Fischart, he should have been more careful and consistent in doing so. Fischart's songs were worked out for him in another Heidelberg dissertation five years older than his own, easily accessible in Paul & Braune's *Beiträge*, vol. 35. Steidel should be given credit for going to the

original sources (song books, etc.) for most of his material, but he scarcely ever attempts to make verification easy by reference to modern reprints or recent literature. His treatment of Fischart is only one example of his carelessness or ignorance in this matter.

This study, which shows traces of the boyish style of the *Primaner* essay, is probably as good as could be expected of its twenty-three year old author in the time at his disposal. The larger aspects of the subject require riper scholarship. In spite of its faults, the work is of some value and interest. Yet one regrets that Professor Waldberg assigned this topic for a dissertation. We wish we might have had, instead of Steidel's treatment of the subject, one by that master of the field, Arthur Kopp, so recently deceased.

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EDWARD YOUNG'S "CONJECTURES ON ORIGINAL COMPOSITION" IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY. By Martin William Steinke, Ph.D. New York. F. C. Stechert Co. 1917.

Dr. Martin W. Steinke's monograph will be welcomed by students of criticism and by scholars who are interested in the eighteenth century and in the problems of comparative literature. The service which he renders is threefold: first, he provides us with a handy, accurate reprint of Young's essay; then in two appendices he brings together in useful form "The Ideas Contained in the *Conjectures* compared with their Parallels found in Earlier Writings," and also "The *Conjectures* Compared with their Parallels in Subsequent German Literature"; lastly, in two introductory chapters he reopens the important question of the position and influence of the *Conjectures* in England and Germany. Frankly, these two chapters seem to me the least valuable part of the whole monograph. Let us hear Dr. Steinke's statement of his purpose:

> The introductory essay on the *Conjectures on Original Composition* attempts first to ascertain their origin, original meaning, and rôle in English literature. It deals with the history of their contents, with the terminology and principal ideas, and with their fundamental points of view. Finally, it discusses their significance to the English reader and writer, past and present.
>
> The essay next outlines the relation of the *Conjectures on Original Composition* to German literature. It deals particularly with their relation to the so-called *Storm and Stress Period*, attempting first to show where and to what extent and effect the ideas contained in Young's treatise occur in the works of the *Storm and Stress* writers, and then to ascertain whether these writers got their ideas from Young's treatise or from other sources. It offers, in other words, a reconsideration of the important question whether Young's essay and English thought in general really exerted the dominating influence upon the rise of the *Storm and Stress Period* with which they are often credited.

This is no unpretentious task to accomplish in forty pages and the very brevity of treatment tends to shake our confidence in the author's conclusions.

As a matter of fact, however, his conclusions regarding the influence of the *Conjectures* in German appear plausible, although they do not coincide with those reached by Professor J. L. Kind in a more extended study, *Edward Young in Germany* (N. Y. 1906). Professor Kind says (p. 57): "Herder, then, took up the ideas of originality in literature as preached by Young and corroborated by Hamann, and not only laid stress upon the same principles, but sought to exemplify them and to apply them, for the purpose of arousing national pride in German letters. Thus he helped to free Germany from the servility of imitation." Dr. Steinke concludes (p. 40) that the *Conjectures* "contain ideas which, although often in a different form, were of the greatest importance in the development of Germany's literature, and they contributed something to the prevalence and force of these ideas." But he goes on (p. 40) to qualify his position thus: "Germany, however, does not owe these ideas or their momentum in any decisive measure to Young's essay. The literature of Germany would not have been poorer as to contents, nor would it have developed along different lines, without Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition.*" The summary of his results is worth quoting in full:

> Long before Young's essay was written most of his literary theories, and even his literary terminology, were current in Germany. For the most part they had come in from without, first from France and then, in a larger measure, from England. The most effective propaganda for them in Germany up to the time of Young's essay were made by Bodmer and Breitinger, by Gellert, and by Lessing. While these young men were lecturing and writing in support of these doctrines, there sprang up in Germany, and kept on coming in from without, particularly from England, a multitude of literary and aesthetic treatises similar in various ways and degrees to Young's essay. For several decades they continued to appear and resulted in the *Storm and Stress Period*. Young's *Conjectures* were but one among a multitude of factors in that great reconstructive period of literary criticism which began, on the larger scale, with Bodmer and Breitinger, and closed with the *Storm and Stress Period*, and the *Conjectures* were neither the most forceful nor a frequently mentioned one of these factors (pp. 39-40).

Dr. Steinke's advance over Professor Kind consists of a fuller and more precise statement of conclusions. His evidence, however, is not as carefully presented and often times not as copious as Professor Kind's. For instance, in the case of Herder the latter devotes some seventeen pages (*op. cit.* pp. 40-57) to showing how Young's spirit permeated the German writers, ending with the conclusion quoted above from p. 57. Dr. Steinke, on the other hand, devotes, besides a large number of passages in Appendix II, only two pages (pp. 21-2 and 37-8) of discussion to Herder, citing three or four passages which mention Young by name and concluding (p. 21):

> This is the extent and limit of our certain evidence of Herder's tribute and indebtedness to the *Conjectures*. This evidence proves indeed that he reckoned

seriously with them, but it does not prove that his work as author and critic was greatly influenced by them.

In another place (p. 37) he says of Herder:

> Most of his numerous and close parallels to the *Conjectures*, however, give no clue to their origin except similarity, and that they bear likewise to a multitude of other possible sources.

Dr. Steinke continues in the following sentence, which probably contains a typographical error, for, as it stands, it is unintelligible:

> How well he could have made the *Conjectures* the basis for his discussion of the poet as a creator, but he uses other authorities.

Likewise in the case of Hamann, Dr. Steinke quotes three parallel passages and concludes (p. 20) that "These three passages are as far as I can see the only ones in which we can be certain that he was making use of the *Conjectures*." Professor Kind, on the other hand, after twelve pages (pp. 28-40) of highly sympathetic and intelligent investigation, concludes:

> Hamann, then, in his views on originality and individualism, owes the greater part of his material to Young. His own opinion that nearly all his ideas were taken from the *Night Thoughts* would read more correctly if he had said they were taken from the *Conjectures*.

From these quite different results in the two investigations of Hamann and Herder we can see how far apart are the views of Dr. Steinke and Professor Kind. Undoubtedly the latter has shut his eyes to any influence besides that of Young on the German writers, and Dr. Steinke provides a needed corrective. But Dr. Steinke leans over backward in his demand for mathematical certainty. In this whole realm of the influence of ideas, especially those of a vague or subtle nature, we are treading, indeed, on very thin ice. In drawing inferences we must exercise strict caution. But we do not always need evidence which would hold in a court of law. Dr. Steinke admits no influence of writer A on writer B unless B waves a flag and exclaims, "Mark now, all you generations of future investigators, I now quote B. Behold, an influence which you may safely record!" We may stick to such a straight and narrow course, if we are counting words, or rhymes, or other elements of style, but we shall defeat our purpose if we employ such a method alone in tracing the history of ideas. When, for example, we find not one or two, but a dozen or twenty passages in B which repeat in strikingly similar phraseology the idea of A, if we know that B is an open admirer of A and assiduously copies in his notebook from A's works, and if we cannot find any other likely sources, we may naturally assume that B has consciously or unconsciously felt the influence of A. Dr. Steinke seems not to recognize any such procedure.

This fault is, after all, the result of straining with mistaken zeal toward scientific accuracy. A greater and more obvious defect is Dr. Steinke's persistent reticence about previous workers in the same subject. He has done well indeed to go further afield

in search for the ideas which were in the air during the eighteenth century, but why does he proceed with such airy indifference to the thorough pioneer work of his most conspicuous predecessor? Only once does he refer to Professor Kind (p. 20) and never does he meet Professor Kind on his own ground. In fact, he recognizes his predecessors only in the most general terms: "Various critics," he says, "have concluded that the treatise exerted a profound and decisive influence on German literature." Then he dismissed four scholars, Stein,[1] Thomas,[2] Kind,[3] and Unger,[4] in as many sentences.

If we turn back now to Chap. I, "Young's Conjectures in England," we find a still more disconcerting vagueness. Dr. Steinke devotes half of his monograph (including Appendix I as evidence) to the task of exploding "The erroneous idea of some recent literary historians that the *Conjectures* are notably independent as to origin" (p. 81). Yet we never discover who these "recent literary historians" are! Dr. Steinke further says: "In various cases, indeed, the *Conjectures* speak of divine genius and divine poetic inspiration, which has given rise to various speculations as to a remote religious or theosophic origin and a deep, mystic meaning in the *Conjectures*" (p. 12) and concludes:

> Our observations will suffice also to show that the *Conjectures* have not been developed out of the field of religion or theosophy and that they have no extraordinary mystic meaning, as some critics believe that they have (p. 14).

Who are "these critics" and where can these "various speculations" be found? By his complete failure to acquaint us with previous investigation,[5] Dr. Steinke prevents us from judging the relative value of his results. He says, for example, "Some years ago Professor Brandl found instances in which the *Conjectures* are not without precedent." We infer from Dr. Steinke's silence that no one else has performed a similar task. As a matter of fact a number of scholars have laid bare the more immediate English sources of the *Conjectures*. Hamelius[6] has shown how Temple, Addison, Dennis, Welstead and John Henley anticipate Young.

[1] Dr. K. H. von Stein, *Die Entstehung der neueren Aesthetik*, Stuttgart, 1886.

[2] Walter Thomas, *Le Poète Edward Young*, Paris, 1901.

[3] John L. Kind, *Edward Young in Germany*, New York, 1906.

[4] Dr. Rudolph Unger, *Hamann und die Aufklärung*, Jena, 1911.

[5] In connection with Dr. Steinke's assertion that the *Conjectures* have been an object of "strange neglect" (Introd.) it is worth noting that as far back as 1893 Professor Phelps was impressed with "the remarkable breadth" of the essay, *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, Boston, 1893. Professor Phelps appreciated its historical importance and remarked (p. 43) that "It is rather singular that this significant piece of eighteenth century prose should be at present so neglected."

[6] Hamelius, *Die Kritik in der englischen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1897, pp. 119-122. See also pp. 150-154, where he briefly gives Young's contribution. Hamelius is the first to recognize Pinkerton's uncompromising attitude, which is more violent than Young's.

Brandl[7] in a more lengthy essay shows English ideas of originality and genius in Addison, Shaftesbury, Fielding, Johnson, Goldsmith, Gerard and even Bacon, indicating definitely a goodly number of passages to be found in Dr. Steinke's Appendix. Thomas[8] in his exhaustive and exceedingly competent study of Young is not so much concerned with the precise antecedents of the *Conjectures* as he is with the general significance of the document in the thought of the eighteenth century; at the same time he indicates a number of forerunners such as Hurd's *Letter to Mr. Mason on the Marks of Imitation* and Warton's essay on Pope. He sums up the case fairly in the statement:

> Au point de vue des théories littéraraires l'opuscule qui nous occupe marque une date importante. Ce n'est pas seulement parce qu'il paraît avec d'autres publications du même genre à un moment de crise et décide d'une orientation nouvelle. C'est surtout parce qu'il proclame les droits de l'individualité et qu'il insiste sur la notion du génie (p. 484).

Of the more recent treatises dealing with the *Conjectures* we may notice Helen Richter's *Geschichte der Englischen Romantik*[9] and G. M. Miller's *The Historical Point of View in English Literary Criticism from 1570-1770*.[10] Miss Richter says:

> Shaftesbury und Addison gingen ihm in der Unterscheidung von Natur- und Kunstgenie voraus. Gegen ihre Auseinandersetzungen gehalten, war es fast etwas rückschrittlich, wenn nun Young mit der erziehlichen Bedächtigkeit seines hohen Greisenalters die Ansicht vertrat, der Dichter könne sich, wenn er nur wolle, selbst zum Originalgenie umbilden. Neu aber war bei Young nicht nur die Bezeichnung sondern auch der Begriff Original, der sich mit dem Naturgenie seiner Vorgänger herausarbeitete. (Vol. I, part 2, p. 12.)

Professor Miller concludes that

> Young was certainly influential, but his work had been largely mapped out by others . . . notably in Temple, Addison, and Pope (p. 131).

These few citations will suffice to show that Dr. Steinke's predecessors have not been wholly oblivious to Young's indebtedness. His own presentation of Young's possible sources is to be found largely in Appendix I, in which he brings together a large number of passages, from Longinus to Helvetius. This list could be supplemented by any number of others,[11] as Dr. Steinke would be the first to admit. He has fulfilled his avowed purpose of

[7] Brandl, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft im Auftrage des Vorstandes*. 1903, pp. 1-15.

[8] W. Thomas, *Le Poète Edward Young*. 1901.

[9] Halle, 1911.

[10] Heidelberg, 1913.

[11] I must add one particularly significant reference from Helvetius: "Le neuf et le singulier, dans les idées, ne suffit pas pour mériter le titre de génie; il faut, de plus, que ces idées neuves soient ou belles, ou générales, ou extrêmement intéressantes. C'est en ce point que l'ouvrage de génie differe de l'ouvrage original, principalement caractérisé par la singularité." *De l'esprit* (1758) Discours IV, chap. I, *Du Genie*, Oeuvres completes de M. Helvetius in 2 vols., London, 1777, vol. II, p. 382.

providing future investigators with conveniently classified materials. In passing, we should hardly overlook Young's own interesting anticipation of the *Conjectures* in his *Essay on Lyric Poetry* (1728). He declares that

> In every work of genius, somewhat of an original spirit should be, at least, attempted; otherwise, the poet, whose character disclaims mediocrity, makes a secondary praise his ultimate ambition; which has something of a contradiction in it. Originals only have true life, and differ as much from the best imitations, as men from the most animated pictures of them. Nor is what I say at all inconsistent with a due deference for the great standards of antiquity; nay, that very example is on my side in this matter. And we should rather imitate their example in the several motives and fundamental principle of their working, than in their works themselves. This is a distinction, I think, not hitherto made, and a distinction of consequence.[12]

So far I have been concerned mainly with considerations arising from Dr. Steinke's method[13] and scholarly attitude. It remains for us to examine a few scattered statements. Dr. Steinke, to satisfy most of us, would have to explain what he means by the assertion that the *Night Thoughts* contains in practice to a large extent those principles of literary composition which are preached in the *Conjectures* (p. 7). Then in classifying Vida with Lessing and Winkelmann (pp. 25, 29) with respect to the insistence on imitating nature, Dr. Steinke makes certain conventional statements of the Italian critic represent his total doctrine which is highly formalistic. Likewise when he says that "In comparison with the preceding Italian school the French school of Pope stood, furthermore, as strongly for originality as did the Romantic in comparison with that of Pope" (p. 9) because "In the *Dunciad* and in the introduction to his *Homer* Pope himself is about as forceful a preacher of originality as Young" (*ibid.*), Dr. Steinke tends to confuse certain observations in the *Dunciad* and preface to the *Homer* with Pope's total attitude and influence.

Finally, we must agree with one of Dr. Steinke's most important theses that "Very little influence of the treatise on later English writers can be discovered" (p. 15). In addition to the references which he takes over from Brandl and Thomas, we may note the review in the *London Magazine* for 1759 (vol. VIII, pp. 231-2) and a long review, largely quotation, in the *Monthly Review*, vol. XX, pp. 501-7, in which the essay is called a "rhapsody," and is declared to contain many observations which are "new, striking and just" (p. 502). Reynolds, indeed, speaks as though the *Conjectures* were well known when he remarks:

> He that imitates the Iliad, says Dr. Young, is not imitating Homer.[14]

[12] In "*The Works of Edward Young, LL.D.* In 3 vols." London, 1798, pp. 222-3.

[13] Dr. Steinke should correct the exasperating habit of quoting without any reference. On pp. 10-13 there are at least fifteen citations quite undocumented. In the Appendix he refers to passages from Young only by page and volume. Many libraries, he should remember, do no contain the edition he refers to.

[14] *Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, in 2 vols. London, 1852. *The Eleventh Discourse*, vol. II, p. 36.

In regard to the assertion, in which Dr. Steinke merely translates Brandl (*op. cit.*, p. 13), that Goldsmith did not pass "definite judgment on" the treatise (p. 15) we can only quote from Goldsmith himself:

> Wherever he falls short of perfection, his faults are the errors of genius; his manner peculiarly his own; and while his book serves, by precept, to direct us to original composition, it serves to impel us by example.
>
> He begins by apologizing for his having, at his time of life, resumed the pen. There was no need of an excuse from one whose genius still subsists in its energy, and whose very defects will have admirers. He proceeds to observe, that there are two kinds of imitations, one of nature, the other of authors. The first we call originals, and confine the term imitation to the second, an imitator of the last class he justly ranks infinitely beneath the former: an imitator shares his crown with the chosen object of his imitation, but an original seizes reputation.[15]

As for the statement that "Hugh Blair follows Addison devotedly in his Lectures on Rhetoric (1783), but criticises Young as 'too fond of antithesis—too much glitter—fatiguing' " (p. 15), both Brandl and Steinke seem unaware that Blair is not speaking of the *Conjectures* at all, but of Young's *True Estimate of Human Life*.[16]

"The history of the extensive discussion of the conception of genius in English literature from Dennis to Young will some day form an interesting chapter in the history of romanticism," says Miss Margaret L. Bailey in her interesting study, *Milton and Jacob Boehme*, (N. Y. 1914, p. 179).[17] And indeed we shall never understand the full significance of Young's *Conjectures* until we realize its central position in an "original genius" movement which had a profound influence on the whole romantic movement in England as well as on the Continent.[18] Duff, Gerard, Colman, Wood, Hurd, Pinkerton, Blake, and others develop the same ideas which are expressed most notably in Young's essay. When we have studied these men in relation to their time we shall appreciate far better many ideas which dominate us at present. In the meantime we may thank Dr. Steinke for providing us with material and for helping to keep the subject before us.

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[15] *Critical Review*, vol. XVII, 1759, p. 483.

[16] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1793, vol. I, p. 324, 5.

[17] Cf. Professor Goebel's review of *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, by R. M. Jones, London, 1914, in Journal of English and Germanic Philology, vol. XVI, pp. 136-141.

[18] For this whole point of view I am entirely indebted to Professor Babbitt of Harvard. In certain investigations which I intend to publish in the near future, I hope to contribute something to the understanding of this movement.

DER TEUFEL IN DEN DEUTSCHEN GEISTLICHEN SPIELEN DES MITTELALTERS UND DER REFORMATIONSZEIT. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur-, Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands von Dr. Phil. Maximilian Josef Rudwin. Hesperia: Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz, No. 6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. xii+194.

Rarely can a phantom personality, for such is the mediaeval Christian Devil, begotten of the folk-brain in an age of profound and fertile folk-superstition, be subjected to orderly and substantial cross-examination. It is a species of genii, which having once escaped from its bottle, refuses to return to it. Dr. Rudwin is fortunate, in that the bottling of his most interesting examinee was done for him some centuries ago. By very virtue of titular definition, the Devil of the German Mediaeval Religious Drama is already under glass, and foreordained to objective and relentless analysis. The investigator's task has a delightful definitude. And to his work the author brings a peculiarly adequate equipment: a conspicuous familiarity with church liturgy and theological lore, acquaintance with the dramatic and scenic technique of the mediaeval stage, and a restrained but perceptible enjoyment of the whimsical nature of his subject. He is well aware of the ultimate purpose and wider bearings of such a study: the devil-scenes of the religious drama during the period of fusion of Germanic heathen superstition with Christian story, equally phantastic, should reveal in peculiar degree the mediaeval folk-mind and life-attitude. As he says, a people can be adjudged by its devil as well as by its god. But from the monograph itself all wider application and speculative deduction is excluded. It is a precise and methodical tabulation of facts.

The first half of the study deals one by one with the origin, development, and content of the various devil-scenes in the miracles, mysteries, and eschatalogical plays. In the great body of mediaeval dramatic literature which forms the basis of his investigation, every participation of the devil in the events of Old and New Testament history, as these events were depicted on the religious stage, has been traced and analyzed. The author lays fundamental stress on the organic relation of the devil-rôle to liturgico-scriptural sources, and on the fact that the devil, as the popular fancy conceived him, and as he frisked in the flesh on the religious stage, was not an imposition of exuberant pagan imagination on church doctrine, but a natural and legitimate outgrowth of it. Every introduction of the devil-element has as its direct inception a definite biblical or liturgical passage, or a generally accepted theological teaching. The comic nature of such scenes therefore, though

inevitable, is in every case to be regarded as distinctly secondary, never existing for its own sake. In the course of his study Dr. Rudwin has occasion from time to time to contribute and defend an original point of view, in refutation or correction of previous hypotheses. Such, for instance, is his simple explanation of a frequent transposition of scenes in the Easter plays, by which the Descent of Jesus into Hell is made to follow his Resurrection, instead of preceding it. The author believes this to be the result neither of theological necessity nor scenic expediency, but a mere means of avoiding confusion in the mind of the spectator by what would seem on the stage like a twofold or repeated rising from the dead. Here, and more particularly in the final chapter of this section, devoted to stage equipment and external details of presentation, the author shows a keen appreciation of the bearings of practical considerations on dramatic production.

This part of the monograph may be expected to stir students of English mediaeval religious drama to comparisons. Different as the history and rôle of the English stage-devil have been,[1] the exact nature of this difference, taken together with the points of contact, should be significant for a study of folk-variation in the general homogeneity of the mediaeval mental attitude.

The second half of the book presents a picture of the social organization of Lucifer's subjects, their relations, living conditions, names, activities, amusements, language and differentiation of personality. The picture is so vivid and complete, that its nature as a composite, a synthesis from scattered sources, is forgotten, despite the references that pepper the page and annoy the eye. The mediaeval love of parallelism and parody has here found far-reaching application, from the basic conception of Lucifer as "God's left hand" and his underlings as the apes of angelic action, to the subtlest ramifications of subordinate circumstance,—to burning fish-liver as over against incense, to Lucifer's cup, from which his disciples drank, to the keys of Hell, entrusted to Satan, here pendant to Peter, to Lillis as caricature of the Virgin Mary, and to the curious idea that alms may be given in the devil's name as well as God's. Naïve enough is the conception of Hell thus plastically projected, for as the massing of picturesque details makes evident, the untutored imagination has not succeeded either in creating a purely non-human devil, or constructing an unearthly milieu for his abode. The devils have modelled their political organization after the pattern of the German state. They conform to the externals of orthodox Catholicism, know their Bibles, have a chapel, and observe Lent. They like ham and eggs, enjoy games, appreciate money, and understand courtly behavior with ladies. They have headaches and other corporeal ailments, admire

[1] Cf. Dr. Rudwin's review of Charles Edward Whitmore's book: The Supernatural in Tragedy. JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. XVI, No. 2.

fine clothes, and are peculiarly sensitive to the difference in social rank of their victims. (It is an officer who dances with Maria Magdalena.) The homely intimacy of humble society is reflected in the paternal attitude of Lucifer toward his servants, in the democratic freedom of speech and discussion, and in the solidarity and friendliness that arises from oneness of lot and misfortune.[2] An atmosphere of unalleviated industry prevails. To be sure, the sole object of this unceasing endeavor is the procuring of souls for the population of Hell; but the incessant anxiety of Lucifer on this score, his frantic admonitions to zeal and acumen, the jubilation over pitiful successes and the inordinate punishments for failure, reflect unmistakably the eternal middle-class conditions of monotonous and fruitless toil on earth.

The distribution of labor among the various hellish agents parallels the rôles of saints and angels. As the latter specialize in their virtues, so do the devils particularize in their vices. The special patrons of each kind of wrong-doing are here ascertained; and from the varying degrees of emphasis attaching to their activity might be deduced interesting information as to the moral standards of our forbears. The list of misdeeds, which comprises all grades of undesirable behavior, from prattling in church to arson and murder, is not as archaic as might be expected. Of the forty odd reprehensible acts, receiving the attention of experienced specialists, perhaps only usury, Sabbath-breaking, music, and dancing may be said to have shifted essentially their status in conscience.

In his chapter on the appearance of the devils, Dr. Rudwin has again defended ably an independent judgment. In accordance with theological teaching, the devils, though in their natural state bodiless, assume at will animal, human, or even angelic form. When appearing in the shape of human beings, these lower spirits rarely show a perfect body, betraying their real nature by some deformity or animal excrescence, such as tails, horns, hoofs, or an unnatural complexion. The author maintains reasonably that this peculiarity of representation is neither theologically necessary (for Satan is well able to appear in the perfect guise of an angel), or due, as Mone would have it, to the mediaeval artistic demand for correspondence between inner nature and external form, but a mere survival of the conception of the old Teutonic deities, whose portrayal in human shape was always characterized by a similar physical irregularity.

A painstaking analysis shows the differentiation of character and personality which has resulted from the multiplication of the

[2] As the author suggests, the unity and mutual support among the German devils is in strong contrast with the spirit of their English kin. It is a point worthy of elaboration. Cf. Frederick Monroe Tisdel: The Influence of Popular Customs on the Mystery Plays. JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. V, page 338.

original Lucifer to a community of devil-units. Lucifer himself, as created by the folk-fancy is the exact reverse of the "Miltonic Prince." He is tearful, repentant, homesick and embittered; he howls and weeps over his lost prestige until his own servants and fellow-sufferers can stand it no longer, and openly poke fun at him, even in their songs of homage. He is moody, afraid to be left alone, vacillating in his commands, and nervous when his emissaries are absent too long on their errands. A sense of humor is his only pleasing attribute, a humor directed for the most part against the clergy, whom he hates for their arrogance and immorality, but which is turned on occasion against himself, as where he assures us that he resembles mightily a blacksmith, or likens the glow of his countenance to that of a rusty pan. His most attractive act is his leniency to the fallen girl, whom he excuses from punishment because she transgressed, not from greed, but for the sake of handsome youths. It is a pity that this cannot be interpreted as a vigorous protest against the all too harsh judgment meted out to such sinners, but Dr. Rudwin is undoubtedly right in considering it a mere mechanical parallel to Christ's dismissal of the woman taken in adultery.

Satan, Lucifer's "clever rooster," as he calls him, and his chief minister and bosom friend, is more intelligent, more wicked, more likeable than his master. He takes risks, having been known to snatch a priest from the very altar; and his proud self-confidence is in pleasing contrast to Lucifer's rueful self-abasement. Only the ensnarement of really significant souls interests him, and he is justly scornful of the cowardly and dishonorable mortals, who having made a business agreement with him, and enjoyed the fruits thereof, seek to escape payment by an unmanly appeal to the Mother of God.

It is to the great quantity of sifted material, and to the exactness and thoroughness of Dr. Rudwin's method, that the book's value and usefulness are due. It is a question, in this connection, whether his industry has not led him at times into irrelevant fact-gathering. For example, in the interesting section on the language of the devils (Part II, chapter 9) he has noted, at considerable pains presumably, every occurrence of the exclamations "O we" or "Ach we" in some twenty-one plays, and has attested his findings by fifty line references. But here the research stands. Nothing is adduced to indicate whether or not these—and other similarly tabulated expressions—were peculiar in any degree to devil-usage, or what significance the establishment of such data has, or might have, in the light of further investigation. An indulgence in what must give the impression of mere bookish fact-hunting ought to be accompanied by a hint at least of some conceivable ultimate utilization of the material so accumulated. The overlapping of quotations and references, which detract from the pleasure of a cursory reading, is unavoidably due to the disposition

of the matter, an arrangement admirably adapted for the use of serious students of the subject, for whom after all the book was written. The repetition is as little to be deprecated as would be the repetition in a particularly good index; it is the result of thoroughness of treatment.

The book will not only be a source of information to students of mediaeval religious drama, but should contribute fundamentally to the history of folk-thought. It is sure to stimulate further investigation in the allied English field, and the points of contact and difference, when fully determined in all their bearings, will, quite aside from their technical interest, supply data of a trustworthy kind for a curious chapter in the study of comparative folk-psychology.

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SHAKSPERIAN STUDIES. By Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University. Edited by Brander Matthews and Ashley Horace Thorndike. New York. Columbia University Press. 1916. 8vo, pp. x, 452. Price, $2.25 net.

SHAKESPEARE STUDIES. By Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin. Madison. Published by the University. 1916. 8vo, pp. 300.

AMERICAN EDITIONS OF SHAKESPEARE, 1753-1866. By Jane Sherzer. In *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* December, 1907, xxii. (n.s. xv.) 633-96. Cambridge, Mass.

HAMLET, AN IDEAL PRINCE, AND OTHER ESSAYS IN SHAKESPEAREAN INTERPRETATION. By Alexander W. Crawford. Boston. Richard G. Badger. 1916. Small 8vo, pp. 317. Price, $1.50 net.

SHAKESPEARE IN AMERICA. By William B. Cairns. In *Edda: Nordisk Tidsskrift for Litteraturforskning,* Heft 3, 1916, vi. 189-208. Kristiania. W. Nygaard.

Not the least important part of the celebration of the Shakespeare tercentenary was the two handsome volumes of studies published by members of the Departments of English in Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin. It is perhaps worth noting that each institution is a prominent and representative one in its respective territory, the one being typical of the great endowed universities of the East, in which old-fashioned ideas of culture still prevail, the other representing the energetic and progressive state universities of the West, in which, it is generally supposed, there is a strong tendency toward supporting especially

those studies which make for practical material improvement and advancement. That institutions of both these types recognize the value of Shakespeare's works as a means to culture speaks well for the common ideals of American education.

Typographically, both volumes are somewhat disappointing. The Columbia volume is marred by more misprints than we generally expect to find nowadays.[1] The name Shakspere is variously divided into syllables (cf. pp. 67, l. 3 f.b., 243, end). The plan followed in the fourth and thirteenth papers, of putting a reference in parenthesis outside of the sentence without capital or period (see, for example, p. 81, ll. 18, 22, p. 84, l. 3, p. 321, l. 15 f.b.), has no warrant in the usage of any reputable printing office with which we are acquainted; the proof-reader himself has been inconsistent (cf. p. 85, l. 1 f.b., p. 88, l. 18). The correct usage is followed on p. 70, ll. 7, 14, 25, 37. In the Wisconsin volume an unfortunate choice of type has disfigured several pages (e.g., pp. 207-11, the titles of the plays should have been, say, in small capitals roman).[2]

That opinion is still divided as to the best spelling of Shakespeare's name is illustrated by the fact that in the Wisconsin volume the customary spelling Shakespeare, now practically universal, is followed, while the Columbia scholars have uniformly spelled it Shakspere. Obviously, however, they go too far when they change the spelling in quoted passages or titles. One exception (p. 431, n. 1) seems to have got by.

In quality, the papers in both volumes are in the main sound and worthy contributions to the study of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama.

The Columbia volume[3] includes eighteen papers, of which eleven are general, while seven have to do with individual plays or characters. Prefixed is a graceful sonnet, Shakspere Dead, by Professor J. B. Fletcher.

[1] P. 18, l. 19, p. 19, l. 13 f.b., p. 20, l. 1 f.b., read plebeians. P. 20, l. 10 f.b., read foreseen. P. 22, l. 9 f.b., no paragraph. P. 26, l. 1 f.b., read Publications. P. 204, l. 17, delete the first word. P. 111, l. 7 f.b., read these data. P. 299, l. 8, read villainist; l. 14, read quintessence. P. 307, l. 9 f.b., read resource. P. 315, l. 2 f.b., the expression "as edited" is most unusual; is there a printer's error here? P. 317, end, an omission. P. 382, l. 8, read the ones. P. 450, n. 3, read *Reliquiae Antiquae.*

[2] P. 99, l. 12 f.b., the preferable spelling is Antony. P. 128, l. 8 f.b., read needs. Pp. 128, l. 3 f.b., 276, l. 8, and perhaps elsewhere, the name is wrongly divided at the end of the line. P. 131, l. 6 f.b., comma after IV. P. 191, l. 11 f.b., bad spacing. P. 263, l. 18, p. 272, l. 4, and elsewhere, the period would look better inside the quotation marks (as in l. 10). P. 281, l. 15, read belong. On pp. 77, 101, 123, 145, 199, 213, 229, 251, and 275 the headlines are wrong.

[3] The following reviews have already appeared: *The Athenæum*, Dec., 1916, p. 595; *The Boston Transcript*, May 10, 1916, p. 5; *The Catholic World*, Nov., 1916, civ. 261; *The Nation*, July 13, 1916, ciii. 40; *The New York Times Review of Books*, May 21, 1916, xxi. 212; *The Spectator*, Dec. 23, 1916, cxvii. 808; *The Columbia University Quarterly*, Sept., 1916, xviii. 373-6, by R. M. Alden; *The American Journal of Philology*, Jan.-March, 1917, xxxviii. 93-6, by T. S. Graves; *Modern Philology*, Jan., 1918, xv. 189-91, by C. R. Baskervill.

In the opening essay Professor Brander Matthews discusses Shaksperian Stage Traditions. He insists upon the importance of preserving for the general good the immense body of traditions of how great actors have interpreted Shakespeare's lines, and urges that future editors of the plays shall utilize these traditions. Too often great passages, e.g., Portia's plea for mercy, are merely declaimed without reference to the setting, or the needs of the moment, or the obvious intent of the dramatist. On the other hand, whatever the dramatist may have intended to do, it is important to note what he actually did. On this ground Professor Matthews boldly justifies Irving's and Booth's Shylock, while admitting it to be "highly probable that Shakspere intended Shylock to be a despicable villain detestable to all spectators." This goes squarely against the doctrine expounded by Prof. Crawford (see below) that what Shakespeare meant to do should be good enough for anybody; the reader may take his choice.

Professor Thorndike's paper on Shakspere as a Debtor is a temperate and well considered statement of the kinds of debts that Shakespeare owed to his contemporaries and his times. Certainly the extent of his known indebtedness has increased as the years have piled up their records of scholarly gleanings in Elizabethan dramatic history.[4] Yet after it has all been rehearsed, Shakespeare remains supreme. His supremacy, however, is now seen to be of a different sort from that which Dowden, for example, imagined to be his. The formula used to be, Shakespeare first, the rest nowhere. But now we have to admit that the contemporary dramatists were a very busy and by no means negligible group. "During the period of Shakspere's authorship, London probably often saw one hundred new plays in a single year." Yet among the playwrights of the day, Shakespeare is still easily first, for whatever he touched he improved and transformed. "Amid the rivalry of the brilliant group which gives primacy in English literature to the first decade of the seventeenth century, he maintained his leadership whether on the public stage, at court, or in the Mermaid tavern." And on the whole we think the public is coming round to the view so long championed by Professor Thorndike, that Shakespeare's changes in method and detail are to be attributed not so much "to the effects of his personal experience, resulting in periods of depression and exaltation," as to "the changes and movement of the drama of his time." Some further light is thrown on this subject by Professor Frank A. Patterson, who writes on Shakspere and the Medieval Lyric. He has found in the plays many traces of medieval songs, and concludes that Shakespeare, perhaps more than his contemporaries, modeled his lyrics on those of former times. As a lyrist he "took

[4] For an example of the latest of these, see Miss Janet Spens's Essay on Shakespeare's Relation to Tradition, and the present writer's review of it in *The Dial*, Sept. 13, 1917, lxiii. 216.

the poetry that England had bequeathed him and made of it songs not unlike those of his predecessors, yet unapproached."

Such doctrine as is embodied in these two papers means that many books like Dowden's will have to be scrapped, and that Shakespeare's spiritual history will have to be rewritten. But to what extent can it be ascertained? How much can we safely infer from the internal evidence of the plays and poems? This is the ever fresh theme of Professor William T. Brewster's paper on Shakspere's Personality. It is iconoclastic in a high degree. The author contends that all the attempts yet made to reconstruct the personality of the poet have been vain and futile, and that such efforts can never be anything else. We shall all agree, doubtless, that it is not safe to trust any reconstruction based wholly on his works. We do not yet know enough about psychology to be sure that any writer's personality can be reconstructed from his works. Still, we are much inclined to believe that there is some definite relation between personality and authorship, just as there is believed to be between personality and penmanship; and we incline further to believe that some facets of Shakespeare's personality may be safely inferred from the body of work generally attributed to him. It is like believing in immortality: you can't prove it, but you go right along believing (or disbelieving) in it according to your temperament, while admitting, of course, that it has no scientific basis. Further, when Professor Brewster says that the record and the inferences that we may legitimately make concerning Shakespeare "do not indicate a supremely interesting personality," we must pronounce this an opinion so highly subjective that debate becomes impossible. One may disagree with this view without putting Shakespeare on a false pedestal. Every one will have his own opinion. After all, what do we mean by "an interesting personality"? The quality of interest is a supremely relative matter.

Professor Charles S. Baldwin, in an interesting Note on the History Play, calls attention to the perenniality of this type of drama, and to the fact that these plays, which are still popular and are still usually written in verse, were of the sort that kindled Shakespeare's tragedy and liberated all his dramatic powers. But would not the author have been more convincing if he had drawn his illustrations from some other play than Othello? Surely this is not a history play in any ordinary sense—or if it be one, then the word "history" becomes synonymous with its congener "story" and all tragedies become history plays. True, "in a large sense we may speak of Elizabethan tragedy as representing history in poetry, and of the historical conception of drama as idealizing human passions in great figures of the past" (p. 303); but is not this rather confusing than enlightening? The Elizabethan history plays were concerned with the great deeds of the English kings and derived their interest from this fact. Certainly no Eliza-

bethan thought of the Italians among whom Othello's lot was cast as having anything to do with his own forefathers (cf. the quotation from Sir Thomas Browne, p. 310). We may readily admit Lear and Macbeth into the group of histories, because they belong to British history; yet even here it may fairly be doubted if the spectator thought as much about the history as he did about the story. In his main contention, however, Professor Baldwin is undoubtedly right.

Professor Franklin T. Baker, writing on Shakspere in the Schools, points out how the changing phases of our study of Shakespeare reflect our progress in ideas. Seventy years ago, when we knew little about and cared less for the theater, school-books included merely selections and detached passages. Then, with the editions of Hudson and Rolfe, came the interest in the psychology and especially in the ethical aspirations of Shakespeare, to be succeeded by interest in the dramaturgy of the poet. We wish Professor Baker had expressed himself more at length about how Shakespeare should *not* be taught in the schools; doubtless lack of space prevented him from handling this large subject. As it is, the paper is decidedly interesting. In connection with the increasing number of school performances of the plays, of which Professor Baker speaks, Professor Allan Abbott's paper on School Performances of Shakspere's Plays is timely and will be found full of useful hints. Perhaps the author is inclined to cut rather over much. If the schoolboy has the right attitude toward Shakespeare, he will stand a good deal; if he has not, it is a question if mere excisions will give such an attitude.

In his Reality and Inconsistency in Shakspere's Characters, Professor Ernest H. Wright makes some good points. Of all English poets and perhaps of all poets, Shakespeare is the least likely to get between his characters and his readers. These characters are, in consequence, more true to life in the sense that they give us more of the complexity of real life than do the characters of an artist like Racine, whose characters are relatively simple, logical, and consistent. These statements are elaborately illustrated by an analysis of Hamlet, after which the author gives some illustrations of how, in consequence, (1) Shakespeare characters have been treated as independent creatures of flesh and blood; (2) how critics have been tempted to seek the hidden Shakespeare in the characters themselves; and (3) how opinions with reference to these characters clash. In these last paragraphs Professor Wright shows effectively the futility of much of the so-called Shakespeare criticism of the last few years.

Professor Carl Van Doren has sought to find out what Shakespeare has to say about the art of the poet and the dramatist. The results are meager. In speaking about poets, Shakespeare takes about the same tone "as a reserved and humorous poet might use with regard to his profession in the easy gossip of a club." Of

the dramatic art he says little. "He could discuss, penetratingly and finally, the technic of an art, as 'Hamlet' shows; but he kept his own artistic principles implicit in his art."

Professor Harrison R. Steeves undertakes an evaluation of certain American editors of Shakespeare. His work is independent of that of Miss Sherzer, which he did not see till his labors were practically completed, and the two papers, both of which are valuable, well supplement each other. Miss Sherzer, who has much more space at her disposal, begins with Mrs. Lennox's Shakespear Illustrated (1753), although that is properly not an edition at all but merely a recapitulation of the stories on which the plays were founded, and concludes her list with Richard Grant White. She mentions all the editions of which she has knowledge, and quotes the title pages, carefully indicating by means of an asterisk those editions she has not personally seen. By means of judicious quotations she indicates each editor's point of view and makes fairly clear his actual contribution to the higher and lower criticism of the poet. Professor Steeves is not so much concerned with dates (he does not even tell us when the first American edition was published) or bibliographical details as with the qualities and the achievement of each successive editor whom he discusses. He brings his study down to the present time. It is interesting to compare some of the remarks of the two critics. Of the Boston edition of 1836 Miss Sherzer says: "This edition, rather than Richard Grant White's of twenty years later, deserves to be called epoch-making, for the publishers claim to follow, in general, the readings of the folio of 1623." Professor Steeves says: "Peabody's edition is plainly not of high importance, as it involved nothing more than the working over of material then very much esteemed." Again, Miss Sherzer says that Hudson[5] began in 1844 to write lectures on Shakespeare; Steeves says that he produced a series of lectures which he delivered in the South and Middle West in 1843. We are unable to pronounce definitely which is right, but from such evidence as we have been able to collect, it would seem that Steeves's statement is a safe one. The late Andrew J. George, who knew Hudson intimately, in his edition of Hudson's Essays on English Studies, says: "On graduating from college in 1840 he went to Kentucky, where he began teaching. The next two years [presumably 1841-3] he taught in Huntsville, Alabama. He continued his Shakespearean studies meanwhile and gathered material for a series of lectures which he gave to large audiences in the principal southern cities. . . . In 1844 he came to Boston." Connected with this point is the story mentioned by Miss Sherzer that Hudson was induced at the age of thirty to begin the reading of Shakespeare. This story is related in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, 1888 (iii. 298),

[5] By a misprint (p. 670, l. 12) Miss Sherzer makes Hudson a student at Middleton instead of Middlebury College.

in such a way as to make it appear that Hudson himself told the story. The contradictory fact mentioned by Miss Sherzer is not seriously damaging to the authenticity of the tale, since Hudson might easily make such an off-hand remark without implying anything of consequence; but there is evidence, if George (pp. xiii-xv) is to be credited, that Shakespeare was among the earliest books he read and that he wrote essays on Shakespeare while in college.[6]

The Question of Shakspere's Pronunciation is discussed by Professor Harry M. Ayres. Though he does not settle the question, he offers some valuable hints. The vocabulary of the phonetician is always a puzzling problem; it is doubtful if Professor Ayres has made himself wholly clear by the use of such terms as "obscure vowel" (p. 243, l. 16 f.b.) and "retracted or inverted" (p. 250, l. 15 f.b.); but in the main a layman will be able to read him with ease. Was the *l* ever sounded in *could* (p. 241, l. 14 f.b.)? The argument *a priori* is, of course, against it. The *NED.* (ii. 57) says: "*l* began to be inserted about 1525, apparently in mechanical imitation of *should* and *would*, where an etymological *l* had become silent so that these words now rimed with *coud*." Lounsbury (HEL., 2d ed., p. 458) and Emerson (BrHEL., p. 133) both say categorically that it was never pronounced. On the other hand Vietor (Shakespeare's Pronun. i. 96) says, "Various orthoepists testify also to the [l] in *could* and *would*." According to Ellis (EEPr. iii. 886, col. 1, iv. 1005, col. 2) the pronunciation of *l* was indicated by Smith, 1568, Bullokar, 1580, Gill, Logonomia, 2d ed., 1621, Butler, 1633, Price, 1668, and Cooper, 1685 (the last gives *could* possem and *cool'd* refrigeratus as homonyms). Richard Grant White believed it was sounded, and in a note to LLL. v. 1. 5 says that *l* in *could*, *would* was heard in the old pronunciation of the eastern U. S. Hart, in his Orthography (1569, quoted by Jespersen, MnEGr. i. 294), has *kuld*, *shuld*, (*w*)*uld*. Spenser repeatedly rhymed *would*, *could*, *should* (Ellis, EEPr. iii. 871, col. 2); and Shakespeare rhymed *should* and *cool'd* (VA. 385). In spite of this evidence, however, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the *l* in *could* was universally pronounced (it may have been sporadically) in Shakespeare's time. At that time the reading public was not large, and the spelling had not begun to influence the pronunciation as it has since done in many words. Ellis himself differentiates between (shuuld) (EEPr. iii. 986, l. 23, 993,

[6] Cf., too, the incident related by Rev. Luther H. Sheldon, of the class of 1839 at Middlebury College: "At one time when Hudson seemed even more than usually earnest and happy in his comments, I remarked to him, 'Hudson, you will some day write a book on Shakespeare; I will give you a title,—The Beauties of the World's Greatest Poet.' He replied, 'Oh, no; I read and study this author only because of the genuine pleasure it affords me, and the kind of rest it gives me from the fatigue and routine of my college application.' " Quoted in The Place in Letters of Henry Norman Hudson, published by Middlebury College, Feb., 1916, p. 5.

l. 19) (shuu'dst) (995, ll. 23, 24), (shuld) (989, l. 6), (wuuld) (989, l. 18, 991, l. 26), and (wud) (988, l. 9 f.b.) and (kud) (992, l. 6).

We come now to the studies of individual plays and characters; these, lack of space forbids us to do more than mention. Professor George C. D. Odell, in one of the most entertaining of all the papers, describes the revivals of A Midsummer Night's Dream on the New York stage. When he calls the 1826 performance "the first performance of a Shaksperian play in America" (p. 122), surely this is a slip of the pen. Does he not mean *a* first performance? An ambiguous sentence like this is quite unusual in so careful a writer. Professor William W. Lawrence, dealing with The Love Story in 'Troilus and Cressida,'[7] makes it clear that Shakespeare was simply maintaining the traditional views of these characters, and that because of the rise of modern ethical ideals of the relations of the sexes, the old heroes and heroines of the stories based on the medieval code of courtly love were bound to suffer. Professor John Erskine shows how by a few simplifying changes Shakespeare adapted the current story of Romeo and Juliet to the immortal expression of the tragedy of young love. Professor Algernon D. Tassin studies Julius Caesar. He finds Shakespeare's debt to Plutarch very great; yet Shakespeare departs from Plutarch in his conception of Brutus, to whom he believed Plutarch too partial, and in many minor details he alters and adds in such a way as to achieve "the dramatization of his audience." Besides, Julius Caesar is both lucid in diction and void of dead wood. "It is his only tragedy of which you can say there is nothing too much of anything. It is his only tragedy, almost his only play, of which the original version and the present acting-version can be the same." Possibly a more skilful handling of the mass of details which Professor Tassin gives us would have made parts of his essay easier reading. Professor Trent contributes some useful textual notes on Pericles. Professor Krapp finds in Parolles not a kind of Falstaff but a reflection of the Elizabethan "villainist and modernist time-servers who walked the streets of London in gaudy splendor." The moral of his character is that "style is not enough to procure the salvation of a man." Finally, Professor Cunliffe, in discussing The Character of Henry V as Prince and King, lays down the general principle that provided our imagination does not "run counter to Shakspere's conception and thus create inconsistencies which are not to be found in the text," we moderns have a right to modern conceptions of Shakespeare's characters—"the one great question for us is the impression they make on our minds as we see them across the footlights or imagine them rising from the printed page." He then illustrates this by pointing out how Henry V, once the mirror

[7] See the much more detailed account of the matter in Hyder E. Rollins's paper on The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare in *PMLA.*, Sept., 1917, xxxii. 383-429.

of all Christian kings, is now (though Masefield goes too far in condemnation) to be regarded rather as a very human but efficient ruler, energetic, ambitious, scheming, unscrupulous, full of religiosity like the Kaiser, for his time not indelicate, "masterful, downright, bluff, good-natured. . . . It is his common humanity that endears him to us, his high courage, his modesty, his plain-speaking, his good-humor, and his practical common-sense."

The Wisconsin volume[8] includes thirteen items, of which the first is a series of eight sonnets by Professor William Ellery Leonard; of these we like the sixth best. In this book, in contrast with the Columbia volume, three papers are not immediately concerned with Shakespeare. Of the nine remaining all but one are general.

We will begin with Professor J. F. A. Pyre's paper on Shakespeare's Pathos. The author is not very successful, we think, in characterizing pathos. He is right, to be sure, and he should have put it more strongly, when he says that "it is doubtful . . . if beauty or joy are ever truly pathetic save through some (however delicate) *arrière pensée* of their transiency, helplessness, insecurity, or the like; as of 'beauty whose action is no stronger than a flower,' and 'joy whose hand is ever at his lips, bidding adieu.'" But here he should have stopped, instead of going on to say that "Pathos may arise from a sense of contrast between present joy and foregone hardship, suffering, or peril." Pathos rather arises from the sense of contrast between present joy and hardship or peril soon to come. A good instance is to be found in Hawthorne's story of The Ambitious Guest; the ambition of the young traveler is pathetic. Further, contrast the joy of the soldier who comes home from the wars and greets his wife and children, with the feelings of the same soldier who bids his family farewell to go back to almost certain death on the battlefield, or with the parting of Hector and Andromache. In the one case, there is only pure joy; in the other there is certainly pathos. Again, the author further confuses us by what he says of sleep: "Sleep is one of the natural goods of life, beautiful in itself, like flowers, like the songs of birds. It is the touchstone of health; as the man sleepeth, so is he. Where virtue is, it is more virtuous, and where beauty is, more beautiful. The relation to sleep therefore becomes an index of character and of psychic constitution and a means of portraying them. Such intimate revelations are pathetic." There is nothing pathetic, however, about the sleep of a healthy person free from care; indeed, it is doubtful if there is anything pathetic about sleep except as it suggests death. Macbeth, thinking of his murdered king, exclaims,

> After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.

Where is the pathos? In the sleep there is certainly none; perhaps there is in the thought of the living who must suffer so much

[8] Already reviewed in *The Nation*, Oct. 12, 1916, ciii. 357.

before they are privileged to sleep too; but here we pass quickly from pathos to pity. It is curious that the author himself is not something more than suspicious of the propriety of citing the sleep of Falstaff at the Boar's Head (pp. 57 f.) as an instance of pathos. Nor do we always like Professor Pyre's vocabulary. The use of *wooingest* (p. 54, l. 2 f.b.) and *livingness* (p. 55, l. 8 f.b.) will tend to alienate certain sober readers. And what does he mean by the passive verb in this sentence: "The matter which is vital to this discussion, however, is not the loss of our sympathies, but the means by which they are sought to be regained"?

This is followed by John Robert Moore's paper on The Function of the Songs in Shakespeare's Plays. He finds that "Shakespeare was virtually the first Elizabethan dramatist to make systematic employment of the song for dramatic purposes; that he used either blank, fragmentary, or complete songs in all of the plays but nine, of which several are, at least in part, by other hands; that his songs are inseparable from the context . . . ; that they serve not for the gross humor of boisterous clownage or of raving madness, but for the subtle and delightful portrayal of human nature, the enrichment of scene or atmosphere, the expression of thought or mood inappropriate for the speeches, the motivation of action,[9] the heightening of emotional effect, and the foreshadowing of what is to come."

Professor Thomas H. Dickinson, writing on Some Principles of Shakespeare Staging, points out that the Shakespearean stage, from the point of view of rapport, was chiefly flexible rather than bare; this quality "forced him back to the use of his strongest medium of expression, the only medium that withstands all the tests and changes of time, the medium of the idea expressed in perfect language." The modern stage is pictorial rather than plastic or flexible. It tends (1) to separate the regions of reality and imagination; (2) to limit the instrumentalities of the drama to the intellect and the senses; and (3) to fasten the action to a narrow space contiguous to the audience. Thus all kinds of plays except the comedies of manners and the plays of naturalism have degenerated. The writer then traces the history of some modern attempts to make the staging of Shakespeare more flexible. The paper is useful and illuminating.

Two papers are concerned mainly with Shakespeare's poems and sonnets. Professor R. E. Neil Dodge, in An Obsolete Elizabethan Mode of Rhyming, discusses such hideous rhymes as *resolutiôn : absolûtion*, which occurs here and there in Elizabethan

[9] In this connection one recalls the song in M. of V. iii. 2. 63-71. It has been pointed out by Weiss (quoted in the Variorum, pp. 141-2) that the substance of this gives Bassanio a broad hint. We do not remember to have seen anywhere the further comment that the very rhyme with which this song begins (*bred:head:nourished* [*:lead*]) suggests to Bassanio the proper choice. If we assume that Portia had arranged this beforehand, we must perhaps conclude that she did not propose to take any chances.

poetry, and which may have been due, as Dodge points out, to a false notion of Chaucer's practice derived from Thynne's edition. Only four instances, we rejoice to find, are recorded in Shakespeare's non-dramatic verse; since this is a Shakespearean volume, it would have been interesting to learn if Shakespeare permitted any such vile usage in the rhyming verses of his dramas. Professor Arthur Beatty, in Shakespeare's Sonnets and Plays, seeks for sonnet-like passages in the plays and finds "36 passages in blank verse and prose which show the sonnet structure in the way in which the thought is presented." He concludes that from 1591 to 1609 the sonnet habit was a constant in Shakespeare's mind, but that after 1609 he wrote no more sonnets. The reasoning is ingenious and convincing; but we do not see how it is made more convincing by omitting from consideration the eleven sonnets which the author also finds in the dramas.

The eighteenth century is represented by two interesting papers. Miss Lily B. Campbell, in Garrick's Vagary, recalls the details of the Stratford Jubilee of Sept. 6-8, 1769, by which Garrick shrewdly connected his name with that of Shakespeare. In Joseph Ritson and Some Eighteenth Century Editors of Shakespeare, Dr. Henry A. Burd reviews the work of one of the most picturesque of eighteenth century scholars, who in an age when scurrilous pugnacity among scholars was good form, could more than hold up his end. If Ritson had put through his edition, it would have taken high rank among the editions of a time when flourished a brilliant galaxy of commentators and editors.

With these two papers we may connect Professor Frederick W. Roe's paper on Charles Lamb and Shakespeare. His characterization of Lamb is just. Lamb possessed insight, intimacy, independence, exquisite taste, but was not broadly comprehensive. On one point, however, perhaps Roe claims too much for Lamb: namely, when he pronounces Lamb's explanation of the reason for Hamlet's assumed madness "at once the clearest and most satisfying statement of the case ever submitted." Is it necessary to say that "the terror which the sight of the ghost had left upon the senses of Hamlet, he being weak and dispirited before, almost unhinged his mind, and drove him beside his reason"? Is it not enough to remember that in the earlier forms of the story Hamlet feigns madness as a part of his plan of action?[10]

[10] Cf. The Hystorie of Hamblet ii.: "The prince Hamblet perceiving himself to bee in danger of his life . . . and assuring himselfe that Fengon would not detract the time to send him the same way his father Horvendile was gone, to beguile the tyrant in his subtilties (that esteemed him to bee of such a minde that if he once attained to mans estate he wold not long delay the time to revenge the death of his father) counterfeiting the mad man with such craft and subtill practises, that hee made shewe as if hee had utterly lost his wittes; and under that vayle hee covered his pretence, and defended his life from the treasons and practises of the tyrant his uncle." The author of the Hystorie thought it "a great point of a wise and brave spirite in a yong prince, by so

In the one paper dealing with a single play, O. J. Campbell, Jr., deals with A Dutch Analogue of Richard the Third. The analogue is De Roode en Witte Roos, by Lambert van den Bosch, published at Amsterdam in 1651. It is in rhymed hexameters. It will be remembered that Dr. Harold Fuller, in his Providence MLA. paper in 1904, held that this play was apparently adapted from a pre-Shakespearean English play perhaps even known as The Red and White Rose. Mr. Campbell does not deny this, though he is very conservative about expressing himself. The most he will say is that "the Dutch play is a very definite part of the English dramatic tradition which culminated in Shakespeare." He presents here the most striking resemblances between the Dutch play and Shakespeare's.

We turn now to the non-Shakespearean papers. Professor Frank G. Hubbard, writing on Locrine and Selimus, elaborates evidence that Selimus borrowed from Locrine, which he finds to have been written after Aug. 8, 1591; he thinks they cannot have been by the same writer. He makes a good point in saying that parallel passages in two plays are rather evidence that two different men wrote them than that one man was the author of both. He thinks, too, that there has been all too little collection and study of passages common to several plays.[11] One result of such study would doubtless be that scholars would be more cautious in their attributions of plays. In An Elizabethan Defence of the Stage, Professor Karl Young recalls the controversy between William Gager and Dr. John Reynolds over the performance of Gager's three Latin plays at Christ Church at Shrovetide, 1592. Of the five documents in the debate, nos. 2, 3, and 5 have already been printed. Professor Young now reprints no. 1 and recapitulates no. 4 with large extracts. A point of special interest is Gager's defence of the practice of mingling comedy with tragedy. Louis Wann, in The Collaboration of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger, gives in outline the results of investigations which seem to confirm Miss Hatcher's view (*Anglia*, Apr. 5, 1910, xxxiii. 219-31) that these three men collaborated on the basis of "a fairly definite division of subject matter. To Fletcher fell in both cases the development of the lower types of character, the production of the comic action, and the evolution of the sub-plot. Beaumont and Massinger confined themselves to the exalted characters, the serious action, and the main plot." The author's method seems to be somewhat mechanical, and until one knows in full

great a shewe of imperfection in his person for advancement, and his owne imbasing and despising, to worke the meanes and to prepare the way for himselfe to bee one of the happiest kings in his age," and cited as precedents the cases of Brutus and David (Variorum ii. 94 f., cf. p. 112, l. 16 f.b.). See also Fratricide Punished i. 6, end (Variorum ii. 126).

[11] Cf. Prof. Hubbard's valuable paper on Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama, *PMLA.*, 1905, xx. 360-79.

the processes of reasoning employed (that is, "the data on each play," p. 158, n. 1), one must suspend judgment as to the finality of these conclusions.

With Professor Crawford's point of view,[12] we have a good deal of sympathy. He holds that common sense should be allowed to help us in the interpretation of Shakespeare's plays. He thinks "that Shakespeare, like other great authors, probably said what he meant and meant what he said." Shakespeare is best regarded as a sixteenth century dramatist the most obvious interpretation of whom is the simplest and to be preferred to all others. He has "tried to approach [the dramas] in the historical spirit, and . . . to understand them as they are, without assuming them to be unintelligible, and without devising plans for their improvement." Surely this is the point of view we need for the fullest understanding of the plays.

The first of his essays and the one which gives the volume its title is on Hamlet. For various reasons none of the theories hitherto propounded in explanation of the Hamlet mystery can be regarded as wholly satisfactory. There is the view of Goethe and Coleridge that Hamlet was the victim of procrastination, owing to irresoluteness of character. This tendency to procrastination has been explained by Professor Bradley and others as due to the fact that Hamlet was the victim of melancholia. The trouble with such a view is that it takes one of the most vitally human of Shakespeare's characters into the field of pathology. Shakespeare was assuredly not writing a tragedy about a sick man; and as critics like Lewis have pointed out, audiences do not condemn Hamlet as a weakling or an invalid. Again, Klein and Werder, repudiating the notion of Hamlet's inherent incapacity for action, regard his delay as inevitable in view of the necessity of getting evidence to corroborate the story of the ghost, and of securing justice in such a way that it shall not seem to the people to be merely regicide. This view, as Mr. Crawford says, may be regarded as satisfactory so far as it goes. What Crawford now does is to take the further step and thus to round out a theory which does not fail to meet at most points the objections of critics. According to him, Hamlet is "a patriot and hero of a new type, who aims only to do what is for the good of his country. . . . His very inaction, wrongly called procrastination, assumes the character of the highest self-restraint and patriotism. His one fault is that he cannot always completely restrain himself in the face of such terrible provocation."[13]

Views equally sensible are presented in the other three essays. The Merchant of Venice is found to be not the tragedy of a Shy-

[12] Three typographical errors have been noted: p. 157, l. 20, read *summum*; p. 252, l. 10 f.b., read who; p. 272, n. 1, l. 2, read mad, and Shakespear.

[13] This is certainly the view of the author of The Hystorie of Hamblet, and also, one might contend, of the author of Fratricide Punished.

lock more sinned against than sinning, but rather a struggle between Jewish and Elizabethan Christian ideals of life (Justice vs. Mercy). Othello is the tragedy not of intrigue but of an incongruous marriage between a wilful, indiscreet, romantic white girl and a black whose pride had been outraged. Lear is a tragedy of despotism. Absolute rule had had its moral effect on the character of the old king. "In acquiring unlimited sovereignty over his dominion and over his family, he had completely lost sovereignty over himself." The tragedy of his experience illustrates the working out of moral justice. Again the dramatist "shows a sublime faith in the moral order, and in its certainty to bring ultimate triumph to right." Whether we accept these views or not, we cannot deny that they are intelligible and defensible on the grounds of common sense. The author pays a sincere tribute to the dramatist when he says that "the centuries of criticism have veered hither and thither in their judgments, but now show a tendency to come back to Shakespeare, and to accept whatever is manifestly the opinion of the dramatist."

To the valuable Shakespeare number of *Edda* Professor W. B. Cairns of the University of Wisconsin contributes a comprehensive sketch of the vogue of Shakespeare in America, discussing first, briefly, the editions,[14] secondly, the study of Shakespeare in American schools, and thirdly, the acting of Shakespeare on the American stage. He concludes with some notes on the American celebrations of 1864 and on those which were about to be held in 1916. From his remarks and from the studies we have discussed above we get the impression that America, while she has made no startlingly brilliant contribution to Shakespearean scholarship, and while we ought to be thoroughly ashamed of her share in the Baconian controversy, has nevertheless figured respectably in the study and the acting of the great plays; and that our present interest in these activities, intellectual and artistic, gives promise for the future.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

WILLIAM HAUGHTON'S "ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY, OR A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL." Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Albert Croll Baugh. Philadelphia, 1917. 8vo, pp. 224.

In spite of its title this doctoral dissertation is much more than a mere edition of William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*; it is a thorough study of an early Elizabethan playwright, who, though unimportant for his extant work, was in his day a conspicuous figure in the dramatic world, and a collaborator with

[14] A curious misprint is found on p. 192: the editor of the Variorum was not Henry but Horace Howard Furness.

some of the best craftsmen then writing for the stage. By thus clearing up one corner of the great field of the Elizabethan drama, the book places students of English literature under a considerable debt of gratitude.

With admirable clearness, the Introduction assembles and interprets the scanty facts of Haughton's life, and sketches the history of his brief but active career as a dramatist. Of his life very little is known. Dr. Baugh's conscientious attempt to identify the family of the playwright among the hundreds of Haughtons then living in London has proved unavailing. We are thus dependent upon the scattered entries in Henslowe's *Diary*, and upon Haughton's will, recently discovered by Mr. Wallace and here first printed. Haughton's earliest appearance in the *Diary* is on November 5, 1597; and since Henslowe refers to him as "yonge horton," we may suppose that he had just begun to write for the stage. He died in 1605. His activity as a dramatist, therefore, seems to have been confined to eight years. Our record of this activity, however, is limited to the five years, 1599-1602, that he was working for Henslowe, and only to portions of those five years. The first series of payments made to him (in November, 1597, and February and May, 1598) relates, it seems, to one play, *Englishmen for My Money*; and after the last recorded payment for that play he disappears from sight for one year and three months.[1] But in August, 1599, he reappears in the *Diary*, and begins to work regularly for Henslowe. At first he wrote mainly in collaboration with Henslowe's other and probably more experienced dramatists, Day, Chettle, Dekker, and Smith; but after April, 1600, he began to write for the most part without assistance. His period of servitude to Henslowe came to an end in November, 1601. Eleven months later, indeed, he returned to sell a single play, of which he was the sole author, entitled *William Cartwright*; but this is the last notice of him in the *Diary*. During the remainder of his life he must have been composing plays for other theatrical managers. We cannot imagine that he ceased writing entirely, for like the rest of Henslowe's hacks, he was impecunious; we know that at one time at least he was imprisoned for debt, and reduced to the necessity of begging Henslowe for the loan of ten shillings "to releace hime owt of the clyncke." If for these other managers he labored as industriously as he did for Henslowe, he must have produced a large number of plays, some of them, no doubt, in collaboration. That a few of these plays are extant can hardly be questioned; yet the task of identifying them would be difficult, for Haughton's style not only lacks distinctiveness, but conforms in general to the style of the Henslowe school of writers

[1] Dr. Baugh states this correctly on page 17, but in beginning Section III he incorrectly writes: "After an interval of six months from the date of the last recorded payment on *Englishmen for My Money*, Haughton began, in November, 1599, to work with Day."

with which he was for so long associated. His death occurred on or very shortly after June 6, 1605. His will, made *in extremis*, reveals that he left behind him a widow and children: "I doe giue all my goodes, chattels, and debtes, whatsoever, vnto my wief, Alice Haughton, towards the payment of my debtes and the bringing vp of my children." The chief witness of his will, and apparently a friend in time of trouble, was the well-known dramatist Wentworth Smith, with whom he had several times collaborated.

The perplexing problems connected with Haughton's numerous lost plays—problems which Fleay's erratic scholarship has made more perplexing—are handled with an independence of judgment, and yet with a scholarly conservatism, that gives one confidence in the results. The reviewer cannot take up in detail the separate discussions of these problems; he desires, however, to single out for special notice the discussion of the authorship of *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, in which Dr. Baugh takes issue with both Fleay and Greg. The argument is clear and forcible, and leaves very little doubt as to the main contention, namely, that Haughton had no share whatever in the composition of that crude play.

The second part of the dissertation consists of a reprint of *Englishmen for My Money*. Of this play we have already two modernized editions in *The Old English Drama* (1830) and Hazlitt's Dodsley (1874), a photographic reproduction of the British Museum copy of the first quarto in Farmer's *Tudor Facsimile Texts* (1911), and an exact type-reproduction of the first quarto in the Malone Society's *Reprints* (1913). The justification for the present edition lies in its recording in minute detail a collation of no less than four copies of the first quarto (the White and Barton copies in America, the British Museum copy through Farmer's facsimile, and the Bodleian copy as collated by Greg), two copies of the second quarto, five copies of the third quarto, and the modern reprints mentioned above. Thus we have in this edition a textual study of the play that should be definitive.

The Notes, which constitute the third part of the dissertation, are, to be frank, disappointing. In the first place they are few, yet the play needs careful and full elucidation. In the second place, those that are given are not always satisfactory. One does not, for example, like the tone of this:

> 887. *So-la-men . . . etc.* The 1830 editor notes "Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris," but I cannot locate the quotation.

The quotation, I believe, is an anonymous proverb (possibly suggested by a line in Seneca) which, with many similar proverbs, appears in hundreds of instances in the literature of all the countries of Europe. Its popularity in England was probably due to its inclusion in Lilly's well-known Latin grammar. It appears in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, scene V, line 42, in Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, and elsewhere in Elizabethan literature.

These facts were not hard to ascertain. It is to be regretted that this section of the dissertation does not attain the high standard set by the earlier sections. It is only fair to add that the slighting of the Notes seems to have been intentional. We may hope, therefore, that Dr. Baugh will yet find occasion adequately to elucidate the text he has so carefully reproduced.

In conclusion the reviewer desires to protest against the absence of an index. In a detailed scholarly study like this, which touches in an important way upon many plays and many authors (for a notable example see page 12, note 3) the lack of an index is a serious defect. Possibly the fault lies not so much with Dr. Baugh as with the general editors of the University of Pennsylvania theses. Wherever it lies, one cannot help regretting that in a series so valuable to scholars as this, the inclusion of an index should not be a matter of course.

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WILLIAM DUNLAP: A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS AND OF HIS PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE. By Oral Sumner Coad, Ph.D. New York. The Dunlap Society. 1917. 8vo, pp. xiv, 315. 5 illustrations. 423 copies printed.

In this handsome volume, which maintains the traditions of the De Vinne Press, Dr. Coad, of Columbia University, has given us a comprehensive and interesting study of the first American dramatist of consequence. He has plowed into virgin soil. Save in Mrs. Annie Russell Marble's Heralds of American Literature (University of Chicago Press, 1907), pp. 235-75, and in Wegelin's bibliographical articles (in *The Literary Collector*, January, 1904, vii. 69-76, and in his Early American Plays, 1714-1830, The Dunlap Society, 1900, pp. 30-39), one will find but scant reference to Dunlap. Bronson (Short History of American Literature) gives him only a dozen lines; and Trent only a page and a quarter—though this is all, perhaps, that in such a work he deserves. Dr. Coad has filled, therefore, a real want.

Since Wegelin wrote, in 1904, the owner of the seven missing volumes of Dunlap's diary has been discovered, but he has been unwilling to allow Dr. Coad to see them. It is a pity the name of this person was not made known. If his object was to make scholarly use of these volumes himself, no one has any right to complain. But if his refusal was merely the act of a dog in the manger, then he ought to be pilloried along with the notorious hoarders of manuscripts and other such obstructors of scholarship.

Perhaps if any faults are to be specified in the volume, one might refer to some few sentences weak in emphasis, and might

say that in the chapter on the plays the author is content with somewhat too brief and general criticism. In this connection a remark may be pardoned us in connection with the play of André. Thirty years ago Professor Brander Matthews, in his introduction to the Dunlap Society edition of this play (p. viii), declared that one fatal defect would "forever prevent the writing of a successful drama on this subject. This defect is that the story has two heroes, and that one of these heroes is a traitor and the other a spy." So far as Arnold (as a man of petty motives) is concerned, we may agree; but as for André, that would perhaps depend on where the play appeared. It is conceivable that an Englishman might have worked up a respectable tragedy on the theme of André's life and fate; for André was not a mean person, and died bravely in the service of his country. Yet even here a tragedy would hardly be possible unless the dramatist imagined some fatal defect in André's character which ultimately brought about his downfall. Otherwise, we do not regard a brave and blameless soldier's death as a personal tragedy.

On the whole, however, Dr. Coad has written a good book. His attitude is judicial and impartial. He does not magnify his hero. He finds Dunlap to have been lacking in creative power, though conspicuous in leading his countrymen to try novelties which soon became conventions. Through his translations from Kotzebue and others he helped to make European literature known in America, and thus "helped give the United States a more cosmopolitan view of contemporary culture." As a biographer of George Frederick Cooke and Charles Brockden Brown and as the historian of the American theater and of the arts of design in America, he deserves our gratitude for books which, in spite of grave defects, record much information not to be found elsewhere. As a painter, if he was of the borrowing race, as Dr. Coad says, he helped "to gain currency in the United States for the art and literature of Europe." In short, he was an early American humanist, in an age when specimens of the species were rare indeed; and for his work as a pioneer in the diffusion of knowledge and culture in this country he deserves consideration.

Full bibliographical lists, based in part on Wegelin, and a good index complete a creditable and welcome volume.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

BURNS: HOW TO KNOW HIM. By William Allan Neilson, Professor of English, Harvard University. Pp. xii+332, with the Nasmyth portrait of Robert Burns. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

Professor Neilson's study of Burns is an important addition to the rapidly increasing number of titles in this series of books on how to know the greater authors. Contributions to such a series,

even when made by writers and scholars of repute, are bound to differ widely in value. Some will hardly rise above the dignity of mere pot-boilers, others will be dry and perfunctory, still others will lack insight and inspiration. Happily this particular series, which professes to be no other than a collection of popular expositions for busy men and women, contains certain volumes admirably fitted to serve, not only their primary purpose, but the larger end of true literary criticism. To any but the most cursory reader Professor Neilson's book satisfactorily performs both services.

Chapter one presents a brief but adequate biography of Burns, among the facts of which are incorporated a number of personal poems such as *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, *Mary Morison*, *Ae Fond Kiss*, and *I hae a Wife*. Chapter two makes a rapid survey of the history of the language and literature of Scotland from early times to those of the poet, and dwells upon his divided indebtedness to the writers of his own country and of England. Then follow three chapters which deal respectively with the poet's songs, his satires and epistles, and his descriptive and narrative pieces. Each, in accordance with the plan of the series, includes a number of complete poems; indeed, not less than ninety are so reprinted, thus giving the reader of the book the great bulk of Burns's poetical work not mediocre in value. The difficulties which the Scotch dialect presents are reduced to the minimum by the printing of English equivalents in the margins opposite the unfamiliar words, a device vastly superior to affixing numbers which guide the reader to a maze of words huddled together at the bottom of the page, thus distracting rather than assisting the attention. The book concludes with a chapter summarizing the character of Burns and the value of his work. Although not in any way intended to rival or supersede Carlyle's famous essay on the poet, it might very properly be read as an introduction or a supplement to that work. Withal the book is sane throughout, and ought to bring about a revival of interest in the poetry of Burns.

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NOTES

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has lately published A Concordance to the Poems of John Keats, compiled by a group of Cornellians, Dane L. Baldwin, Professor Leslie N. Broughton, the late Mrs. Laura Cooper Evans, John W. Hebel, Professor Benjamin F. Stelter, and Miss Mary R. Thayer. It is a handsome folio of 437 pages. The list of citations is complete except for a group of fifty-nine of the commonest forms. It is based on the Oxford Keats, issue of 1914. Prefixed is a reproduction of the Severn miniature and an excellent introduction of fifteen pages by Professor Broughton. "Because of the richness and charm of his diction and the felicity of his phrase," says the essayist, "Keats is fully deserving of careful study." Such study this concordance should greatly aid and stimulate.

ÜBER DIE STELLUNG DES STARKEN ATTRIBUTIVEN ADJEKTIVS IM DEUTSCHEN

Einleitung

In der Stellung des possessiven (genauer: possessiv-pronominalen) Adjektivs im Verhältnis zum Substantiv besteht zwischen dem Westgermanischen und dem Ost.—und Nordgermanischen ein auffälliger Unterschied, der noch in mancher Beziehung der Aufhellung bedarf. Im Westgermanischen geht das possessive Adjektiv, und zwar schon in den ältesten Quellen, der Regel nach dem Substantiv voraus (z.B. ahd. *mîn sun*), während es im Gotischen (*sunus meins*) und Altnordischen (*sunr mîn*, bezw. *son(r) mîn*) dem Substantiv nachfolgt. Auf beiden Gebieten freilich erleidet die Regel eine Einschränkung. Im Westgermanischen begegnet die Stellung hinter dem Substantivum sehr oft—neben der regelrechten Wortstellung—in der Poesie. Andrerseits kann im Gotischen und Altnordischen das possessive Adjektiv—wie das starke attributive Adjektiv überhaupt—besonders bei stärkerer Hervorhebung auch vor dem Substantiv stehen. Die Sachlage weist darauf hin, dass im Urgermanischen noch die freie Wortstellung herrschte, aber so, dass bei normalen Verhältnissen—d.h. soweit keine besondere Hervorhebung des Adjektivs beabsichtigt war—das possessive Adjektiv seine Stelle hinter dem Substantiv fand (vgl. lat. *pater noster*). Im Ost.- und Nordgermanischen ist demnach die ursprüngliche Weise im ganzen genommen getreuer bewahrt als im Westgermanischen. Das Westgermanische hat die ursprüngliche Ausnahme zur Regel gemacht, die Regel dagegen zu blosser Lizenz herabsinken lassen, von der vorzugsweise die Poesie Gebrauch macht. Und zwar gilt dies im Westgermanischen nicht nur von dem possessiven Adjektiv, sondern von dem attributiven Adjektiv überhaupt.

Zu dieser Arbeit bin ich von Professor Collitz angeregt, der mir auch dabei durch persönliche Förderung vielfach Hilfe geleistet hat.

Schon Wunderlich bemerkt (*Der Deutsche Satzbau*, II, S. 216 f.), dass der Gebrauch im Deutschen, das starke attributive Adj. auf das Subst. folgen zu lassen, am längsten *dem poss. Pron.* anhaftet, und verweist dafür auf Jacob Hellwigs Dissertation (*Die Stellung des attributiven Adjectivs im Deutschen*, Giessen 1898),

welche diesen Gegenstand ausführlich behandelt. Leider hat Hellwig aber bei seiner im übrigen dankenswerten Arbeit ein für diese Frage sehr wichtiges Verhältnis fast ganz ausser acht gelassen, nämlich das Verhältnis der *flektierten* Form zu der *flexionslosen* Form des starken Adj. in seiner Stellung vor oder hinter dem Subst. —nur bei Otfrid hat er die flektierten Formen des poss.-pron. Adj. neben den flexionslosen angegeben (S. 51). Während Hellwig bemüht ist, die verschiedenen Kategorien der Adj. (z. B. *Qualitative, Quantitative, mit* oder *ohne Ergänzung, Pron.-Poss.*, usw.) genau zu unterscheiden, übersieht er doch die wichtige Tatsache, dass dem Ahd. beim Nom. sg. und plur. aller Geschlechter und beim Akk. neutr. sg. die Wahl zwischen flektierter und flexionsloser Form des starken Adj. frei stand. Und doch ist gerade diese Tatsache von besonderer Wichtigkeit für die Stellung des Adj. Man braucht nur das attributive Adj. zu dem Prädikatsadj. in Beziehung zu setzen, um zu erkennen, dass das Bestreben, die syntaktische Funktion der beiden Adj. zu unterscheiden, nicht nur die Form, sondern auch die Stellung des attributiven Adj. beeinflusst.

Diese Tatsache hat schon Wilmanns erkannt, der bei der Angabe der Litteratur über die Stellung der starken attributiven Adj. im Deutschen den Umstand beklagt, dass man die Sache von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus (d.h. vom Standpunkte des Verhältnisses der flektierten zu der unflektierten Form des Adj. aus) noch nicht genügend untersucht habe.[1]

Beim nachgestellten Adj. wäre es in gewissen Fällen möglich, das attributive Adj. als Prädikatsadj. oder umgekehrt aufzufassen.[2]

[1] Vgl. *Deutsche Grammatik*, III. Abteilung, 2. Hälfte, §343, Fussn., S. 734: "Leider sind sie (die Belege) nicht nach den Gesichtspunkten geordnet, die meine Darstellung verfolgt";—d.h. nach der flektierten oder der unflektierten Form des Adj.

[2] Vgl. z. B. *thaz er gigarawê thie liuti wirdigê* Otfrid I, 4, 45, 'damit er die Menschen würdig bereite'; *wirdigê*=Prädikatsadj., könnte aber gleichfalls als attributives Adj. aufgefasst werden, d.h. 'damit er die würdigen Menschen bereite.'

Ebenso, *er lêh thaz gadum garawaz* Otfrid IV, 9, 12, 'er gab das Zimmer zubereitet her'; *garawaz*=Prädikatsadj., könnte aber gleichfalls als attributives Adj. aufgefasst werden, d.h. 'er gab das zubereitete Zimmer her.'

Vgl. weiter *Ih deta ein werk mâraz* Otfrid III, 16, 33, 'ich vollbrachte ein berühmtes Werk'; *mâraz*=attributivem Adj., könnte aber gleichfalls als Prädikatsadj. aufgefasst werden, d.h. 'ich machte ein Werk berühmt,' ebenso wie das Adj. *leidan* bei *deta er in dag leidan*, Otfrid III, 20, 168 'ich verleidete

Beim Bedürfnis aber das attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. zu unterscheiden, wird wohl im Ahd. die Neigung immer zugenommen haben, entweder das attributive Adj. dem Subst. voranzustellen, oder das nachgestellte attributive Adj. womöglich der Form nach vom Prädikatsadj. zu unterscheiden. Dieses Bedürfnis tritt im Ahd. am klarsten beim Nom. sg. aller Geschlechter und beim Akk. neutr. sg. hervor, wo die Sprache zwischen flektierter oder flexionsloser Form des starken Adj. wählen konnte. Zwar sind bei diesem Vorgange andere Verhältnisse (als die der Formenlehre) besonders in der Poesie (so z. B. die Reimnot, rhythmische Bequemlichkeit, usw.) in Erwägung zu ziehen, aber es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass es sich hier (besonders in der Poesie) nicht in erster Linie um den Zwang handelt, das attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. zu unterscheiden. Ich möchte also im folgenden I) das oben erwähnte Verhalten des Ahd. bei der Stellung des starken attributiven Adj. *vor* oder *hinter* dem Subst. und so dann II) die Stellung des poss.-pron. Adj. bei dem Ausdrucke *Vater unser* im Nhd. in etwas nähere Beziehung, als dies Hellwig, Wilmanns, Grimm, u.a. getan haben, zu dem gotischen und nordischen Sprachgebrauch setzen.

Das Verhältnis der flektierten Form zu der flexionslosen Form des starken attributiven Adjektivs in seiner Stellung vor oder hinter dem Substantiv A) im Althochdeutschen und B) im Gotischen.

Im Althochdeutschen

Beim Nom. sg. aller Geschlechter und beim Akk. neutr. sg. des starken Adj. hatte die ahd. Sprache die Wahl zwischen flektierter und flexionsloser Form.[3]

ihnen den Tag'; vgl. *sie duent iz filu suazi* Otfrid I, 1, 21. Ebenso nach den Verben *garawen*, *kiosan*, *lesan*, *machôn* usw., wo doppelte Akk. gebraucht werden, vgl. Kelle, *Glossar der Sprache Otfrids*, S. 85; Erdmann, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, II, §159, S. 132 f.

Otfrids Sprache habe ich überall nach der von Erdmann (Halle, 1882) benutzten Orthographie angeführt.

[3] Ein gleiches Verhältnis herrschte auch beim Nom. *plur.* aller Geschlechter, da aber Grimm für letzteres keine besondere Kategorie aufgestellt hat, so habe auch ich mich im folgenden auf den Sg. beschränkt. Ich habe mich wesentlich auf Grimms Ergebnisse (*Deutsche Grammatik*, Bd. *IV*, Zitate nach dem *Neu-*

Will man das attributive Adj. zu dem Prädikatsadj. in Beziehung setzen, so wird man sowohl die Form der beiden Adj., als die Stellung des attributiven Adj., in Erwägung ziehen müssen.

Beim Nom. sg. aller Geschechter und bei Akk. neutr. sg. herrschte, ebenso wie sonst, in *prädikativem* Gebrauch (vgl. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III., 2. §344, S. 738; Braune, *Ahd. Grammatik*,[4] §247) die flexionslose Form[4] des Adj. vor, obwohl die flektierte[5] (namentlich nach *sîn* und *werdan*, vgl. Wilmanns, ibid., §344, S.738) ebenfalls oft genug begegnet. Beide Formen begegnen ebenfalls beim starken *attributiven* Adj.; das Verhältnis ist aber hier so geregelt, dass die flektierte[6] Form vorherrscht, wenn das Adj. auf das Subst. folgt (also vorwiegend in der Poesie, vgl. Grimm, S. 564), die flexionslose[7] hingegen, wenn das Adj. dem Subst. vorangeht. Letzeres (d.h. die *flexionslose* Form *vor* dem Subst.) ist viel häufiger der Fall in der jüngeren Sprache der Prosa als in der archaistischen Sprache der Poesie (vgl. Grimm, S. 564), namentlich bei den pronominalen Adj.[8] *mîn, dîn, sîn, unsêr, iuuêr, ein, ander* (vgl. Grimm, S. 561-63). Bei dem vorangestellten Adj. wäre ja kein Bedürfnis vorhanden, die pronominalen Endungen hinzutreten zu lassen, um das attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. zu unterscheiden, da schon diese Stellung die grammatische Funktion des Adj. sichert.

druck) stützen müssen, weil Grimm, meines Wissens, der einzige ist, welcher die Stellung des starken Adj. mit Rücksicht auf die Flexionsendungen untersucht hat. Als abschliessend freilich kann Grimms Darstellung schwerlich gelten, zumal er nur eine verhältnismässig geringe Anzahl von Belegen gesammelt hat. Es würde sich also wohl lohnen, die Sprache von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus viel eingehender zu prüfen, was ich mir aber auf künftige Zeit aufsparen muss.

[4] Vgl. z. B. *chûmig bin ih jârô* Otfrid I, 4, 49: *mihhel ist ir ubilî*, II, 12, 90; *thaz wir birun al gelîh* III, 3, 17; *sie sint wortô flîzig* I, 1, 107; *tie wellen werden gewaltîg*. Notker, *Bth.* 98[a], usw.; vgl. Grimm, S. 566.

[5] Vgl. z. B. *thû bist al hônêr* Otfrid III, 20, 163; *thaz er suntilôsêr sî* III, 17, 39; *saligê birut ir* Tatian 22, 16, usw.; vgl. Grimm, S. 566 f.

[6] Vgl. z. B. *Krist guatêr* Otfrid II, 8, 7; *edilthegan guatêr* II, 12, 1; *thiob hebigêr* IV, 2, 29; *thie êwarton allê* III, 25, 5, usw.; vgl. Grimm, S. 565.

[7] Vgl. z. B. *guot boum* Tatian 41, 3, 4; *guot man* Tatian 41, 5. 62, 11; *ein halz smid* Notker, *Cap.* 312[a]; *liob hêreron mîne* Otfrid II, 15, 18, usw; vgl. Grimm, S. 564.

[8] Vgl. z. B. *ein hêristo* Tatian 60, 1; *ein êwarto* Otfrid I, 4, 2; *sîn hûs* Tatian 2, 11. 62, 6. Die flektierte Form hat aber Otfrid viel häufiger als Tatian besonders beim Neutr. sg.; so z. B. *sînaz korn* I, 1, 28; *sînaz muat* II, 12, 81; *sînaz hûs* IV, 7, 58. Vgl. Wilmanns, ibid., §346, S. 743.

Bei den poss.-pron. Adj. (*mîn, dîn,* usw.) ist aber weiter zu beachten, dass sie in der flexionslosen Form mit dem Gen. der Pron. gleichlautend sind. Das Verhältnis des pron. Adj. zu dem Pron. erscheint erst im rechten Lichte, wenn man die Stellung des pron. Adj. mit dem Gen. derjenigen Pron. (d.h. *ira, iru, iro*) in Beziehung setzt, welche niemals die adjektivische Flexion angenommen haben.

Da der Gen. des poss. Pron. 3 Pers. (*ira, iru, iro*) selbst in der ältesten Sprache der Poesie dem Subst. regelmässig vorangeht[9] und sonst nur unter dem Zwange des lateinischen Vorbildes *nach* dem Subst. steht[10] (vgl. Grimm, S. 474), so liegt der Schluss nahe, dass der Gen. der poss. Pron. schon in der ältesten Zeit, noch ehe sie die adjektivische Flexion annahmen, die feste Stellung *vor* dem Subst. eingenommen hatte. Wenn dies nur in der Prosa der Fall wäre, so könnte man über das Verhältnis des Adj. zum Pron. keinen endgültigen Schluss ziehen, da in der Prosa das attributive Adj. gleichfalls dem Subst. regelmässig vorangeht. In der Poesie hingegen liegt die Sache doch anders, indem das pron. Adj. recht häufig, der Gen. des Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) hingegen niemals *hinter* dem Subst. stehen darf; also heisst es z. B. schon im Hildebrandsliede[11]

(Z. 24) *darba gistuonlun fateres mînes*

aber

(Z. 5) *garutun sie iro guðhamun.*

Selbst Otfrid,[12] der den alten Sprachgebrauch vielfach bewahrt, lässt das pron. Adj. dem Subst. häufig folgen, und zwar nicht nur

[9] Vgl. z. B. *in iro sammunghe* Isidor 65, 4; *iro meghine* Isidor 39, 4; *in iro sante,* Otfrid I, 1, 72; *in iro gizungi* Otfrid I, 1, 116, usw.

[10] Dieses geschah nur äussert selten. Das einzige Beispiel, das mir noch begegnet ist = *zi truhtine gote iro* nach dem lat. *ad dominum deum ipsorum* Tatian 2, 6.

[11] Ebenso steht im alts. *Hêliand* das pron. Adj. bald *vor,* bald *nach* dem Subst., der Gen. der Pron. (*is, iru, iro*) hingegen immer *vor* demselben: z. B. *mid thînun wordun* 143, *fraon sînes* 109, aber *mid is wordun* 114, *is engil* 119, usw.; vgl. Grimm, S. 505.

[12] Vgl. z. B. 1) Am Versende reimend

thaz wir ein sculun sîn ih inti fater mîn!
Int ih scal thir sagen, chind mîn, thu bist forasago sîn.
Wola druhtin mîn, ja bin ih scalc thîn, usw.
III, 22, 64; I, 10, 19; I, 2, 1.

2) Innerhalb des Verses

fater mîn III, 22, 29a; *ther bruader mîn* III, 24, 52a; *druhtin unser guato* (voc.) II, 21, 27a; *druhtin unsêr* II, 4, 67a und II, 11, 43b; *sunta mîno* III, 1, 29a, usw.

am Versende als Reimträger, sondern auch im Versinnern (vgl. Grimm, S. 563; Hellwig, S. 49, 51 ff.).

Es lässt sich also wohl annehmen, dass diese aus der älteren Sprache ererbte Voranstellung des Gen. des poss. Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) durch Analogiewirkung die Voranstellung des poss.-pron. Adj. (*mîn, dîn, sîn,* usw.) begünstigt hat, nachdem in gewissen Fällen die unflektierte Form des pron. Adj. (wie sie bei dem vorangestellten Adj. vorherrschte), mit dem Gen. des pron. Adj. lautlich zusammengefallen war (z. B. *mîn, sîn, dîn* = entweder dem flexionslosen Adj. oder dem Gen. des persönlichen Pron.).

Schon Grimm[13] warnt ausdrücklich davor, die unflektierte Form des nachgestellten Poss. für den Gen. des Pron. zu halten. Seine Auffassung gründet sich wohl darauf, dass der Gen. des poss. Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) dem Subst. nie folgen durfte (ausser unter dem Zwange des lateinischen Vorbildes, vgl. oben Fussn. 10, *gote iro, deum ipsorum* Tatian 2, 6). Aus diesem Umstande hat er aber doch nicht weiter gefolgert, dass die aus der älteren Sprache ererbte Stellung des Gen. dieses poss. Pron. die Stellung des pron. Adj. *vor* dem Subst. begünstigt habe. Zwar darf man die flexionslose Form des pron. Adj., wo sie auf das Subst. folgt, nicht als persönliches Pron. auffassen, eben weil der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. sich sonst (d.h. bei *ira, iru, iro*) gegen diese Stellung sträubt (vgl. z. B. *fater mîn* aber *iro fater*). Wo aber die flexionslose Form des pron. Adj. dem Subst. vorangestellt wurde, wird doch jeder Unterschied zwischen Pron. und gleichlautendem Adj. verwischt, eben weil beide diese Stellung einnehmen konnten (vgl. z. B. *mîn fater* gleich *iro fater*). Da aber der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) in dieser Stellung schon festblieb, so ist wohl diese Stellung auch für das unflektierte *sîn, mîn, dîn,* usw. desto beliebter geworden, gleichgültig ob es als Adj. oder als Pron. anzusehen ist. Dieser Umstand kann erklären, weshalb die pron. Adj. häufiger als die sonstigen starken attributiven Adj. dem Subst. vorangestellt wurden und zwar in der flexionlosen Form, was zu gleicher Zeit in Einklang mit dem älteren Sprachgebrauch steht, den Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (wie z. B. *sîn, mîn, dîn* gleich *ira, iru, iro*) dem Subst. immer voranzustellen.

[13] Vgl. Grimm, S. 403: "Man hüte sich, diese dem subst. nachgesetzten possessiva für gen. des persönl. pron. zu halten; *das wäre eine völlig undeutsche Fügung.*"

Grimms Bemerkung betrifft das flexionlose pron. Adj. nur in der Stellung *hinter* dem Subst., aber es handelt sich in der Geschichte der Sprache gleichfalls um die Stellung *vor* dem Subst., denn beide Stellungen waren ja der älteren Sprache für das starke attributive Adj. erlaubt.

Im Gotischen

Im Ahd. bestand also die Neigung, das Prädikatsadj. flexionslos zu gebrauchen und somit vermag die Sprache das Prädikatsadj. vom starken attributiven Adj., wo letzteres flektiert vorliegt, der Form nach zu unterscheiden. Dieser Umstand erklärt in erster Linie, weshalb im Ahd. eben beim Nom. sg. aller Geschlechter und beim Akk. neutr. sg., wo man die Wahl zwischen flektierter und flexionsloser Form hatte, das *vorangestellte* attributive Adj. gewöhnlich *unflektiert* (vgl. Fussn. 7), das *nachgestellte* aber gewöhnlich *flektiert* (vgl. Fussn. 6) vorliegt.

Ganz ähnlich ist, wie man leicht sieht, das Verhältnis zwischen flektierter und unflektierter Form beim starken attributiven Adj. und Prädikatsadj. im Got. geregelt. Aber wir dürfen uns nicht mit der Erkenntnis begnügen, dass das Got. und das Ahd. sich in dieser Beziehung einander nahe stehen, sondern werden das gegenseitige Verhältnis beider im einzelnen untersuchen müssen.

Beim Nom.-Akk. neutr. sg. des starken Adj. liegt im Got., gerade wie im Ahd., sowohl die unflektierte Form (so z. B. got. *gôþ*, ahd. *guot* nach der substantivischen oder 'nominalen' Flexion) als auch die flektierte (so z. B. got. *gôþ-ata*, ahd. *guot-az* mit Hinzufügung der pronominalen Endungen) vor; also got. *barn gôþ* oder *gôþata*, ahd. *guot* oder *guotaz barn*. Das Prädikatsadj. hingegen beschränkt sich beim Nom.-Akk. neutr. sg. fast immer (vgl. Wilmanns, ibid., §344, S. 737) auf die unflektierte Form[14] (im Ahd.[15] ist dies gewöhnlich, aber nicht, wie im Got., durchgehend der Fall) und daher dürfte man wohl aus dem ahd. Sprachgebrauch folgern, dass beim Nom.-Akk. neutr. sg. die flektierte Form des starken attributiven Adj. gleichfalls im Got. häufiger *nach* als *vor* dem Subst. stehen sollte.

[14] Vgl. z. B. *gôd ist unsis hêr wisan* L. 9, 33; *hwan aggwu þata daúr* Matth. 7, 14; *hardu ist þata waúrd* Joh. 6, 60, usw.

[15] Vgl. z. B. das got. *ni magt ain tagl hweit aiþþau swart gataujan* Matth. 5, 36 mit dem ahd. *thû ni maht ein hâr thes fahses wîzaz* (flektiert) *gituon odo suarz* (unflektiert) Tatian 30, 4.

Tatsächlich begegnet nach Grimm[16] (S. 560) die flektierte Form (beim Nom.-Akk. neutr. sg.) des starken attributiven Adj. viel häufiger in der Stellung *hinter* dem Subst. als *vor* demselben. Die mit *-ata* flektierte Form wird überhaupt viel seltener als die flexionslose gebraucht. Da aber im Got. das Prädikatsadj. beim Neutr. sg. fast immer unflektiert vorliegt, so ist wohl der Umstand, dass die flektierte Form des starken attributiven Adj. im Nom.-Akk. neutr. sg. so viel häufiger *nach* als *vor* dem Subst. steht, ebenso wie im Ahd., dem Bestreben zuzuschreiben, das attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. der Form nach zu unterscheiden.[17] Im Got. aber ist dies nur beim Nom.-Akk. neutr. sg. der Fall, während im Ahd. der Differenzierungstrieb nicht nur hier, sondern auch beim ganzen Nom. sg. und plur. aller Geschlechter vorhanden ist.

Beim vorangestellten attributiven Adj. wäre, gerade wie im Ahd., kein Bedürfnis vorhanden, die pronominale Endung anzufügen, weil schon diese Stellung des Adj. seine grammatische Funktion sichert. Es ist schon oben gezeigt, dass auch im Ahd., wo man zwischen flektierter und unflektierter Form wählen konnte, das starke attributive Adj. lieber in der Stellung *vor* als *hinter* dem Subst. die pronominale Endung entbehrte (z. B. lieber *guot barn* aber *barn guotaz*, ebenso im Got. lieber *gôþ barn* aber *barn gôþ* oder *gôþata*).

In beiden Sprachen also besteht beim starken attributiven Adjektiv dasselbe Verhältnis zwischen Wortstellung und Flexion. Doch hat noch niemand, meines Wissens, dieses Verhältnis im Got. zu demselben im Ahd. in Beziehung gesetzt. Zwar stützen sich Grimms Ergebnisse auf eine verhältnismässig geringe Anzahl von Belegen, aber die Belege genügen, um zu zeigen, dass

[16] "Die flectierte (Form) geht voraus: *allata leik thein* Matth. 5, 29. 30· 6, 22.33. seltenste formel."

Vgl. auch *meinata mêl* Joh. 7, 8. Viel häufiger aber *folgt* die *flektierte* Form, so z. B. *faírguni hâuhata* L. 4, 5; *wein niujata* Matth. 9, 17. L. 5, 37; *wein juggata* Matth. 9, 17. Mc. 2, 22. L. 5, 38; *akran waírþata* L. 3, 8, usw.

[17] Zwar scheint im Got. das attributive Adj. überhaupt die Stellung hinter dem Subst. zu bevorzugen, doch liegt bei der Voranstellung die mit *-ata* flektierte Form so viel seltener als die unflektierte vor, dass man wohl annehmen darf, dieser Umstand sei dem Bestreben zuzuschreiben, das attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. der Form nach zu unterscheiden, denn bei der Voranstellung ist die pronominale Endung nicht nötig, wohl aber bei der Stellung *hinter* dem Subst., um das attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. zu unterscheiden. Die Formen auf *-ata* waren zunächst für das attributive Adj. gebildet (vgl. Wilmanns, ibid., §344, Anm. 3, S. 740).

die Formenlehre bei der Entwickelung der Stellung des starken attributiven Adj. *vor* oder *hinter* dem Subst. mit ins Gewicht fällt; eine Erwägung, die z. B. Hellwig anscheinend ganz ausser acht gelassen hat.

Es ist bereits oben bemerkt worden, dass der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) im Ahd. schon in vorliterarischer Zeit die feste Stellung *vor* dem Subst. erhalten hatte. Wir vermuteten, dass diese aus der älteren Sprache ererbte Stellung des persönlichen Pron. zunächst die Voranstellung der pron. Adj., die mit dem Pron. lautlich zusammengefallen waren (d.h. der flexionslosen Formen *mîn, dîn, sîn* usw.), und daher wohl auch die Voranstellung des pron. Adj. überhaupt (d.h. auch in der flektierten Form) begünstigt habe. Man könnte ebenso wohl annehmen, dass gleich *ira, iru, iro* der Gen. der übrigen poss. Pron. (*sîn, mîn, dîn,* usw.) in der älteren Sprache, noch ehe sie die adjektivische Flexion annahmen, immer *vor* dem Subst. gestanden hatte. Angesichts der Berührungen, die wir zwischen dem Althochdeutschen und dem Gotischen beim possessiven Adjektiv fanden, ist es von Wichtigkeit, festzustellen, wie sich die beiden Sprachen hinsichtlich der Stellung des persönlichen Pronomens zu einander verhalten.

In auffälligem Gegensatz zum Althochd. (*ira, iru, iro*) nimmt im Got. der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*is, izôs, izê, izô*) die feste Stellung[18] *hinter* dem Subst. ein, ausser wenn ein Adj. mit vorkommt (vgl. Grimm, S. 463; Streitberg, *Got. Elementarbuch*,[4] §279, 2). Die pron. Adj. (*meins, þeins, *seins, izwar,* usw.) stehen aber gleichfalls gewöhnlich *nach* dem Subst., obwohl sie bei stärkerer Hervorhebung doch auch vor demselben stehen dürfen[19] (vgl. Streitberg, ibid., §279). Im Nom.-Akk. fem. sg. und im Nom.-Akk. neutr. plur. fallen aber auch im Got. Adj. und Pron. lautlich zusammen (z. B. *meina, þeina,* usw. = entweder Pron. oder Adj., ebenso wie im Ahd. *mîn, dîn,* usw.). Wenn nun die feste Stellung des persönlichen Pron. (*is, izôs, izê, izô*) die Stellung des pron.

[18] Vgl. z. B. *waúrd is* L. 4, 32; *bi akranam izê* Matth. 7, 16; *þô handu izôs* Mc. 1, 31. Wenn aber ein Adj. mit vorkommt, darf der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. auch *vor* dem Subst. stehen, so z. B. vgl. *þaim weiham is apaustaulum* gegen die griech. Stellung des Pron. (*αὐτοῦ*) *hinter* dem Subst., *τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ* Eph. 3, 5.

[19] Vgl. z. B. *jabai hwas mein waúrd fastai* gegen die griech. Wortstellung *ἐάν τις τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσῃ* Joh. 8, 52 und *untê meinata mêl ni naúh usfulliþ is* gleich dem griech. *ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὔπω πεπλήρωται* Joh. 7, 8.

Adj. (*meins, þeins*, usw.) überhaupt beeinflusst hat, so muss dies zu Gunsten der Stellung *hinter* dem Subst. geschehen sein. Das starke attributive Adj. steht aber sonst lieber *nach* dem Subst. Die Analogiewirkung der Pron. in dieser Beziehung steht also in Einklang mit der allgemeinen Neigung des starken attributiven Adj. die Stellung *hinter* dem Subst. einzunehmen, gerade wie in der ahd. Prosa dieses Verhältnis zwischen dem persönlichen Pron. und dem starken attributiven Adj. *bei der Voranstellung* vorherrschte.[20] In den beiden Sprachen hatte der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. die feste Stellung schon frühzeitig eingenommen (im Got. *hinter* dem Subst., im Ahd. *vor* demselben), was dann auf die Stellung des pron. Adj. (im Got. *hinter* dem Subst., im Ahd. *vor* demselben) wird eingewirkt haben. Im Got. standen also die Possessiva lieber *nach* dem Subst., im Ahd. selbst bei dem Gen. der Subst.[21] lieber *vor* demselben.

Die Verhältnisse im Got. gewähren uns weiter einen Einblick in die ursprünglichen Verhältnisse der ahd. Sprache, wie sie sich archaistisch namentlich in der Poesie zeigen. Bei Otfrid darf z. B. gerade wie im Got., trotz der festen Stellung des Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) das pron. Adj. sowohl *nach* als *vor* dem Subst. stehen. Und zwar steht das pron. Adj. in der Mehrzahl der Fälle, wo es bei Otfrid auf das Subst. folgt, am Versende als Reimträger (vgl. Fussn. 12); z. B. I, 2, 1:

Wola druhtin mîn ja ih bin scalc thîn.

Der alte zu der Regel des Gotischen stimmende Sprachgebrauch das pron. Adj. auf das Subst. folgen zu lassen, gewährt dem Dichter den erwünschten Endreim. Doch setzt Otfrid den Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*ira, iru, iro*) niemals in diese Stellung. Ebenso herrschte im Got. trotz der festen Stellung des persönlichen Pron. (*is, izôs, izê, izô*) die freie Stellung des pron. Adj. entweder *vor* oder *nach* dem Subst. Selbst in Fällen, wo Adj. und Pron. lautlich zusammengefallen waren, wird das pron. Adj. häufig vorangestellt; z. B. *aþþan izwara jah tagla haubidis alla garaþana sind*, ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἠριθμημέναι εἰσίν (*izwara*=ὑμῶν) Matth. X, 30. Doch setzt Ulfila den Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*is, izôs, izê, izô*) niemals in diese Stellung.

[20] Vgl. z. B. das got. *akran gôd* Matth. 7, 19; *mêl mein* Joh. 7, 6 ebenso wie *waúrd is* L. 4, 32 und das ahd. *guot boum* Tatian 41, 3; *sîn hûs* 2, 11 ebenso wie *ira namo uuas Elisabeth* (gegen die lat. Wortstellung *nomen ejus Elisabeth*) 2, 1.

[21] Vgl. Grimm, S. 468: "ertw. steht der gen. hinten, wie gewöhnlich im gothischen . . . ;" S. 469 "oder vornen, *was der ahd. mundart besonders zusagt.*"

Ausserhalb der Poesie sind im Ahd. (ausser beim Vokativ, worüber im folgenden Abschnitt) Spuren des alten Sprachgebrauches vielleicht noch in der Prosa bei Isidor zu finden, wo der Schreiber ausnahmsweise drei Mal das pron. Adj. *nach* dem Subst., sonst aber regelmässig *vor* dasselbe setzte[22] (vgl. Hellwig, S. 54). Nach der Zeit des Isidor aber wurde diese Stellung im Ahd. nicht nur für das pron. Adj., sondern auch für das starke attributive Adj. überhaupt in der Prosa fast ganz und gar aufgegeben (einzelne Ausnahmen noch bei Notker, vgl. Grimm, S. 564). Wo z. B. in den Glossen das pron. Adj. auf das Subst. folgt, ist dies sicherlich dem lateinischen Einfluss[23] zuzuschreiben, von dem sich die Schreiber nie ganz losmachen konnten. Selbst bei Tatian (vgl. Grimm, S. 563) folgt das pron. Adj. niemals dem Subst., (ausser beim Vokativ, wie z. B. *got mîn, deus meus*, 207, 2). Schon im 9. Jahrhundert wird also in der ahd. Prosa das nachgesetzte pron. Adj., wie das nachgesetzte starke attributive Adj. überhaupt, einen altertümlich poetischen Klang gehabt haben.

Im Mhd. darf der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. (*ir(e)* aus ahd. *ira, iru, iro*) niemals dem Subst. folgen (vgl. Grimm, S. 495), obwohl in der Poesie das pron. Adj. nach dem alten Sprachgebrauch immer noch *hinter* dem Subst. stehen kann[24] (vgl. Grimm, S. 569 ff.). Hieraus erklärt sich wohl auch, dass das erst in nhd. Zeit durchgehend adjektivisch gewordene *ihr* gleichfalls nie hinter dem

[22] Vgl. Isidor
13, 9 *druhtîn got dhîn* —— *dominus deus tuus*
9. 25 *druhtine mînemo* —— *domino meo*
29, 20 *gote unseremu* —— *Jesu nostro.*
Sonst aber stellt der Schreiber sogar wider die lat. Wortfolge das pron. Adj. immer voran; wie z. B.
3, 1 *dhiin sedhal* —— *sedes tua*
3, 2 *fora sînemu anthluttę* —— *ante faciem ejus*
3, 3 *mînemu christe Cyre* —— *Christo meo domino.*

[23] Vgl. *Keronis Glossae.*
31, *stimma sîna* —— *vocem ejus*
31 *ubilum unserêm* —— *malis nostris*
31 *tâtim unserêm* —— *actibus nostris.*
Hierüber sagt Grimm (S. 563, Anm.): "Schwerlich ist jenes ältere und freiere deutsche (germanische) construction, wie wir sie bei Ulf. annehmen dürfen, denn sobald z. b. der glossator nicht nachahmt und sich gehen lassen darf, stellt er das adj. voran: *suazaz wort* (*rhythmos*) *Diut.* 1,519[a]."

[24] Vgl. z. B. *ir vater* Nib. 7, 2; *ir ros* Nib. 69, 1.86.3; *ir muot* Troj. 106 aber *der sun mîn* Parz. 56, 5; *den bruoder mîn* Parz. 6, 25; *zem wirte sîn,* Parz. 460, 1, usw.

Subst. stehen darf, obwohl die übrigen pron. Adj. (*sein*, *mein*, *dein*, usw.)in der poetischen Sprache (besonders am Ende der Reimzeile und bei der feierlichen Rede des Gebetes) sonst dem Subst. häufig folgen.[25]

II

Vater Unser

Hellwig sagt (S. 165): "Die Nachsetzung ist im Grunde ein emphatischer Nachtrag mit appositioneller, fast prädikativer Bedeutung; sie hat sich am längsten beim Vocativ erhalten, weil bei der Anrede der gehobene, nachdrucksvolle Ton zunächst gegeben ist." Die Richtigkeit dieser Auffassung hat er durch die Geschichte[26] der Stellung des starken attributiven Adj. beim Vokativ im Deutschen ausser Zweifel gestellt.

Der Umstand aber, dass in der Geschichte der deutschen Sprache das pron. Adj. dem Subst. gerade bei diesem Ausdrucke *Vater unser* häufiger als sonstwo folgte,[27] beweist schon, dass hier der Einfluss des *Pater Noster* der lateinischen Vulgata auf die deutsche Wortstellung eingewirkt hat, was Hellwig (vgl. S. 168) anscheinend ganz und gar ausser acht gelassen hat.

Die Annahme lateinischen Einflusses wird weiter durch die Geschichte der skandinavischen Sprachen gestützt, die Hellwig (S. 169) bei dem in Rede stehenden Ausdruck gänzlich übergangen hat.

In Altn.[28] stand das pron. Adj., sowohl wie der Gen. des persönlichen Pron., ebenso wie im Got., lieber *nach* als *vor* dem Subst., wie z. B. *móðir mín er systir hans Hkr.* 353, 21, ebenso wie im Got.

[25] Vgl. z. B. bei Hans Sachs, *das leben mein*, *die muetter sein*, *in dem garten dein*, niemals aber etwa *das leben ir*, usw.; vgl. Hellwig, S. 121; Grimm, S. 590.

[26] Vgl. z. B. S. 65 *Notker*, 67 *Williram*, 90 *Gottfried von Strassb.*, 118 *Luther*, 141 *Grimmelshausen*, 155 *Uhland*, usw.

[27] Z. B. schreibt Luther in der Prosa seiner Bibelübersetzung an den beiden Stellen (Matth. 6, 9; L. 11, 2), wo dieser Ausdruck vorliegt, *unser Vater*, in seinen "Geistlichen Liedern" hingegen (vgl. Hellwig, S. 118) selbst im Versinnern *Vater unser*, während er doch andere pron. Adj. beim Vok. nur am Versende (d.h. nur unter dem Reimzwang) nachstellt. Bei *Vater unser* muss also das lat. *Pater Noster* auf die deutsche Wortstellung eingewirkt haben. Ebenso schreibt z. B. Grimmelshausen (vgl. Hellwig, S. 141) *Vater unser* 24 Mal im Gebet, während er sonst das pron. Adj. immer *vor* das Subst. stellt.

[28] Vgl. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, §348; Heusler, *Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §483; Falk u. Torp, *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, §188, S. 308 ff.

waúrd mein Joh. 8, 51, *waúrd is* L. 4, 32. In der Poesie (besonders beim Volksliede) darf noch bis auf den heutigen Tag im Neu-Skand. irgend welches starke attributive Adj. dem Subst. folgen; z. B. Norw.-Dän. *en ridder bold*, Schw. *vågor blå* (Tegnér's *Frithiofss.*), usw. In der Prosa hingegen wird im Neu-Skand. die Stellung *hinter* dem Subst. ausschliesslich auf das poss.-pron. Adj. und in der Schriftsprache zwar vorwiegend beim Vok. beschränkt (vgl. Falk u. Torp, *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, §188, S. 311); wie z. B. Norw.-Dän. *kjære sønnen min*, Schw. *käre sonen min*, recht häufig aber in der Volkssprache auch sonst beim obliquen Kasus, z. B. Norw.-Dän. *han har bøkerne mine*, Schw. *han läser boken sin*. "Die Nachsetzung" hat sich also in der nordischen Schriftsprache, ebenso wie im Deutschen, "am längsten beim Vok. erhalten," und zwar aus demselben Grunde wie im Deutschen, nämlich weil beim Vok. "die appositionelle, fast prädikative Bedeutung" hervortritt (vgl. auch Heusler, *Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §482). In der Prosa der norw.-dän. Schriftsprache wurde aber schon im 17. Jahrhundert die Stellung des pron. Adj. *hinter* dem Subst. selbst bei der Anrede nicht mehr als die normale Wortstellung angesehen, obwohl sie in der Volkssprache immer noch geläufig blieb (vgl. Falk u. Torp, ibid.). Dies geht schon aus Gerner's Bemerkung (im Jahre 1690) über den Ausdruck *Fader vor* hervor: "*Vor* Fader oc icke *Fader vor*, som de Norske udi deris Dialekt bruger" (*Epitome philologiae Danicae*, 1690; vgl. Falk u. Torp, ibid.). Ebenso übersetzte Luther trotz des *Pater Noster* der lateinischen Vulgata *unser Vater* statt *Vater unser*, doch ist letztere Wortfolge noch bis auf den heutigen Tag bei der lutherischen Gebetsformel im Nhd., ebenso wie im Neu-Skand. (Norw.-Dän. *fader vor*, Schw. *fader vår*) üblich geblieben.

In der *Gebetsformel* hat also, wie die Geschichte der beiden Sprachen (d.h. der nordischen und der hochd.) lehrt, das pron. Adj. (*unser, vår, vor*) bei diesem Ausdrucke niemals vor dem Subst. (*Vater, fader*) stehen dürfen, während dies doch sonst nicht der Fall ist. Im Schwedischen sagt man z. B. (ausser in der Gebetsformel) regelrecht in der Anrede *vår fader* (ebenso wie im Deutschen *unser Vater*), und *min käre son* ebenso als *käre sonen min*, obwohl letzteres natürlich einen volkstümlich poetischen Klang hat.

Die bemerkenswerte Übereinstimmung der beiden Sprachen in dieser Beziehung (nämlich darin, dass bei diesem Ausdrucke in

der Gebetsformel das pron. Adj. *niemals vor dem Subst. hat stehen dürfen*) erklärt sich daraus, dass hier der Einfluss des lateinischen *Pater Noster* auf die germanische Wortstellung eingewirkt hat. Man hüte sich diese Stellung des pron. Adj. im Germ. ausschliesslich dem lateinischen Einfluss zuzuschreiben, denn sie ist tatsächlich nach dem altgermanischen Sprachgebrauch entstanden; der lateinische Einfluss erklärt nur den Grund, weshalb gerade bei dieser formelhaften Wendung im Gebete das pron. Adj. nicht, sowie sonst, dem Subst. vorangestellt wurde.

III

Schlussbetrachtung

Die Verhältnisse in der früh-ahd. Sprache, wie sie sich z. B. in der Poesie (namentlich bei Otfrid) oder in der Prosa des Isidor zeigen, deuten ja auf die ehemalige freiere Wortstellung des Altgerm., wie sie im Got. und im Altn. herrschte. Es bleibt auffällig, dass z. B. das Altn., welches eher *mit dem Mhd. als mit dem Ahd.*[29] als gleichzeitig zu betrachten ist, diese alte, dem Got. eigentümliche Freiheit der Wortfolge im Gegensatz zum Westgerm. immer noch bewahrte. Merkwürdig ist es auch, dass später (d.h. etwa nach dem 14. Jahrh.) beim weiteren Verlust der Flexionsendungen des starken Adj. die nordischen Sprachen auf dieselbe Bahn wie die westgerm. gelenkt wurden; das starke attributive Adj. durfte nicht mehr, wie im Got., entweder *vor* oder *nach* dem Subst. stehen, sondern wurde, wie im Westgerm., gewohnheitsmässig dem Subst. vorangestellt. Doch ist bei der Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen zu beachten, dass selbst in der älteren Zeit (d.h. etwa 800-1350), wo die Flexionsendungen noch ziemlich unversehrt blieben, die Neigung, das starke attributive Adj. (und zwar selbst das pron. Adj.) *vor* das Subst. zu stellen, auch in der Dichtung schon sehr

[29] Nur die Lieder der *Älteren Edda* und die skaldische Dichtung reichen in die ahd. Zeit zurück.

[30] Vgl. z. B. *Þrymskv.* 1, 2.3, 4

	ok sîns hamars	*of saknadi*
	ef minn hamar	*mættak hitta*
gegen 5, 4.5.	*greyjum sînum*	*gollbond snøri*
	ok morum sînum	*mon jafnadi*

Die *Þrymskviða* ist eins der ältesten Lieder der Edda und war (nach Finnur Jónsson, *Den Islandske Litteraturhistorie*, 1907, S. 53) schon im 9. Jahrhundert gedichtet.

früh hervortrat[30] und in den jüngeren Prosawerken[31] immer zunahm (vgl. Heusler, *Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §482). Diese Neigung hatte also offenbar schon in der ältesten Sprache begonnen, war aber erst viel später als im Westgerm. zur Herrschaft gelangt.

Es scheint also auf dem ganzen germanischen Gebiete, soweit sich die Sache verfolgen lässt, im Laufe der Zeit die Neigung zugenommen zu haben, das starke attributive Adj. *vor* das Subst. zu stellen. Der Umstand aber, dass das Altn., ebenso wie das Got., diese alte Eigentümlichkeit der Wortstellung bewahrte, während sich im Westgerm. viel früher der Gebrauch feststellte, das starke attributive Adj. dem Subst. voranzustellen, steht in Einklang mit der Tatsache, dass das Altn. sonst viele dem Got. eigentümliche Verhältnisse sowohl in der Syntax, als auch in der Lautlehre bewahrte.[32] Bei dem Verlust der Flexionsendungen nahm die Neigung, das starke attributive Adj. dem Subst. voranzustellen, umso mehr zu, als die Voranstellung des Adj. seine grammatische Funktion deutlicher hervortreten liess. Denn in der Stellung vor dem Subst. konnte das Adj. nicht als prädikatives

[31] Bei Snorre (Anfang des 13. Jahrh.) steht z. B. das starke attributive Adj., besonders wenn es stärker hervorgehoben wird, sehr häufig *vor* dem Subst.: z. B. *ágætr bær Hkr.* 352, 30; *mikinn hér Hkr.* 344, 4; *sínum horð Hkr.* 344, 15; *á sannan guð Hkr.* 345, 16, usw.; vgl. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, §348. In bezug auf die Betonung des Adj. in der Stellung *vor* oder *hinter* dem Subst. will Heusler (*Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §482) die Voranstellung nicht, wie dies Nygaard tut, als die stärker betonte Stellung ansehen: "Die Lage ist ähnlich wie im Französischen, nur dass die Voranstellung, als die überhaupt gebräuchlichere, keine Emphase bedingt. Es heisst stets: *á sannan guð*——; aber *drengr góþr* 'ein braver Kerl,' *ertu skáld gott* 'du bist ein guter Dichter' (zweigipflig)." Dagegen meint Nygaard (s. oben, ibid.), dass die Voranstellung die *minder* gebräuchlichere Stellung sei und deshalb *die Emphase bedinge*: "Foran stilles det, naar det skal *sterkere* betones, *sjeldnere* ellers." Ich halte hier mit Nygaard, weil seine Annahme sich mit den Verhältnissen im Got. in Anklang steht, welche die ursprünglichen Verhältnisse auch im Nordischen vertreten müssen. In der Wortfolge, ebenso wie in der Lautlehre, vertritt das Got. gewöhnlich am deutlichsten den altgerm. Zustand und danach sind die jüngeren Entwickelungen des Nordischen und des Westgerm. zu betrachten. Wie dem auch sein mag, bleibt die Tatsache festgestellt, dass die Voranstellung des starken attributiven Adj. im Altn. schon in der ältesten Sprache recht häufig begegnet—und zwar häufiger als im Got.

[32] Vgl. meinen Aufsatz "Zum gotischen Dativ nach *waírþan* mit Infinitiv," *M.L.Ns.*, März, 1917; und vgl. weiter in der Lautlehre das Beibehalten des alten **z* im Auslaut—got. *s*=altn. **R*, *r*,—das im Westgerm. schon längst geschwunden war (z. B. got. *dags*, altn. *dagr*, aber ahd. *tac*, alts. *dag*, angs. *dæg*, usw.).

Adjektiv aufgefasst werden. Ein derartiges Mittel für die Klarstellung der Funktion des Adj. empfahl sich, zumal das Nordische für das Prädikatsadj. stets dieselbe Form wie für das starke attributive Adj. gehabt hat; z. B. altn. *drengr er góþr*, *góþr drengr*, *húsit er gott*, *gott hús*, ebenso wie z. B. im Neu-Skand., Norw.-Dän. *drengen er god*, *god dreng*, *huset er godt*, *godt hus*, usw. Die Geschichte der Sprache lehrt, dass schon vor der Zeit der altn. Prosa das Bestreben im Germ. bestanden hatte, das starke attributive Adj. vom Prädikatsadj. entweder der Form nach oder durch die Stellung zu unterscheiden (vgl. oben über das Ahd. und das Got.). Da nun im Nordischen kein Unterschied in der Form zwischen dem starken attributiven Adj. und dem Prädikatsadj. bestand, so konnte nur die Wortfolge der Feststellung der grammatischen Funktion derselben zu Hülfe kommen.

Der Umstand, dass das Altn., ebenso wie das Got., das poss. pron. Adj. häufiger *nach* dem Subst. stellte, als dies bei anderen starken attributiven Adj. der Fall war, erklärt sich in erster Linie aus der Analogiewirkung nach der Stellung des Gen. des persönlichen Pron., das im Altn. gewöhnlich, im Got. immer *nach* dem Subst. stand. Diese Annahme wird bestätigt durch die westgerm. (ahd.) Verhältnisse, wo gerade das Umgekehrte der Fall war. Hier folgte das poss.-pron. Adj. dem Subst. viel seltener, als andere starke attributive Adj. (vgl. Fussn. 6, 7), eben weil der Gen. des persönlichen Pron. immer *vor* dem Subst. stand;—vom Vokativ abgesehen bleibt daher im Westgerm. die Stellung des pron. Adj. hinter dem Subst. im wesentlichen auf die Poesie (vgl. Fussn. 12) beschränkt.

Der westgerm. Gebrauch, das starke attributive Adj. auf die Stellung *vor* dem Subst. zu beschränken, hat sich also aus dem älteren freieren Gebrauch entwickelt, das starke attributive Adj. *entweder* vor *oder* hinter das Subst. zu stellen, wie er noch im Got. und im Altn. herrscht. Diese Entwickelung zeigt sich in viel klarerem Lichte, wenn man 1) das Verhältnis der flektierten zu der unflektierten Form des starken Adj. in der Stellung *vor* oder *hinter* dem Subst. und 2) das Verhältnis der Stellung des Gen. des persönlichen Pron. zu der Stellung der pron. Adj. gleichmässig auf dem gesammten germanischen Sprachgebiet (d.h. im Ost.-und Nord.-und Westgerm.) in Betracht zieht.

Die germanische Syntax kann meiner Meinung nach erst im rechten Lichte erscheinen, wenn man die einzelnen Dialekte als

ein einheitliches Sprachgebiet ansieht, dessen ursprünglicher Zustand aber sowohl in der Syntax, als auch in der Lautlehre, gewöhnlich *im Got. am deutlichsten vertreten ist.* Schliesslich muss, wie mir scheint, stark betont werden, dass man soweit wie möglich das mechanische Verfahren vermeiden sollte, welches nicht nur Hellwigs verdienstliche und reichhaltige Schrift, sondern auch allzu häufig andere Arbeiten über die Syntax kennzeichnet. Bei der Neigung, die ganze Syntax in gewisse herkömmliche Kategorien einzuteilen, gelangt man nur zu mangelhaften und oft geradezu verkehrten Resultaten, da bei diesem Verfahren die lebendige Entwicklung der Sprache nicht zu ihrem Rechte kommt. Die betreffenden Kategorien stellen die Sache in fest abgegrenzten Linien dar, während die sprachlichen Erscheinungen tatsächlich öfters in einander überfliessen. Entwicklung der Sprache bedeutet ja nicht lediglich Bewegung innerhalb eines vonvorn herein feststehenden syntaktischen Schemas, sondern schliesst die Umgestaltung ehemals bestehender Kategorien ein. Daher wird leicht bei diesem mechanischen Verfahren manches Verhältnis ausser acht gelassen, welches nur in der Annahme einer Aufhebung und Neuordnung ehemaliger Grenzlinien seine Erklärung findet. Gerade bei Untersuchungen über die Wortfolge tritt, glaube ich, besonders deutlich hervor, dass ein solches Verfahren statt zu einer geschichtlichen Darstellung leicht zu einer bloss äusserlichen Klassifikation der Tatsachen (vgl. z. B. Hellwigs Schrift) führt.

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WOMAN IN GERMAN LITERATURE BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION[1]

Primitive Christianity assigned to woman a place in the kingdom of heaven equal to that of man; but what about her place on earth? Like men early Christian women lived and died for the faith and yet for a thousand years the church debated sagely: "Are women human beings?" Whether or not that scathing denunciation of feminine rights was a fact or a fable matters not, for parrot-like, a long series of would-be wiseacres solemnly believed and passed it on to a credulous posterity.[2] The knights of Chivalry as defenders of the oppressed and protectors of the female sex served their ladies in extravagant idolatry;[3] but the refinements they professed degenerated all too often into licentiousness and coarse debauchery, which was greatly increased under the influence of eastern corruption after the crusades.[4] In many thousand lines of beautiful verse Gottfried von Strassburg extols adultery. Even at best, the glory of Chivalry was only for a few and with the dawn of modern life most of its meretricious beauty vanished.[5]

In the second half of the thirteenth century the literary expression of outward forms of woman-worship was more and more neglected until at the end of the century practically every vestige of the old "mistress and cavalier" relationship had disappeared.

[1] This paper is an attempt to outline the position of woman in the didactic literature of Germany from the end of the 15th to the end of the 17th century. In order to complete the account, which Weinhold began with his "Deutsche Frauen im Mittelalter," it should be preceded by a study of woman in the Mystic literature of the 14th and 15th centuries as well as in the ecclesiastical literature of the 13th.

After the first draft of the manuscript of this article was finished a great part of the notes upon which it was based were destroyed by fire. It was therefore impossible to verify all references and in a number of cases it was impossible to give any page-reference at all.

[2] For example: *Grund und probierliche Beschreibung . . . ob die Weiber Menschen seien / oder / nicht* Anno 1617, printed 1643. (Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*; also Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literärgeschichte aller bekannten Völker*; and Kawerau, *Die Reformation und die Ehe*, 1892.)

[3] Cf. Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen des Mittelalters*. 2nd ed. 1882.

[4] Scott (Sir Walter), Essay on *Chivalry*.

[5] M. M. Mann, *Die Frauen und die Frauenverehrung in der höfischen Epik nach Gottfried von Strassburg*. (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. 12, no. 3.)

Just as the skylark continued to soar in American poetry long after it had been shown that America boasts only meadow-larks, so this widely-cultivated "Frauendienst" lived on in obscure literary corners of German literature with astonishing persistency long after its legitimate existence had ceased. As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, five centuries after the classical period of Middle High German literature, reappears the situation of the knightly wooer before his lady's window, a situation which Ulrich von Lichtenstein liked to describe. The cavalier is "beraubt seiner freiheit" and his soul is "entblösst aller kräfften und des vermögens an etwas anders zu dencken [als an seine] unbarmherzige geliebte."[6] In Ayrer's *Comoedia von der schönen Phönicia*[7] Anna Marie summons her lover before her house "wenn die Uhr hat achte geschlagen." He comes and sings a Lichtenstein type of song beneath her window, and when he tries to enter her apartments some one from above greets him with a "hafen voll wasser über den kopff," the same thing that happened to Ulrich five hundred years before in the heyday of "Minnedienst."

The Mystics transferred their veneration of women to the Virgin Mary, in representing her relation to God as a kind of spiritual betrothal, serving her, "der hohen Minnerin", just as the knight had formerly served his "Lady."

But these sporadic revivals of an outgrown ideal disappeared before the overwhelming reality of every-day existence. The preachers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries played no small part in the reaction against the "Minnedienst" and the general tendency towards realism left no place for the unreality of Chivalry. An interesting instance of the complete disappearance of the courtly ideal is the picture of woman given in an edition of the much read and often reprinted "Sibyllenweissagung" which was published sometime early in the first quarter of the 16th century:[8] a warning prophecy against the complete demoralization of womankind. "Der weiblich stat . . . geistlich und weltlich wirt in onordnung, eigenwilligkeit, fürwitz, unkeuschheit und hoffart wachsen, so schendlich halten dass keins vor das ander erkennt werden noch geehrt wirt."

[6] *Phoenix Comoedia . . . oder Spiegel Jungfräulicher Zier und Ritterlicher Bescheidenheit*, 1623, I, 5.

[7] Ayrer, *Opus Theatricum*, 1618, I, 411.

[8] Pub. Schönperger, Augsb. o. J. (ed. of the 16th Cent.) Aiii.

Instead of obedience of the man to the lady's demands, however absurd they might be, we find the reverse condition, until the emphasis on the actual relationship between man and woman went so far as to demand, on the basis of Paul's teachings, the wife's obedience even if she were a princess of royal blood and the man her husband a peasant. Just as if he were her God and she his servant.[9]

The first great modern event which stands out in the development of the so-called woman question is, of course, the Reformation. In order to determine exactly what this movement really brought about and to establish just in how far Luther can be called the great emancipator of woman, as he is popularly supposed to be, it is necessary to make clear what the church had already done and to ascertain what state of things prevailed during the years which immediately preceded his efforts. In making such a study the investigator is confronted by the almost insuperable difficulty first of determining in how far the views he finds expressed in print truly represent the convictions of their writers; second, how far these statements were original and in how far they reflected the sentiments of the time or at least of a large part of the population; third, what influence these views exerted upon contemporaries and those who came after. For example, when Erasmus in his *De libero arbitrio* claims that the story of Eve's fall is only the first instance of woman's weak will, are we then confronted with the irony of the "Praise of Folly"? Macropedius, in his *Rebelles*, tells the story of two boys who are spoiled by their mothers and are rescued from the gallows by their teacher in the nick of time. When the author then proclaims that fire, the sea, and wild beasts are three evils, but woman is worse than all of these, how much is this his own view of women and how much merely the conventional reiteration of traditional clerical prejudice and perhaps the exaggerated indignation of the schoolmaster against the mother who spoils her children? Or further, the story of another of his dramas, *Andrisca* (1538), where the heroine is rubbed with salt and sewed up in a horsehide for punishment—is this a proof of ruthless barbarism, or is it merely a dramatization of a mediaeval anecdote in which no one believed? Or is it another version of the taming

[9] Rebhun, *Hausfried.* 1563, p. N; Vives-Bruno, *Unterweisung.* XXXII; Hans Sachs, *Zwölf durchleuchtige Weyber.*

of the shrew? Matrimonial jests, mother-in-law stories and the like, sometimes of astonishing brutality, have been passed on from generation to generation in scarcely altered form, and live to-day in the comic pages of our newspapers. Is it always easy to say in how far the writers spoke from experience, and what authority their words carried with the reader?

Apostolic Christianity already differed from Christ's teachings particularly with regard to women. Jesus recognized no quality of sex, treating men and women as spiritual equals—we have little record of his opinion on the earthly relation.[10] His teaching that in Heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage turned with Pauline Christianity into a decided prejudice against marriage as inexpedient[11] possibly because of the shortly expected second-coming of Christ. At any rate Paul shows a marked preference for the celibate state, except where marriage proved necessary. Moreover there was in this primitive Church a certain prejudice against women as such, which may in part be traced to the fact that the Apostles were Orientals in spirit, leading them to place women entirely under the rule of men. Hence the constant admonition to women to submit themselves unto their husbands.[12] Thus in the very earliest Christian times the conviction became established that man was superior to woman, the "head of the woman," as Christ was considered the head of the Church. The spiritual equality of man and woman had thus, in those tumultuous times, become a very different creed.

Although no thought existed in the mind of Paul of prohibiting marriage, the distinct trend toward asceticism served as a warrant for greater severity on the part of the later clergy. Saint Jerome's contempt for marriage was so extreme, that in spite of the recognized supremacy of Saint Peter, he considered that Apostle as decidedly inferior to Saint John, because Peter had a wife.[13] Moreover he was convinced that all evil came from woman. Saint Augustine wrote treatises for the purpose of proving that while marriage perpetuated the species, it likewise perpetuated original sin. Besides he piously wished that all mankind would abstain

[10] Matt. 22:30; Mark 12:25; Luke 20:36.
[11] I Cor. 7:7, 8; 26, 29, 32 ff.
[12] Col. 3:18; Eph. 5:22, 23; I Cor. 11:3.
[13] H. C. Lea, *Celibacy in the Christian Church.* 1884, p. 47.

from marriage so that the human race might sooner come to an end. In view of these doctrines the Middle Ages in turn became especially cruel to women, misunderstanding the gospel and exaggerating the views of the early Church Fathers. Marriage thus was debased and woman in consequence given a very subordinate position, opening the way for all manner of irregular alliances and storing up a harvest of insults and abuse. The records of the Middle Ages are full of evidence of woman's ignominy.[14] Of course the Catholic Church perhaps never meant originally to debase marriage, but by extolling celibacy to such heights, marriage must needs be considered by the people as a whole to be undesirable, to be even ignoble and wicked. The wrong could only be aggravated by the Old Testament conception of woman as the temptress of man, luring him on to the evil of marriage.

In any case the question of the desirability of marriage was probably wholly decided upon the basis of its usefulness to men. When Albrecht von Eyb (1420-1475) wrote his long treatise on marriage the question was: "Ob ein *Mann* sich verheiraten solle?" The pros and cons are almost exclusively formulated from the masculine point of view and his final affirmative answer to his own question takes solely into consideration the resultant advantage to the man. Man's complete control over woman is well evidenced by the advice to husbands in an early collection of articles called *Lehre und Predigt.* The man should hold his body more precious than his wife. Strike her, says the author, if she goes counter to your desires.[15]

Such drastic measures and uncompromising severity may have been in a way exceptional. Thomas Murner (1475-1537), that most unscrupulous early German satirist, who shrank from no extreme of scurrility in his criticism of Luther, excuses his bitter denunciation of women[16] by saying that his shafts were directed only against the "boesen weyben": "Ein fromme frawe ist goldes wert." But whether or not this is really a statement favorable to women depends upon two things: Did Murner sincerely mean this, and if he did, what was his idea of a "fromme frawe?" One can hardly attribute to a monk of his turn of mind and character any very real appreciation of woman's nature. Eyb, however,

[14] See Lea, *Ibid.* Index.

[15] 1472, p. 31, 34.

[16] *Mühle von Schwindelsheim*, 1515, p. 793.

was a different sort of man. Although he looked at marriage on the whole through the eyes of a man he in no case shows himself in the least unsympathetic towards women. Although a Catholic and Dean of Bamberg Cathedral, upholding no doubt as a churchman the doctrine of celibacy as holy, he nevertheless wrote his *Ehebüchlein*[17] with a layman's comprehension—and more—of woman's personal problems. To be sure he demands that women should obey their husbands and serve them in every way[18] but after a loud discussion of men's rights, he turns to them with stern directness:[19] "Gedenck ob du an ir auch nit gebrochen habst. Es sein gar unrechte richter die menner, die unkeusch sein und von iren weyben keuschheit begehren, der sie selbs nit haben, und die sich mit hübschen worten entschuldigen und ire weyber schwerlicher verdammen und strafen, die in selbs alle ding erlawben und den weyben verbieten. Für ware . . . die weyber haben ein hartes leben und sein viel ellender dann die menner; wann so ein man bricht die ee und das die frau erfert, so ist es ein spil und schimpf gewest und ist on straffe . . . so aber ein fraw nur aus dem haus gangen ist, so hat si unrecht getan und wirt gestraft." It is a remarkable statement in a very dark period of German social history, when the morals of the Roman clergy had become a disgrace to Christianity. Perhaps these words are but the echo of the teachings of his mother his first instructor, thirty years before.[20] He died in 1475, over forty years before Luther took his first step to root out the evils of enforced celibacy. These isolated views, however, were soon forgotten, if they indeed ever succeeded in influencing an appreciable number of his contemporaries. The widespread popular picture of woman, particularly in satire, had become fixed; she was always faithless, fickle, vain and wicked.[21] It is clear that this was not yet paradise for woman.

The immorality of the clergy had meanwhile been growing, and as a result men here and there—among them Luther—began

[17] Pub. 1472.

[18] *Sittenspiegel*, (written 1474, pub. 1511), p. CXXIX.

[19] *Eheb.* Hermann's Ausgabe, p. 10.

[20] Mss. exist of parts of his book dating 1459-60. After the first printed ed. of 1472, many others appeared until the end of the 16th cent.

[21] For ex. Thomas Murner's *Narrenbeschwörung, Die Mühle von Schwindelsheim, Die Geuchmat.*

to turn back to the simple doctrines of primitive Christianity. Then the first effort to re-establish marriage in its legitimate place was made. Of course, Luther probably thought very little about the position of woman; as a monk he saw naturally the crying need of reform for men and like his predecessors he looked at the whole matter from the standpoint of men. The Pauline idea that woman was created for the man, not the man for the woman[22] emphasized by the early Church Fathers and reiterated in practice for so many centuries until it seemed a self evident law, appeared even to Luther hardly in the same light in which it appears to moderns. Yet it must not be forgotten that his struggle for the recognition of marriage and still more his own example made easier further developments in the future.[23] Besides this Luther showed sincere appreciation of the spiritual relationship in marriage: "Es ist ein gross ding," he says, "umb das bündniss und die gemeinschaft zwischen mann und weib," and these words found an echo in the hearts of those who came after him.[24] That he should not have gone further is easily explained; as a monk, having spent a large part of his life in seclusion, he would naturally think of man as an individual but of woman merely as a factor in marriage. Nor was his conception of woman's function a mean one. She who cares for her children, he held, need ask no holier nor godlier state. It was perhaps not much gained, but it was a decided step in advance.

Although Luther considered that the home and its attendant duty was the natural sphere for most women, he approached modern ideals first in establishing schools, not only for boys but also for girls and second, in placing women in them as teachers; for, he maintained, if we are to have capable, intelligent mothers, the girls must be taught. In all this his intention was plainly to create homes and base them upon a solid foundation, rather than to make life pleasanter for women. It was left for others to advocate learning and study as such for women as well as for men.

[22] I Cor. 11:9; Eph. 5:22.

[23] See Luther's denunciation of the "Lästerer des weiblichen Geschlechts" in his introduction to Freder's *Dialogus, dem Ehestand zu ehren.* 1545, p. Aii, Gii, C. Cf. The Vorrede, Ireneus, *Lob und Unschuld der Ehefrauen*; and Rebhun, *Hausfried*, 1563, p. Fv.

[24] Bullinger, *Christlicher Ehestand*, 1579, p. B (translated into Eng. 1541); Matthesius, *Oeconomia oder Bericht vom Christlichen Hauswesen*; Rebhun, *Hochzeit zu Cana.*

As for Luther: "Er lachete seiner Käthe, die wollte klug sein." Educational demands for women were really first made in the seventeenth century, along with the general intellectual reawakening after the Thirty Years' War.

That marriage is natural and necessary was urged also by Luther's friends[25] likewise the doctrine of the wife's absolute obedience to her husband, even when she has a better understanding of affairs.[26] The Griselda-type of yielding, obedient wife was very much in favour[27] and at least one man expresses the opinion that the wife should be forced by the authorities to obey.[28] Otherwise a man should take the law into his own hands. Still probably as a class women were not so accommodating as the one Freder describes: "So willig und unterthenig [dass] sie in aus und angezogen, seiner kleider reingehalten, die schuch gewischet hat."[29] Like Luther they also contended that woman's first care should be her home.[30]

They, too, appreciated the spiritual side of happy marriage. Matthesius, who lived for some time in Luther's house re-echoes his teacher's words: "Zur gehülfin ist sie ihm gegeben, zu trost und freud in seinem Leben. Wenn sich zuträgt creutz und unfall, ihr freundlicges hertz ihn trösten soll."[31] Spangenberg, an enthu-

[25] Transl. 1524 of Erasmus, *Eyn Gesprech zweyer ehelicher weyber*; Culman, *Junggesellen / Junckfrawen und Witwen.* 1532, p. Ciii.

[26] Freder, *Dialog.* p. F; Vives-Bruno, *Unterweisung*, p. LXXVI; (New edition by Jacob Wychgram 1884 as Vol. XIV of the *Pädagogische Klassiker*, Leipzig und Vienna. See p. 194); Ireneus-Hondorff, *Lob u. Unschuld*, p. Nii; Rebhun, *Hausfried*, p. Fv. Mv, Nii; Rebhun, *Hochzeit zu Cana*, III, 9; Vivienus, *Weiberspiegel*, p. Diiii; Erasmus, *Wie ein weib iren man freundlich machen soll*, p. Aiii; Franck, *Sprichwörter*, p. 66b; Erasmus, *Gesprech*, p. Jv; Hans Sachs, *Zwölf durchleuchtige Weyber*, 2nd Story; H. W. Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, p. 260.

[27] Cf. Gross-Eybe, *Grisardis*, Zft. f. d. d. A. 29, 389. Some of the Susanna Dramas also represent this type of submissive women; see Pilger, *Die Dramatisierungen der Susanna im 16. Jh.* Halle, 1879.

[28] Ritter, *Dialogus . . . Das ist ein Gesprech Von dem Ehrrührigen und Lästerlichen Urteil Bruder Johann Nasen zu Ingolstadt, dass alle Lutherischen Weiber Huren seyen.* 1570, p. 19. He is not, generally speaking, so terrible.

[29] Dialog. p. V.

[30] Erasmus, *Gesprech*, 1524; Bullinger (ein Schüler und Mitarbeiter Zwinglis), *Christlicher Ehestand*, p. 78 ff. Matthesius, *Oeconomia*; Freder, *Dialogus*, p. Diii; Spangenberg, *Adelspiegel*; Fischart, *Ehezuchtbüchlein*, p. Cv. Rebhun, *Hausfried*, Jv. Nii; Vives-Wychgram, *Unterweisung*, p. 261.

[31] Reference to page lost.

siastic admirer and pupil of Luther[32] sings the praises of married life and of its beauty, and like Adam Schubart[33] deplores the frequent insults which his contemporaries heap upon marriage and women. The dramatist Rebhun, also a friend of Luther, presents in simple convincing words an attractive picture of married life.[34] But no one of his followers has caught the spirit of Luther better than Erasmus Alberus, and none of them was more eloquent in praise of his experience as a married man.[35]

But in the course of years they have all added something out of the richness of their own experience and meditations. They began to expand Luther's ideal of home-life. Marriage is pictured as based not only on natural attraction but also on genuine love and sincere friendship between husband and wife.[36] More and more emphasis is put upon similarity in taste and ideals.[37]

Fischart, who as a professional satirist was ready enough to find fault, yet praises marriage as the "Vereinigung und Zusammenfügung gleicher einmütiger Hertzen,"[38] and he a married man.

There are also answers to the many masculine complaints about stupid and troublesome wives. Women, some say, have often as much to complain of in men as men find in women,[39] especially "where the man earns nothing and eats and drinks up his substance." Moreover many women, they say, have been deceived by men and made miserable all their days. Others advocate perfect equality for both sexes.[40] Rebhun, showing an astonishing

[32] Ehespiegel, page lost.

[33] *Hausteufel*, page lost. Cf. Kawerau, *Die Reformation und die Ehe*, p. 42.

[34] *Hochzeit zu Cana*, I, 1.

[35] Cf. Kawerau, p. 7, note.

[36] Vives-Wychgram, *Unterweisung*, p. 193; Ireneus, *Lob und Unschuld*; Fischart, *Ehezuchtsbüchlein*, p. G; Johannes Butovius, *Isaac und Rebecca*, Arg. VII; Roth, *Ehel. Lustgarten*; Rist, *Hausmusik*, p. 71.

[37] Vives-Wychgram, *Unterweisung*, Ch. XV; Spangenberg, *Ehel. Ordensspiegel*, p. Giii; Ireneus, *ibid.*

[38] *Ehezuchtbüchlein*; Schupp, *Instrumentum Pacis*, p. 145. Cf. Views held about marriage for money: translation of Thomas Birck, *Ehespiegel*, 1598, II 173; Vives-Wychgram, p. 293.

[39] Ireneus-Hondorff, p. Diii, Yv; Spangenberg, *Adelsspiegel*.

[40] Rebhun, *Hochzeit zu Cana*, III, 4; Kirchhof, *Wendenmuth*, p. 257; Martin Schmidder, *Das New Morgens Fell, Comoedia*, III, 1 (The value of the last quotation is doubtful, in view of the character of the drama); and of course Agrippa.

comprehension of woman's viewpoint, lets one of his women characters say:[41]

"Ich widerfecht nicht Gottes wort,
Dann ich auch predigt hab gehort,
Da man sagt von man und weib
Wie sie solln sein ein leib,
Welches ich bei mir also vernim,
Das auch dem Weib so wol gezim
Das regiment als ebn dem man."

Erasmus of Rotterdam pictures a woman[42] who feels insulted because she is given her living, as she says, as a kind of servant's pay or as charity toward a miserable dependent.[43]

In the minds of the Reformers the question of whether nor not marriage was as desirable as celibacy was practically considered as more or less settled. Going, therefore, further than Luther they were chiefly concerned with the nature of the marriage relationship. But more and more often the conviction is expressed that men can sometimes do worse injury to woman than to strike her, an appreciation of woman's sensitiveness all the more telling for having found its way into early collections of proverbs.[44]

As we have already noted, Luther established schools for girls, in order that they might become useful women, although learning as such he still held to be superflous. This was also the underlying idea with many of those who came after him.[45] Some agreed that women should learn to read even Latin, in order that they might study "die frummen Bücher."[46] But as a rule all the regular branches of study were supposed to be beyond them. One wonders somewhat at this reluctance to grant education to women, in view of the fact that the nunneries and convents had often produced learned women. This might at least have proved that under circumstances women could learn quite as well as their brothers in monasteries. Yet even inside the convents women must have realized that they were held intellectually inferior to men, for

[41] *Hochzeit zu Cana*, III, 4.

[42] *Gesprech zweyer weiber*, p. Y.

[43] Cf. Schwanberger, *Comedia vom heiligen Ehestand*, III, 1.

[44] Roth, *Der Eheleute Lustgarten*; Fischart, *Ehezuchtb.* Ch. 2; de la Cerda, *Weibl. Lustgarten*, p. 130; Franck, *Sprichwörter*, II, 199b.

[45] Vives-Wychgram p. 220; Vives-Bruno, p. V, IX, LXXV, VIII. De la Cerda, *Weibl. Lustgarten*, p. 9, 15, 166.

[46] De la Cerda, *ibid.* p. 10.

in the eleventh century the nun Roswitha wrote that God should be praised all the more for her work because people held that the intelligence of women was inferior. On the other hand Celtes, the first to publish her works (1501) insisted that sex was no hindrance to the acquiring of honor and learning.[47]

There is one very remarkable sixteenth century exception. Indignantly and earnestly defending woman's ability as equal to that of man Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535) soldier, physician and writer, pours forth in eloquent praise of women a plea for their education.[48] His opinions brought him into conflict with the monks. He was a Catholic with scant sympathy for the Reformers, but even so, he extols marriage from personal experience, having been married three times himself, and blames men for the fact that women are as they are: "Tyrannischer weiss wird das Weibsbildt von männern unterdrückt . . . so wird den weybern ihre freyheit wider göttliches und natürliches recht, jetzund mit ungerechten gesatzen auffgehoben, durch brauch und gewohnheit abgethan; also das auch der tyrannische frevel die oberhand nemmend, alle ihre gaben ihnen in erster aufferziehung abstricket und auslischt. Dann so bald eine tochter geboren wird, so muss sie auch in ihre kindheit anheim in verliegen verderben, als ob sie einer höheren that nicht fähig wäre, lässt man ihr nichts zu dann nadel und faden, gunckel und spindel. Wo sie dann ihre mannbare jare erreicht, so wird sie unter die gewalt etwan eines eifernden mannes, oder etwan in ein kloster gestossen, all gemeyne ämpter die seynd ir mit gesatzen widersprochen."[49] There is not the slightest doubt in his mind—woman should have the same opportunities as man: "Wan es noch heutiges tages den weibern nicht verboten wäre die Künste zu lernen, so würden noch berühmte weiber gefunden werden, die den mennern an Geschicklichkeit würden überlegen sein."[50] Agrippa's logic is sometimes fantastic and his reasoning ridiculous. Nevertheless one recognizes in him a genuine friend of women. It has been maintained[51] that Agrippa's defense of women is idle flattery and not to be taken seriously. The

[47] *Opera Rosvithe*, Nürnberg, 1501, Epistola and Dedicatio.

[48] *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Feminei Sexus*, 1518. (See Bibliog.)

[49] Vives-Bruno. p. XXXI, Agrippa-Heroldt, 1540, p. 47.

[50] Bellin tr. p. 167, p. 154.

[51] Kawerau, *Die Reformation und die Ehe.*

general enthusiastic tone of his work is, however, not that of a mere idler.[52]

If one gave credence to all that satiric writers and preachers had to say of the seventeenth century, one should have a very poor opinion of both its men and women. The Thirty Years' War had devastated the country, crippling social life and paralyzing social and intellectual development, while at the same time the theoretical appreciation of woman too often found expression in forms similar to those of the sixteenth century. Greed, idleness, sloth, lustful or mercenary marriages are in every age the target of satirists, out of all proportion to actual conditions. Women were in fact becoming more and more a part of social and intellectual life. Harsdörfer's *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele*,[53] for example, were intended to be a kind of genteel course of instruction for women. Moreover women, in large numbers now, were themselves producing literature. Morhof[54] gives a long list of them: Sybylla Schwarzin, Henrietta Catharina Sachsin, who wrote German and Latin poetry, Gertrud Müllerin, who indited a book of *Teutsche Oden*. Then there was Anna Maria Pflaumin, the author of a *Thränen-und Trostquelle*, and Susanna Zeidlerin, who was responsible for a *Jungferlicher Zeitvertreiber*.

In their books on marriage and the home, however, men still insisted on female obedience to male control.[55] Schupp, one of the most eloquent, able and fearless preachers of the seventeenth century, is troubled by the apparently increasing desire of women to rule: "Die Weiber wollen das Regiment haben. . . ."[56]

Just as in Luther's time, the demand is made that woman should be housewife and mother,[57] the man's business being to

[52] This seems to be the opinion of C. L. Powell, who in his *English Domestic Relations* makes use of the English translation of Agrippa's Work.

[53] 1641-1649.

[54] *Unterricht von der deutschen Sprache* (1686), ed. of 1700 p. 398 ff; 401 ff.

[55] Schwanberger, *Comedia vom heiligen Ehestand*; de la Cerda, *Weiblicher Lustgarten*, tr. by "Aegidium Albertinum," who with great eloquence praises Virginity and tolerates the married woman as necessary.

[56] *Freund in der Not*, p. 123.

[57] "Frauenlob," *Die lobwürdige Gesellschaft der gelehrten Weiber*, Vorrede; Moscherosch, *Christliches Vermächtnis*, p. 173; de la Cerda, *Weiblicher Lustgarten*, p. 15, 166; Arnoldus Caesarius, *Hertz der Jungfrauen*, Einleitung.

earn and the wife's to save.[58] Nor should she look for higher honor. More emphasis is put upon this warning now than in Luther's time, perhaps because women were growing restless.[59]

The attitude of which signs were found in the sixteenth century has already become more prevalent: in return for obedience the man must show loving care and consideration for his wife,[60] since, as is pointed out, man is often to blame for the discord between husband and wife.[61] Some declare that men and women are alike human beings and that aside from the physiological peculiarities no difference exists.[62] Like some of their sixteenth century predecessors others appreciate keenly the resentment of women against abject obedience. Birken[63] lets a woman complain: "Wir wollen das männliche Geschlecht so willig als billig vor fürtrefflicher und vor unsere Herren erkennen: wenn wir nur die Gnade haben können, dass sie uns nicht den Verstand und Tugendhaftigkeit abstreifen und uns gar aus unterworfenen zu verworfenen machen." In the works of Peter Probst[64] another wife complains that she has no joy in life because of her lowly state.

Some of them even recognize now that in certain ways the spiritual problems of the sexes were essentially different and more difficult, especially for the woman when she marries. One quotation, to be sure only a translation,[65] shows this distinctly new and modern viewpoint: "Erstens verändert sie ihren Namen in einen widerwärtigen Namen und muss sich nach ihrem Mann nennen: und was sie ihre eygenen Eltern nicht bewilligt hat (dass sie nemlich macht hatten über ihren leib) das willigt sie einem

[58] Roth, *Der Eheleute Lustgarten*; Schwanberger, *Comedia vom heiligen Ehestand*, III, 3; Moscherosch, *Christliches Vermächtnis*, p. 109, 169, 201. *Edles Kleeblatt* . . . hrg. von And. Rittner, p. 25.

[59] Roth (ref. lost); de la Cerda, *Weibl. Lustgarten*, p. 201; Schupp, *Abgenöthigte Ehrenrettung*, p. 139; Schupp, *Instrumentum Pacis*, p. 132. "Floridan" (Siegmund von Bircken), *Ehrenpreis* . . . p. 496. Edles Kleeblatt, p. 36.

[60] Petrus Nichtonius, *Ehelicher Weiber Treu*. Vorrede.

[61] De la Cerda, *Weiblicher Lustgarten*, p. D, 130, 129. Ireneus-Hondorff, *Lob und Unschuld*, p. Qv.; *Edles Kleeblatt*, p. 33; Rebhun, *Hochzeit zu Cana*, III, 9; Moscherosch, *Christliches Vermächtnis*, p. 100; Petrus Nichtonius, *Von ehelicher Weiber Treu*.

[62] "Floridan," *Ehrenpreis*, p. 481, de la Cerda, *Weiblicher Lustgarten*, Ch. XXVI; .

[63] *Ehrenpreis*, p. lost.

[64] 1553-1556. ed. by Kreisler, Halle, 1907.

[65] De la Cerda, *Weiblicher Lustgarten*, p. 17.

frembden Mann, und macht sich zu einer Scklavin und Leibeigenen desselben und wird auch von ihm wie eine Scklavin und leibeigene dienstmagt tractiert und gehalten." Lehman[66] also explains the situation in this manner: "Ein Weib [hat] mehr bey der Ehe zu bedencken als der Mann, denn sie muss ihrem Mann Leib, Hab und Gut vertrauen."

Seventeenth century opinions about woman's intelligence were not always flattering. Ayrer, for example, reckons his feminine readers among children and people of inferior ability.[67] Yet in a sense a new era for women is dawning: the dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions is expressed with more emphasis than ever before. "Man eilet mit uns zur Küche und Haushaltung," says a woman, "und wird manche Gezwungen eine Martha zu werden die doch etwan lieber Maria sein möchte. Ja sogar sind wir zur Barbarey und Unwissenheit verdammt, dass nicht allein die Mannespersonen sondern auch die meisten von unserm Geschlecht selber, weil sie in der Eitelkeit und Unwissenheit verwildert sind uns verachten und verlachen."[68] "Johann Frauenlob" admiringly details a long list of learned women[69] and Gans[70] gives accounts of a very large number to prove that women as well as men have done much in the world, although little has been written about them.

So we see that from the earliest printed accounts to the eighteenth century the most usual type of woman was the one which Eyb first portrayed and Luther and his followers most admired: the home-making and home-keeping wife and mother, obedient to her husband and with no aims, no desires but those of her "lord."

Luther's defense of marriage had for all time given woman—at least in the Protestant world—a position of honor and trust, and the writers who came after the great Reformer were free to develop for their women characters a kind of spiritual life for which Luther's tempestuous career had left him no time. Starting with his emphasis upon the beauty of married companionship,

[66] *Florilegium Politicum . . . Politischer Blumengarten*, p. 140. Lessing is said to have contemplated and even started a work on the Blumengarten but his other work prevented finishing it. (Fülleborn, *L'.s Leben* III, 16. quoted in A. D. B.)

[67] *Opus Theatricum*, Vorrede.

[68] (Siegmund von Bircken), *Ehrenpreis*, p. 485.

[69] *Lobwürdige Gesellschaft gelehrter Weiber*, Vorrede, Aiii.

[70] *Osterreichische Fraunzimmer*, p. 107.

some of his disciples gradually abandoned their belief in the necessity for absolute obedience on the part of the wife, and pictured the ideal marriage as based solely on mutual love and genuine friendship, no longer blaming the wife alone for married unhappiness.

On the other hand Luther's desire to educate women simply to make them better wives and mothers was shared and almost unchanged by the majority of his friends. However, the credit for the most vigorous literary attempt in the sixteenth century to set up education for women as an aim in itself belongs not to a Reformer but to a Catholic, Cornelius Agrippa.

Later, the great Catholic reaction due especially to the Jesuits saw the incorporation into Catholic propaganda of many of the Reformers' teachings about women and marriage. A most extreme example of this is the *Speculum vitae humanae* (1584) of Ferdinand II, Archduke of Tyrol, who, though fired with a pious determination to extirpate protestantism within his realm, yet preaches the marriage theory of Luther, at least where it applies to laymen. Like Luther and the Reformers he uses incidents and quotations from the Bible and insists that marriage was instituted by God for the benefit of mankind. The Hermit's words to the youth who asks him for advice with regard to his future are entirely Lutheran in tone.[71]

Whatever may have been the reason, the authors of the latter part of the sixteenth century often showed a remarkable understanding of the problems of women and a very real sympathy for them. Some like the "Sieman" and Spangenberg explain that women themselves would write their complaints if they were able to. "Doch was sie nicht mit schreiben ausrichten können . . . das richten sie mit klagen aus, wenn sie bei ein ander sind."[72] Another congratulates men upon the fact that women are not able to write books "sonst würden sie uns wahrlich mit gutem Grunde liegenstraffen, und mit besserem Scheine angreifen, als wir sie . . . das wir schamrot gegen in bestehen müssten."[73]

[71] P. 11. "Der Eestand [ist] Gott dem Herrn wolgefellig, in welchem auch der Mensch ain Gott angenembs und wolgefelligs leben besser als in einem andern Standt füeren kan. . . "

[72] Spangenberg, *Ehel. Ordensspiegel*, p. Ev.

[73] Ireneus, *Lob und Unschuld der Ehefrauen.*

The seventeenth century, too, held for the most part Luther's teaching of obedience unshaken, but along with this is seen an ever increasing recognition of mutual responsibility and of inherent differences and essential equality.

Neither Luther nor those of his friends and followers who were most liberal towards women, not even Eyb, with his modern condemnation of the "double standard"[74] nor Cornelius Agrippa with all his eloquence, intended to picture an ideal condition for woman: they tried to correct actual wrongs. It were all the more interesting therefore to observe the ideal set forth in Utopian literature, where the scope of the author's reforms would be limited only by his imagination. Andreae's *Christianopolis* (1619) contains two brief chapters (no. 88 and 89) upon marriage and women, but they are but four and a half very dull and disappointing pages—out of a total of 138 pp.—on woman's share in Utopian life. This alone would, of course, not proclaim indifference, but the demands he makes for women in the ideal state are indeed very modest. He, too, restricts woman's activity to the house and especially stipulates that she shall have no authority outside, excluding her from "council and state," although he admits, unlike many of the earlier writers, that girls are no less teachable than boys and liberally provides education for both sexes. Married as well as unmarried women are employed as teachers—a proof that the author no longer considers marriage as all-absorbing of woman's time and interest.

Citizens of Christianopolis enter upon marriage with great caution and a high ideal of purity, and glory in the conquest of their passions,[75] a lofty ideal—but the church had always preached chastity. Andreae's doctrines ignored for the most part actual conditions and offered no practical suggestions for economic improvement. But *Christianopolis* is no exception: Utopias are all disappointing with their bloodless inhabitants and their social fabric woven to an arbitrary pattern. Women play little part in Plutarch's *Lycurgus* or in Plato's *Republic* or Campanella's *City of the Sun*: all are dominated by the ideal of State. Neither More nor Bacon were advocates of "women's rights."

The seeming indifference of Andreae to an ideal state for women is less strange also when we consider that even at the end of the seventeenth century women writers themselves display no vital

[74] Hermann's ed. p. 4.

[75] Ch. XCXVIII.

difference in spirit from the other authors of the time—at least in regard to their female characters. Take for example the *Ophilites* of Sibylla Schusterin (1685), who was herself—so runs the preacher's praise of her in the eloquent oration at her funeral—a model of feminine piety and housewifely virtue, and a great poetess without having neglected her domestic obligations.

The literature of Germany from the beginning of the period covered was primarily utilitarian, rather than esthetic in its purpose, although the very earnestness of the writers—as for example Luther's—produced very often an unpremeditated beauty of form, through the perfect harmony of expression and content. Content, however, not form, was the main interest in every case.

In Middle High German Courtly literature (11th-12th centuries) female characters were poetic forms, a part of an elaborate literary convention. The poetry of the middle and the end of the thirteenth century already shows signs of degeneration in the courtly type and a transition to realism. The early sermons of the period in contrast to the esthetic literature portrayed woman in distinctly realistic colors, as the author of all sin and all in all a very unworthy creature. To the Mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries she appeared as a woman saint, supernaturally pious, a self-torturer for the sake of her soul (Cf. Elsbeth Stagel, *Die Schwestern von Töss*). It was left for the sixteenth century, the period of the Reformation to witness a growing interest in domestic life—due in no small degree to Luther, to develop the germs of appreciation of woman's relation to life and to her fellow, man. Instead of endless poems on imaginary or idealized women or gruesome tales of self-inflicted sufferings, domestic books and treatises on the duties of women appeared in large numbers dealing with real women in a direct and practical way.

The age was a discursive one, the subject invited paradox and the Bible furnished illustrations for the most extraordinary views. Many Catholic writers intent upon upholding the time-honored doctrines of the Church indulged in the coarsest diatribes against women. Early drama was frequently the bitterest satire against marriage in general and women in particular; even Hans Sachs found delight in coarse jokes about women. Yet the publication of so many books and the presentation of so many plays about love, marriage and respectable family life certainly must have

strengthened a discriminating interest in domestic life and hastened the recognition of woman's part in it.

Luther's demands, though at first glance appearing essentially selfish and "masculine" produced a healthier outlook upon life and partly neutralized ecclesiastical condemnation of women. Eyb's more radical disapproval of existing conditions and Agrippa's praise of woman's intelligence never permeated the consciousness of the people, and left few traces in the literature of succeeding generations. But the ideas of the man who gave the Bible in the vernacular to mankind at large, of the monk who insisted upon normal domestic relations and defied clerical prejudice by marrying a nun, were carried along on the tide of religious reform, and it gradually became almost impossible for any self-respecting writer to condemn woman merely because she was not a man.

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ALBRECHT VON EYB.

1511.

(1494) *Spiegel der Sitten in Latein genannt Speculum moru. Von guten und bösen sitten . . . Nach vermutung des edlen hochgeleerten und wirdigen herrn Albrechts von Eybe . . . in der kaiserlichen Statt Augsburg . . . In dem jar da man zalt tausent fünfhundert und aylff jar.*

TRANSLATION OF BOCACCIO.

1473. *Johannis Boccaccii Von den sinnrychen erluchten Wyben . . . Getütscht durch Hainricum Stainhowel Von Wyl an der Wirms . . .Ulm*, 1473. fol. Other editions, 1541, 1566. Cf. Goedeke.

SEBASTIAN BRANT.

1491. *Narrenschiff.* Basel, 1494. In same vol. with Latin ed. of 1497. Berlin, Inc. 607.

Before 1478 (Wyl died in that year). *Ein liebliche und warhafftige Histori von zweyen Liebhabenden Menschen, Euriolo und Lucretia, darinnen alle Eigenschafften der Liebe, süsse und bitterkeit, wollust, und schmerzen, höflich angezeigt und begriffen ist, so erstmals durch den hochgelehrten Poeten Eneam Sylvium . . . in zierlichem Latein beschrieben, und durch den hochgelerten Nicolaum von Weil, stattschreiber zu Esslingen verteutschet worden. Jetzt auffs newe . . . widerumb ausgegangen.* 4. Vienna. A number of editions till 1560. (See A. v. Keller, Stuttgart. Lit. Ver. no. 57. 1861.)

LUTHER.

1522. *Vom ehelichen Leben.*

1524 *An die Herren Deutsches Ordens, dass sie falsche Keuschheit meiden und zur rechten ehelichen Keuschheit greifen, Ermahnung 1523.* Printed Wittenberg, 1524.

1530. *Von Ehesachen.*

1542. *Trost für fromme, gottselige Frauen. . .*

1545. *Predigt vom Ehestande aus Hebr. 13, 4.*

1536. *Predigt über Eph.* 5: 22 ff. *"Die Weiber seien unterthan ihren Männern.*

ANON.

1523. *Ein getreue vermanung eins liebhabers der Evangelischen warheyt an gemeine Pfaffheyt nit zu widerfechten den ehelichen standt / so ein Erssamer Prieste zu Worms . . . an sich genommen hat.* s. l. M.D. xxii.

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM.

1524. *Wie ein Weib iren man ir freundlich soll machen. Gesprech. Eulalia und Xantippen. Durch Herr Erasmum von Roterdam neulich in Latein aussgegangen.* Anno. M.D. xxiiii. 4.

1524. *Eyn Gesprech zwayer Ehelicher Weyber / die eyne der andern uber den man klagt / von Erasmo Roterdamo lateynisch beschrieben / allen eheleutten zu mercklichem nutz und from gedeutschet. M.D. xxiiii.* Ded. signed *Stephan Rode. Wittenberg.* 4.

1549. *Ein schön Gesprech zweyer Eheweyber, einer bösen und einer Frommen / Erasmi Roterodami / Darinnen geleret wird / Wie sich die Eheweiber gegen ihren Mennern halten sollen / damit der Hausfried erhalten werde / aus dem Latein verdeutscht durch Johannem Meynert. M.D. xlix.* s. l.

1537. *Ein lustspil / der weyber Reichstag genannt auss den Colloquiis Erasmi genummen / und mit reymen / doch in den sententz nach / verdeutscht. 1537 . . . Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Hans Guldenmundt.*

1591. *Ein schönes Lehrhafftes Gespräch zweier ungleicher Weiber von ihren Ehemannen auss den Colloquis Erasmi verdeutscht: und genannt Klag des Ehestands.* (*Zusatz* to Fischart's *Phil-Ehebüchlein.* 1591. p. Tiii. Characters different: Rosemunda and Grimmhildin.)

ANTONIUS VON GUEVARA

1524. (tr. by *Johann Beatgras / genannt Vay*) *Missive oder Sendbrieff. Des Hochwürdigen Hochgelehrten Herrn Anthonii von Guevara . . . an den Edlen Gestrengen Herrn Moises Pusch von Valentz. . . . In welcher / wie und was gestalt sich die Ehepersonen / gegen einander verhalten sollen /* Mayens. 1524. (Zusatz to Fischart's Ehez. Büchl. 1591. p. Vff.

ZWINGLI.

1526. *Wje man die jugendt in guten sitten und Christlicher Zucht uferziehen unnd leeren sölle . . . Gedruckt zu Zürich M.D. xxvi.* (Written 1523, printed 1524. This the 2nd ed.)

AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM.

1532. *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Foeminei Sexus,* (M. L. Franklin, *A Case for Women Suffrage* gives 1532 as the date of the first ed. The ed. of 1662 she says is at Columbia.)

1566.

(Ded. 1540) *Vom herkommen des Adelichen Fürtrefflichen Weiblichen Geschlechts / Auch was gutes . . . durch sie geschehen und vollbracht worden ist / wie denn solches die H. Schrifft selbs bezeuget / Proverb. 12. Item / 1. / Corinth. 11. Das Weib ist eine Kron / Ehr / und Glori des Mannes. Franckfort am Mayn 1566.* Ded. 1540, signed Johann Heroldt.

1650. *Abigail / das ist der lobwürdigen Frauenzimmers Adel und Fortröfflichkeit for mehr dan hundert jahren von Heinrich Kornel Agrippen / Lateinisch beschrieben: . . . erläutert und . . . herausgegeben von M. J. B.* (signed *M. Johannes Bellin*) *In Verlägung Heinrich Schernwebels* gedruckt . . . 1650.

LEONARD CULMAN.

1532. *Jungen gesellen / Junckfrawen und Witwen / so eelich wöllen werden / zu nutz ein undterrichtung / wie sie sich im eelichen Stand richten sollen / aussgezogen durch Leonardum Culman.* Nürnberg 1532.

ERASMUS ALBERUS.

? 1524. *Ain seer lustiger Dialogus / oder gesprech / zweyer Weyber / mit Namen Agatha unnd Barbara / da eine iren Eeman schendet / und die ander den irigen lobet. Jungen Eeleyten fast nutzlich zulesen / Gestellet durch Erasmus Alberum. Augsburg.* (? 1524)

1536. *Ein gut buch von der Ehe, was die Ehe sei / was sie guts mit sich bringt, Wie ein weib geschickt sein soll / die eyner zu der Ehe nehmen will . . . Von dreien Tugenden des weibs . . . Weiland zu Latein gemacht durch den Wolgelerten Franciscum Barbarum / . . . Nunaber verdeutscht durch Erasmus Alberum. M.D. xxxvi. Gedruckt zu Hagnaw.*

1546. *Ein Predigt vom Ehestand über das Evangelium / Es war ein Hochzeit zu Cana . . . gethan zu Wittemberg durch Erasmum Alberum . . . M.D. xlvi.*

ANON.

1529. *Ich will haushalten und ein Weib nehmen . . . Gedrugkt zu Dressden 1529.*

Ich will Hausshalten und will ein Weib nehmen. Gedruckt zu Magdeburgk . . . Fourth Part. *D. Marinus Luther vom Hausregiment* 2 p.

Sybilla . . . Getruckt zu Augsburg durch Hans Schönsperger. In Prose / 4. (Berlin Inc. 257). Other editions

1522. *Der Frawen Spiegel / in wöllichem Spiegel sich das weyblich bild / iung ode alt beschauwen oder lernen zu gebrauchen die woltat gegen iren eelichen gemahel. Gedruckt zu Augspurg durch Hans Schönsperger am Weinmarkt. Mccccxxii.*

Ca. 1524. *Frawen Biechlin / zu rum und breyse allen tugentsamen auch erberen weybern ist dises Tractetlin auss vorschrifft des hayligen wortt gotes zusamen gebracht und verfasst . . .* s. l. & a. (Berlin 3250).

1553. *Frawen Spiegl. Gedruckt zu Wienn in Osterreich / durch Hans Sygriener Anno M. D. Liii.* (Vorrede 1552). 4.

Hans Sachs.

1530. (Goedeke, 2, 155, no. 45. Ehrenspiegel der 12 durchl. frauen des alten Testaments.)

Die Zwölf Durchleüchtige Weiber des alten Testaments, Inn der Flammweyss oder Herzog Ernst weyss zu singen. s. l. & a.

1553. *Der Ehren Spiegel / der Zwölf Durchleutigenn / Frawen des Alten Testaments.* Nürnberg 1553.

? *Ein neues Lied von einer Jungfrawen die eines Heydenischen Künigs Tochter was und von eines Künigs Sohn inn Cecilia. Inn Frawen Ehren thon zu singen . . . Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Valentin Newber.* s. a.

1554. *Die Judit mit Holoferne / ob der Belagerung der Stat Bethulia . . .* Nürnberg. 1554.

Rebhun.

1538. *Hochzeit zu Cana.* Zwickau. 1538.

1546. *Ein Hochzeitspiel auff die Hochzeit zu Cana / Galileae gestellet / dem Gottgeordneten Ehestand zu Ehren / und allen Gottfurchtigen Eheleuten / Gesellen / und Junckfrawen zu Trost / und unterricht durch Paulum Rebhun.* 1546 . . . *Gedruckt in Zwickau . . .*

Hermann Palm.

Modern ed. *Paul Rebhuns Dramen.* Stuttgart, 1859.

1563. Ded. 1546. Hausfried. Was für Ursachen den Christlichen Eheleuten zubedenckenden / den lieben Hausfried in der Ehe zuerhalten. Wittenberg. 1563.

Hans Tirolff.

1539. *Die schöne Historia von der Heirat Isaacs und seiner lieben Rebeken . . . Trostlich und nutzbar zu hören . . . 1539 . . . Wittemberg.*

Johann Ireneus.

1543 (In "Pomerischer Sprache").

1568. (In "Meissnische gebracht") Andreas Hondorff, tr.

Lob und Unschuld der Ehefrauen. Und Widerlegung der Sprüche / damit die Weibsbilder durch die Philosophos oder Weltweise Heyden und etliche vermeinte Christen geschmehet werden. Gott / dem heiligen Ehestande zu Ehren geschrieben . . . Anno 1543 / Durch M. Johann. Ireneum Jetzt aus Pomerischer Sprache / in Meissnische gebracht . . . Durch Andream Hondorff . . . Gedruckt zu Leipzig . . . Anno 1568/.

Andreas Neidecker.

1543. *Vermahnung zu Christlicher auffrichtung der Schulen / Darinn bericht geschicht. . . .* M. D. xliii.

Juan Luiz Vives.

(1523. *Institutio feminae christianae.*)

JOHANNES LODOVICUS VIVES.

1544. *Von underweysung ayner Christlichen Frawen. Drey Bücher . . . Durch Christophorum Brunomen . . . München . . .* M. D. xxxxiiii.
Modern ed. In "Pädagogische Klassiker" vol. XIV. ed. Dr. Jacob Wychgram. Wien und Leipzig, 1883.
(English translation 1540.)

JOHAN SPANGENBERG.

1573. *Des Ehelichen Ordens Spiegel / und Regel / in zehen Capitel geteilet / Darinne man sihet Wer den Ehestand gestifft / was er sey / Und wie man sich darinne halten soll Durch Johan. Spangenberg . . . Wittemberg. 1573.* (Vorrede signed *Datum Northausen / 1544.*)

VITUS DIETRICH.

1544. *Ein kurtze Vermannung an die Eheleute / wie sie sich im eestand halten sollen. / Durch Vitum Dietrich / . . . Gedruckt zu Nürnberg . . . Anno* 1544.

JOHAN FREDER.

1545. *Ein Dialogus dem Ehestand zu Ehren geschrieben. Durch M. Johan Freder / . . . Mit einer Vorrede D. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. M. D. xlv.* 4.

JOHAN PONTANUS.

1547. *Jungfraw Zucht: Des Hochberümpten Poeten Pontani . . . wie die Kinder / und sonderlich die Jungfrewlin / sollen erzogen werden in Gottes Furcht / und guten Sitten / welche er an seine Hausfraw geschrieben . . . aus dem Latein ins Deutsche . . .* 1547.

GÖRG WICHRAM.

1551. *Ein Schöne und doch klägliche History von dem sorglichen anfang und erschrocklichen ussgang der brennenden liebe . . . Allen junckfrawn eine gute warnung fast kurtzweilig zu lesen . . . Strassburg . . . M. D. LI. 4.*

PETER PRETORIUS.

1559. *Die schöne und liebliche Historia von der Hochzeit Isaac und Rebeccae aus aus dem ersten Buch Mosi . . . gestellet durch Petrum Paetorium. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg . . .* 1559. 8.

JOHANN MATTHESIUS.

1567.

(1551.) *Oeconomia, oder Bericht vom Christlichen Hausswesen . . . Des alten Hwerrn Matthesii. Gedruckt zu Breslaw . . . M.D.Lxii.* Ded. 1564. 8. (First ed. 1551.)

GEORGIUS VIVIENUS. (TRANSL. BY BARTH.)

1565. *Weiberspiegel / Darinnen sich ersehen / Wes sich ein Gottesfürchtig / christlich / from / Ehrlich Weib in ihrem Ehestande / und Haushaltung gegen Gott / irem Ehemann / auch vor ihre person in zier und tracht . . . und sonstigen menniglichen . . . zu trewlicher unterweisung der Hausmutter und Weiblichen Geschlechtes. Erstlich in Latein Georgium Vivienum. Und jetzo erst verdeutschet und in Druck gegeben Durch Johan Barth . . . Gedruckt zu Leipzig . . . M. D. LXV.*

ADAM SCHUBART.

1565. *Der Sieman / das ist wider den Hausteuffel / Wie die bösen Weiber ihre fromme Menner / und die bösen Leichtfertigen buben / ihre frome Weiber plagen / sampt einer vormannung aus H. / Schrifft und schönen Historien / wie sich frome Eheleutt gegen einander verhalten sollen . . . Durch Adam Schubart . . . Gedruckt zu Weissenfels.* s. l. & a.

HEINRICH BULLINGER.

1579. *Der Christlich Eestand. Von der heiligen Ee harkummen / wenn / wie / wo / unnd von wane sy uf gesetzt uund was sy sye / wie sy recht bezogen werde / was iro ursachen frucht und err: . . . durch Heinrychen Bullingern beschrieben . . . Gedruckt zu Zürich . . . M. D. LXXIX.* 8.

English Translation by Coverdale, Christen State of Matrimonye 1541. Bullinger died 1575.

MATTHIAS RITTER.

1570. *Das ist ein Gesprech Von dem Ehrrührigen und Lästerlichen Urteil Bruder Joann Nasen zu Ingolstadt dass alle Lutherischen Weiber Huren seyen. Wie er inn seiner vierten Centuria geschrieben hat. Gestellt durch Matthiam Ritter. . . Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn . . . M. D.* LXX.

JOHANN FISCHART.

1591.

(1578) *Das Philosophisch Ehezuchtbüchlein oder Die Vernunft gemässe Naturgescheide Ehezucht / sampt der Kinderzucht / auss des Berhümbsten unnd Hocherleuch-Griechischen Philosophi Plutarchi vernunfft gemäsen / Ehegebotten und allerley andern anmütigen Gleichnussen Sprüchwortern / gesangen / Reimen der Fürtrefflichen Authoren und Schribenten von allerley Nationen zusammen gelesen / verteutscht und auff gantz lustige angeneme weiss . . . aussgeführt / mit beigethaner Missiff und Ehelicher schuldigkeit erinnerung Herrn Anthoni von Guevara. Durch Weiland den Ehrenvesten Hochgelehrten Herrn Johann Fischarten . . . Gedruckt zu Strassburg . . .* M. D. LXXXXI.

ERZHERZOG FERDINAND VON TYROL.

1584. *Speculum vitae humanae.* Ed. with Introd. by Jacob Minor, Halle Reprints 1889. (Written between 1570-80).

MARTIN SCHMIDDER.

1585.

(1582) *Das Neu Morgens Fell / Von der Frawenherschung / und gebiet der Weiber uber ihre Man / Ein lustige unnd nutzliche Comedia . . . dem Ehestandt und Eheleuten zu Ehren unnd Wolfart gemacht. Durch Meister Martin Schmidder . . . Im Jahr unsers Hernn Tausent Fünff hundert zwey und achtzich . . . Gedruckt zu Berlin . . . M.D.LXXXV.*

CYRIACUS SPANGENBERG.

1591 *Adels Spiegel / Historischer Ausfürlicher Bericht: Was Adel sey und heisse . . . Desgleichen von allen göttlichen / geistlichen und weltlichen Ständen . . . Durch M. Cyriacum Spangenberg . . . Gedruckt zu Schmalkalden . . .* M.D.XCI. (Vorrede dated 1591.)

(Kawerau, Die Reformation und die Ehe, attributes the Ehespiegel to Cyriacus. 1561, 1563, 1567, 1578. See under Johann Spangenberg, 1573 (1544).

1594. *Ander Teil des Adels spiegels.*

Christian Zyrl. (Zierle)

1593. (Author of *Rebecca. Ein schöne Hochzeit Comedia* 1572.)
Joseph. Tübingen. 1593. Translation from the latin so that "der gemeine man aber wie auch . . . Matronen unnd Jungfrawen . . . es auch hetten mögen Teutsch hören und verstehen."

Zacharias Liebholdt von Stolbergk.

1596. *Eine schöne Historia Von einem frommen gottfürchtigen Kauffmann . . . Dem H. Ehestande und allen Christlichen Eheleuten zu Ehren und Gefallen gestellet durch Zachariam Liebholdt von Stolbergk. Gedruckt zu Breslaw . . . Anno M.D.XCVI.*

Thomas Birck.

1598.

(Lat. 1593) (tr.) *Ehespiegel. Ein sehr lustige und lehrhaffte Comedi / darinnen angezeiget wüurdet: Wie die Eltern ihre kinder aufferziehen. und verheiraten: und welcher massen das junge gesind / beides im ledigen Stand und hernach in wehrender Ehe sich verhalten solle . . . Mit einer Vorrede des Ehrwurdigen . . . Herrn Georgii Mylii . . . Tübingen* . . Anno M.D.XCVIII. 4.

Adel. Roth.

1600. *Der Eheleute Lustgarten: Darinn der Heilige Ehestand gar artlich gepflantzet und abgebildet ist / In welchem die jenigen so in und ausser der Ehe sind zu befinden haben / wie sie sich in solchem Lustgarten uben und erspatzieren sollen / damit sie Glück und Gottes Segen erlangen mögen. Der Eheleuten / sowol Jungen Gesellen und Jungfreulein / zu guter nützlicher Lehre / mit sonderlichem Fleisse gepfropffet und zugerichtet Durch Adelarium Rothen Vinariensem. B.V.M . . . Anno* 1600.

Johann. Butovius.

1600. *Comoedia De Nuptiali contractu Isaaci, Das ist: Heyraths Spiegel / Darinnen aus dem Exempel des frommen Isaacs und der keuschen Rebeccae / allen Gesellen und Jungfrawen / so das heyrathen wollen / gezeiget wird / wie sie von Jugend auff zu einem Gottseligen Ehestande sich bereiten / und hernach beyde für und in der Ehe schicken und verhalten sollen. Allen Liebhabern des Hochgelobten heiligen Ehestandes zu nützlichen gebrauch / aus dem 24. Capittel des Ersten Buchs Mosis Gestellet und verfertigt Durch Johannem Butovium . . . Gedruckt zu alten Stettin . . . Im Jahr* 1600.

Wolfhart Spangenberg.

1604. *Alcestis. Eine Artige Tragoedia / darinnen ein Exempel Trewhertziger Liebe zwischen rechten Eheleuten vorgebildet wird. Erstlich von dem Fürtrefflichen Tragoedien Schreiben Euripide, in Griechischer sprach gedichtet: Hernach durch den Hochgelehrten Mann Georgium Buchananum Scotum in Latein transferirt. Letzlich auss demselben ohngefähr inn unser Muttersprach verteutschet Durch. M.W.S. M. Getruckt zu Strassburg . . .* M.DC.iii.

De La Cerda.

1605. (tr. "Aegidium Albertinum"), *Weiblicher Lustgarten . . . Beschrieben anfangs inn Hispanischer Sprache durch den Ehrwürdigen Joann de la Cerda, Franciscaner Ordens. Jetzo durch Aegidium Albertinum . . . verdeutscht . . . Gedruckt zu München . . . Im Jar M.DC.V.* 4.

Georg Mauricius.

1606. *Comoedia Von Graff Walther von Salutz und Grisolden. Gestellet durch Georgium Mauritium den Eltern . . . Anno M.DC.VI.*

Samuel Israel.

1607.

(1603) *Ein Schöne gantz newe Comoedia von der Frommen keuschen und gottsförchtigen Susanna inn Teutsche Reymen gestellt Durch Samuel Israel von Strassburg . . . Anno* 1603 *. . . Gedruckt zu Basel . . .* 1607.

"Petrus Nichthonius Vivimontanus."

1614. *Weinbergische Belagerung vor etlich hundert Jahrn Von Ehelicher Weiber Trew allen Eheleuten wie auch Jungen Gesellen und Jungfrawen alls ainem schönen Exempel . . . in druck gegeben Durch Petrum Nichthonium Vivimontanum. Nurnberg . . . M.DC.XIV.*

Georg Schwanberger.

1615. *Der Engel Raphael wider Asmodeum den Eheteufel. Eine neue schöne Geistliche Comedia vom heiligen Ehestand . . . Allen frommen Jungen gesellen und Jungfrauen zur Lehr und unterricht wie sie also verlobte Personen den Ehestand anfangen sich gegen einander verhalten und Gottes Segen erlangen sollen . . . Durch Georgium Schwanbergern . . . Gedruckt Nürnberg Anno* 1615.

Jacob Ayrer.

1618. *Opus Theatricum / Dreissig Ausbündige schöne Komödien und Tragedien . . . Durch Weyland den Erbarn undwolgelährten Herrn Jacobum . . . Gedruckt zu Nürnberg . . . Anno M.DC.XVIII.*
Modern ed. by Adelbert v. Keller, Stuttgart 1865.

Johann Valentin Andreae.

1619. *Christianopolis.* Original ed. (Lat.) 1619 German tr. 1741, 1754. 1914. Felix Emil Held, Thesis (U. of Ill.)

Anon.

1623. *Phoenix Comoedia. Oder Spiegel Jungfräwlicher Zier und Ritterlicher Bescheidenheit. Gedruckt zu Grossen-Glogaw. Anno MDCXXIII.*

Christopher Lehman.

1630. *Florilegium politicum. Politischer Blumengarten. Darinn ausserlesene Politische Sentenz / Lehren Reguln / Sprüchwörter auss Theologis, Jurisconsultis, Politicis, Historicis, Philosophis, Poeten, und eigener erfahrung unter* 286 *Tituln zusonderm nutzen und lust Hohen und Niedern im reden / raten und schreiben das gut zu brauchen und da böss zumeiden / in locos communes zusammen getragen. Durch Christophorum Lehman Getruckt impensis autoris / Anno* 1630.

"Johann Frauenlob."

1633.

(1632) *Die Lobwürdige Gesellschaft der gelehrten Weiber. Das ist Kurtze Historische Beschreibung der fürnembsten gelehrten / verständigen und kunsterfahrenen Weibspersonen die in der Welt biss auff diese Zeit gelebet haben. Auss unterschiedlichen glaubwürdigen Historis; so wol auch eigenen Erfahrung zusammen getragen . . . Anno* 1633 *Durch Johann Frauenlob / der löblichen Societat der gelehrten Weiber General Notarium.*

Anon.

1632. *Tobias. Ein Geistliche Lehrhaffte Comoedi Von Tobia und Seinem Sohn agiert / zu Butzbach Marpurgi, . . . Anno M. DC. XXXII* (In The Prolog: "Dies Spiel ist der Eheleut Spiegel . . . "). 8°.

Johann Gans.

1639. *Osterreichische Frauenzimmer. Das ist, Das Leben aller gebornen Ertzherzogin von Osterreich, von Zeiten Rudophi Primi, Dieses Ertzhaus Erhebers, bis auff diese Zeiten. Auss vielen kürtzlich zusammen gezogen, Von Ioanne Gans der Soc. Jesu Priester. Cöln . . .* Ded. 1638. 8.

Arnoldus Caesarius.

1641. *Cron Der Jungfrawen. Das ist: Ehr / Lob und Herrlichkeit der Jungfraushafft: welche V. P. F. Arnoldus . . .* zusammen bracht . . . Gedruckt zu Cölln . . . 1641. 12°.

1642. *Hertz der Jungfrawen / Welches von Anfang dass Gott das Hertz rühret / durch ein richte Ordnung Ordnung dass in die höchste Spitz der geistlichen heiligen Vollkommenheit auss Göttlicher Schrifft und HH. Vättern gestellet hat . . . Arnoldus Caesarius . . .* Cölln . . . 1642. 12°.

Anon.

1643.

(1617) *Gründ- und probierliche Beschreibung Argument und Schluss Articul, sampt beygefügten ausführlichen Beantwortung Belangend die Frag Ob die Weiber Menschen seien oder nicht? Meistenteils auss heiliger Schrifft / dass übrige auss andern Scribenten und der Experientz selbsten zusammen getragen / Zuvor Teutsch in Truck nie gesehen: An jetzo aber zu merklicher guter Nachrichtung Bevorab dem weiblichen Geschlecht zu gebürlicher Verantwortung Gesprächweiss lustig verfasst und publiciert, Durch ein besondern Liebhaber der Lieb und Bescheidenheit. Anno 1617. Getruckt im Jahr M. DC. XLIII.* 4°.

Johann Peter Lotichius.

1645. *Gynaicologia. Das ist: Grund- und aussführlicher Discurs von Perfection, und Fürtrefflichkeiten dess löblichen Frawenzimmers: So allen und jeden ihren Feinden entgegen gesetzt / Durch Jo. P. Litochium, D. Medicum nun aber ins hoch Teutsch übersetzt Durch Joan. Tackuim Getruckt zu Frankfurt am Mayn . . . M. DC. XXXXV.* 8°.

Martin Casellus.

1646. *Zucht Spiegel / Das ist Nothwendige und sehr wol gemeinte Erinnerung an das Christi- und Ehrliebende Frauenzimmer in Deutschland / aus*

Gottes Wort und der heiligen Väter / wie auch anderer vornehmer Lehrer Schriften verfertigt . . . in den Druck gegeben von Martino Casello . . . Zu Altenburg . . . 1646. 4°.

ANON.

Catechismus[9] *Oder kurtzer Unterricht Christlicher Lehr wie der in Kirchen unnd Schulen der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz ge trieben wird.*

In the same vol. with Martin Luther, *Psalms.* Lüneberg, 1653. P. 26. "Von den Ehemännern; . . . Von den Eheweibern."

HANS MICHAEL MOSCHEROSCH.

1653.

(1641-42) *Insomnis. Cura parentis. Christliches Vermächtniss oder Schudige Vorsorg eines treuen Vaters. Durch Hannss-Michael Moscherosch. Strassburg . . . im Jahre 1653.* 12°.

JOHANN BALTH. SCHUPPIUS.

1658. *Freund in der Noth . . . Gedruckt im Jahr 1653/.*

1660. *Abgenöthigte Ehrenrettung . . . Leipzig . . . M. DC. LX.*

1660. *Corinna / Die Ehrbare und scheinheilige Hure. Beschrieben und andern zur Warnung vorgestellt. Durch Ehrenhold einen Priester in Gambrivia Ninive. Bey Jonas* Warner. 1660. 12°.

1663. *Instrumentum Pacis. Zwischen Mann und Weib / Worinnen mit fleissiger Anmerckung beschauet und mit klug und sinnreichen Lehr-Gründen angeführet und erwiesen wird / auss wasserly Haupt-Quelle die Misshelligkeiten / Streit und Ungereimtheiten / so zwischen denen Ehelich-Verliebten / dem Mann- und Weiblichen Stande in dem Hauss-Reiche und Regiment zu entspringen pflegen mit vernünftigen Sitten-Lehren und anmutigen Geschichten aussgezieret und beglaubigt.* 8°.

ANDREA RIHLMANN.

1664. *Politischer Tractat. Von Staats- und Liebes-Sachen / welche mit sich führen den Krieg dess Streitis / Der Ehr und Liebe Zwischen den Cavalliren, Courtisannen und Damen / worinnen begriffen sind die Manifesta oder Ursachen dess Krieges der Männer und Weiber . . . dem Hochlöblichen Frauenzimmer imgleichen und den liebhabenden Rittermässigen Tugendhafften Helden und Staats-Leuten zu einer lustigen / ernstlichen / kurtzweiligen und lieblichen Ergetzlichkeit beschrieben worden von Andrea Rihlmannen Fanckfurt und Hamburg . . . Im Jahre M. DC. LXIV.* 8°.

"FLORIDAN" (SIEGMUND VON BIRKEN).

1669. *Ehrenpreis des Lieb-löblichen Weiblichen Geschlechts in einem Hirtenspräch vorgestellet durch Floridan.*

MISON ERYTHREUS VON BANSSBRUNN.

1682. *Frauen=Trew / oder Hertzog Welff aus Beyern durch Liebe Seiner Frawen von grossen Gefahr gerettet. Saltzburg Getruckt und verlegt. . . . Anno 1682.* 4°.

SIBYLLA SCHUSTERIN.

1685. *Verkehrter / bekehrter und wider betörter Ophiletes auf die Trauer-bühne gestellet von Sibylla Schusterin. Oettingen . . . Anno M. DC LXXXV.* 12°.

ANON.

1690. *Des heutigen Frauenzimmers Sturmhaube / das ist: Kurtzes Bedencken von / denen Hohen Köpffen und Hauptschmucke / damit sich das Frauen- und Jungfer- Volkes sich ausrüstet / Christliche Zucht und Ehrbarkeit bestreitet und sich vor des heiligen Gottes und gott-seliger Menschen Augen schändlich vorstellet sonderlich allen Predigern nützlich zu lesen / christlich entworffen von Einem Liebhaber Gottes und der Erbarket. Im Jahre Christi 1690.* 4°.

1690. *Die Grossmüthige Thalestris oder Letze Königin der Amazonen. In einem Sing-Spiel vorgestellet. Anno 1690.*

1691. *Nöthiger und wolgemeinter Unterricht zur Information Der Zarten und und anwachsenden Jugend von den ersten Jahren an biss ins sechste / vom sechsten biss zum zwölfften / vom zwölfften biss zum zwanzigsten. Zu dieser letzten Zeit / bey je mehr und mehr einreissenden grossen Ignorantz / zum gemeinen und besondern Nutzen kürtzlich und ins gemein doch deutlich und ordentlich Auff begehren gestellt Vom Christlichen Liebhaber Einer Lobwürdigen Zucht. Braunschweig . . . Im Jahre 1691.* 8°.

ANDREAS RITTNER.

1696. *Des Gesegneten Hausstandes Edles Kleeblat / Welches Bestehet aus 1. Ehegatten / Eltern / Herren und Frauen 2. gehorsamen Kindern und 3. frommen fleissigen Gesinde. Oder Wie sich im Hausstande sollen sich verhalten Mann und Weib gegen einander. / Eltern gegen ihre Kinder . . . Also damit iewedes seiner Pflicht sich erinnern / . . . herausgegeben von Misandern. Chemnitz . . . 1696.* 12°.

FENELON.

1698. *Von der Erziehung der Tochter: Durch den Hn. Abt von Fenelon. Jetzo Erts-Bischoff von Cammerich; Aus dem Französischen übersetzt; Mit einer Vorrede / August Hermann Franckens . . . Leipzig 1698/.* 12°.

AGRICLOLA VON EYSLEBEN.

Drey hundert / gemeiner Sprichwörter der wir Deutschen uns gebrauchen / und doch nicht wissen woher sie kommen / durch D. Johann Agricola . Gedruckt zu Zwickaw. . . . M.D.XXIX.

Part 2. *Gedruckt zu Hagenaw.*

ANON.

Srichwörter / Schöne Weise / Klugreden. Darinnen Teutscher unnd anderer Spraachenn Höflichkeit / Zier / Höhste Vernunfft und Klugheit / Was auch zu Ewiger und zeitlicher Weissheit / Tugent / Kunst und Wesen / dienet / gespürt und begriffen . . . Franckfurt / bei Chr. Egenoff . . . M.D.XLVIII.

CYRILLUS.

(According to Jöcher, Gelehrten Lexicon, "Bischoff zu Basel gewesen und ein Speculum Sapientiae geschrieben, welches 1520 ins Deutsche übersetzt worden sey. . . .")

a. *Spiegel der wyssheit, durch kurtzweylige fabeln, vil schöner sitlicher und Christlicher lere angebende, vertütscht . . . Durch Cyrillum Bischoff, zu Basel uss tutsch transferiert Und gedruckt durch Adam Petri im jar nach Christus geburt* M.DXX. 4.

b. *Spiegel der Natürlichen Weyssheit / durch den alten in Got gelehrten Bischof Cyrillum / mit fünff und neuntzig Fabeln und schönen Gleichnussen beschrieben / yetz und von newen inn Teütsche Reymen / mit schönen Figuren / auch hüpschen Ausslegungen / yederman nutzlich und lieblich zu lesen. Gemacht durch Danieln Holtzman / Bürger zu Augsburg. Cum gratia & Privilegio Imperiali.* 1571. 4. (Printed by Philipp Ulhart)

FRANCK, SEBASTIAN.

Germanicae Chronicon. Von des gantzen Teutschlands aller Teutschen völcker herkommen / Namen / Händeln / Guten und bösen Thaten / Reden / Rächen / Kriegen . . . Völcker unsitten . . . zusammen gegetragen und die Teutschen den Teutschen zu Teutsch / sich selber darin als in einem Spiegel zu ersehen fürgestalt durch Sebastian Francken . . . Getruckt zu Augspurg M.D.XXXVIII.

Sprichwörter / Schöne / Weise / Herrliche Clugreden unnd Hoffsprüch / Darinnen der alten und Nachkommenen aller Nationan und Sprachen gröste vernunfft unnd klugheyt. Was auch zu ewiger unnd zeitlicher Weissheyt / Tugend / Zucht / Kunst / Haushaltung und wesen dienet / gespürt und begriffen würt. Zusammen tragen . . . Teutsch bekürtzt Beschrieben und aussgelegt Durch Sebastian Francken . . . Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn 1541.

KIRCHHOF, WILHELM.

Wendunmuth / Darinnen fünffhundert unnd fünffzig höflicher züchtiger und lustiger Historien / Schimpffreden und Gleichnissen / begriffen / gezogen auss etlichen alten Schribenten . . sampt andern newergangenen und wahrhafftigen Geschichten / Durch Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof. Jetzunder auffs new-wider verbessert . . . Franckfurt am Mayn. M.D.LXXXIX.

First ed. 1563. Others 1565, 1573, 1581, 1598, 1602.

LEHMAN, CHRISTOPH.

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ASKESE UND QUIETISMUS BEI WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH

Eine Erörterung der Frage, welche Bedeutung die Motive der Askese und des Quietismus bei Wolfram von Eschenbach haben, könnte fast zum Mittelpunkt einer Betrachtung über die Gesamtpersönlichkeit des Dichters gemacht werden. Denn wenn wir festzustellen versuchen, welche Rolle das Problem der Beschaulichkeit, der Beruhigung des Lebens, der Zurückgezogenheit vom Leben und das der völligen Lebensverneinung bei Wolfram einnehmen, werden wir mit Notwendigkeit zu der Untersuchung veranlasst, welches Wolframs Stellung war zum kulturellen Leben seiner Zeit, zum Christentum und zur christlichen Kirche, zum Germanentum und zu der künftigen Entwicklung seines Volkes, kurz zu der Frage, welches seine Weltanschauung war. In der Tat haben den Dichter sowohl Katholiken wie Protestanten in Anspruch genommen, abwechselnd hat man ihn für einen Verteidiger des weltlichen Rittertums und der mönchischen Askese erklärt, man hat ihn für einen Mystiker und für einen Rationalisten, für einen Didaktiker und für einen Amoralisten, für sinnlich und für keusch ausgegeben. Während dieser Streit der Meinungen leicht in die Erklärung aufgelöst werden kann, dass Wolfram ein vielseitiger und phantasievoller Dichter und, wahrscheinlich, ein unsystematischer Denker war, bleibt uns als Hauptaufgabe die Prüfung: welches die wechselseitige Beziehung und die verhältnismässige Bedeutung dieser und ähnlicher Momente in Wolframs Dichtungen sei.

Ehrismanns grundlegende Untersuchung[1] hat sich bemüht, das Kulturphänomen Wolfram von Eschenbach im Zusammenhang mit Scholastik und Mystik zu sehen; er deutet auf Berührungspunkte mit dem freien Christentum eines Abälard, das von antiken Anschauungen beeinflusst war.[2] Domanig andrerseits hat versucht,[3] eine Beziehung zwischen Wolframs Gral und dem Paradiese des Thomas von Aquino herzustellen; die Tatsache, dass Thomas erst etwa im Todesjahre Wolframs geboren wurde, erklärt er als

[1] G. Ehrismann, Ueber Wolframs Ethik. Zsfda. Bd. 49 (1908) S. 405-465; s. a. Wolframprobleme, Germ.-roman. Monatsschr. Bd. 1 (1909) S. 657 ff.

[2] Zsfda. Bd. 49, S. 432; Germ.-rom. Monatsschr. Bd. 1, S. 673.

[3] K. Domanig, Parzival-Studien, 2. Heft, Paderborn 1880, S. 20 ff.

unerheblich, da der Philosoph nur die Theologie seiner Zeit zusammenfasse. Sattler[4] sucht gleichfalls Wolframs gutes Katholikentum zu erhärten, wenn er bei Erörterung des neunten Buches des Parzival einen Wolframschen Äusserungen ähnlich lautenden Ausspruch des heiligen Hieronymus anführt. Und während Ehrismann an einer Stelle[5] auf die Uebereinstimmung des sittlichen Werturteils bei Wolfram mit der Kirche hinweist, betont er ein paar Seiten später[6] das Unkirchliche in des Dichters Weltanschauung.

Bei all diesem ist es notwendig, dass wir uns den Charakter der Zeit vergegenwärtigen, in der Wolfram heranreifte. Die Kreuzzüge waren nur der äussere Ausdruck der tiefen religiösen Erregung, die sich der Menschen bemächtigt hatte. Die mechanische Befolgung der kirchlichen Dogmen, die aus dem sinkenden Altertum übernommen waren, begann erst jetzt einer mit selbständigem Geiste gefüllten Auffassung Platz zu machen. Das Innenleben, das von Augustin zum Ausgangspunkte des Denkens über die Welt gemacht worden war, wurde zum allgemeinen Motiv. Während der christlichen Lehre des Altertums nichts Wesentliches hinzugefügt wurde, förderte das Mittelalter das christliche Leben ungeheuer. Ein religiöser Individualismus, entstanden im zehnten Jahrhundert, wurde durch die Kreuzzüge mächtig gefördert; die Epoche, die den Höhepunkt päpstlicher Macht darstellt, erlebte die ersten entschiedenen Ketzer: im Jahr 1208 musste dieselbe Kirche, die vier Jahre zuvor einen Kreuzzug ins Werk gesetzt hatte, den Krieg gegen die Waldenser führen.

Die Erneuerung des religiösen Lebens war romanischen Ursprungs. Von Lothringen und Burgund pflanzte sich die asketische Reformbewegung nach Deutschland fort, wo sie von der Laienwelt mit weit grösserem Eifer aufgenommen ward als von den Priestern. Unter ihrem Einfluss ist der Keil zwischen Kirche und Welt getrieben, ist der augustinische Dualismus in Permanenz erklärt worden. Selbst die Weltherrschaft der Kirche folgt logisch aus dem Dogma der Askese.[7]

[4] A. Sattler, Die religiösen Anschauungen Wolframs von Eschenbach, Grazer Studien Bd. 1, S. 97 (1895).

[5] Zsfda. Bd. 49, S. 441 f.

[6] *Ib.* S. 455 f.

[7] Vgl. bes. Adolf Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 4. Aufl., Bd. 3 (1910, S. 6. 104. 331 ff., 378 Anm. u. sonst; und Eduard Wechssler, Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs, Bd. 1 (1909), Einleitung.

Welches war der Einfluss dieser Lehren auf den Charakter der Deutschen? Der Ursprung der asketischen Weltanschauung lag im Orient und in der Ueberkultur des sinkenden Altertums. Aber während sie sich hier auf die philosophische Einsicht in die Eitelkeit der Welt gegründet hatte, ging sie im theologisch gerichteten Mittelalter von dem Glauben an die Sündhaftigkeit der Welt aus. Diese Auffassung, die aller christlichen Askese zugrunde liegt, hat in Wirklichkeit die Christianisierung des germanischen Volkscharakters herbeigeführt—vier Jahrhunderte nach der Annahme des Christentums durch die Germanen. Sie hat den zügellosen Willen zum Leben wenn nicht erstickt so doch gebändigt, oder, wie man wohl gesagt hat, ins Gegenteil umgelenkt: die leidenschaftliche Hingabe an die neuen Ideen war in der Tat zum Teil ein umgekehrter Ausdruck germanischer Tatkraft, die in den asketischen Kraftleistungen denselben Stolz fand wie früher in positiverer Betätigung. Jedenfalls führte die Forderung der Askese, durch den scharfen Gegensatz zu dem bisher rein äusserlich erfassten Christentum, zu einer Verinnerlichung des religiösen und seelischen Lebens und zu allgemeiner Verfeinerung des Daseins. Und während sie dem germanischen Individualismus scharfe Fesseln anlegte, baute sie zugleich die Grundlage für die neue Welt der höfischen Zucht. Die systematische Dämmung der ungebrochenen Natur wie etwa durch das asketische Schweigegebot hat im Bereiche der ritterlichen Welt zur Ausbildung des Ideals der *mâze*, der Selbstzucht und Selbstüberwindung, geführt. Wenn die Askese selbst, die Abtötung des individuellen Willens, auch dem germanischen Nationalcharakter schroff zuwiderläuft, so hat sie doch die Verwirklichung eines echt germanischen Ideals erst möglich gemacht: des Ideals der Selbsterziehung und -verfeinerung.[8]

Die Verfeinerung der Lebensformen kam vor allem auch in den Beziehungen der Geschlechter zum Ausdruck. Die teils rohen, teils naiven Verhältnisse des früheren Mittelalters machten bewusster Selbstbeschränkung Platz. Die alte Derbheit ist zwar nie völlig verschwunden, und es ist charakteristisch, dass sie im Zeitalter der Reformation (wie schon im 15. Jahrhundert) unter dem Einfluss der Angriffe auf die Autorität der Kirche in so erschreckendem Masse wieder zum Vorschein kam. Andrerseits haben diese monastischen Stimmungen in der Laienwelt in Deutsch-

[8] Vgl. Steinhausen, Geschichte der deutschen Kultur, 2. Aufl. (1913), 1. Bd., S. 203 ff., 247 ff.

land nie zu den raffinierten Formen der Askese geführt, wie sie in romanischen Ländern gezeitigt wurden. Doch waren auch in Deutschland die keuschen Ehen unter Fürsten und Adligen keine Seltenheit,[9] und die von Weinhold[10] geschilderten "Probenächte der Enthaltsamkeit," die französischen Dichtern oft Anlass zu billiger Frivolität gaben, von Hartmann von Aue aber als Probe männlicher Willensstärke gutgeheissen wurden,[11] streifen bereits hart an die Grenze von Heiligkeit und Perversität.

Es ist oft bezweifelt worden, ob die ritterliche Anbetung des Weibes, die unter französischem Einflusse zur Mode geworden war, die tatsächliche Sittlichkeit im Verkehr der Geschlechter gehoben habe. Wie dem auch sei, sie hat sicher zur Schärfung des Gewissens und zur Aufstellung eines Ideals reineren Menschentums und höherer Menschenwürde Anlass gegeben und dem Bewusstsein der höheren Gesellschaft das neue Motiv der Selbsterziehung und Enthaltsamkeit zugeführt.

Auf rein religiösem Gebiet hat die Reformbewegung, die mittelbar die Sitten verfeinern half und der Sittlichkeit reinere Ziele vorhielt, zu der Erscheinung der Mystik geführt. Wie Wechssler dargetan hat,[12] gibt es entschiedene Berührungspunkte zwischen Minne und Mystik: beide beruhen auf einer Sehnsucht der Seele, und wenn der Ritter sich geduldig dem Willen seiner Dame unterwirft, so gleicht er darin dem Frommen, der den Willen Gottes ausführt. Die Mystik, deren Streben ist, ein ummittelbares Erleben und Schauen des Göttlichen zu erlangen,[13] ist durch die Einseitigkeit, mit der sie das geistige Element betont, mit der Askese eng verwandt. Aber während in romanischen Ländern die düstere Leidenschaft, die etwa in einem Bernhard von Clairvaux zutage tritt, bei Frauen, Kindern und Männern zu individuellen Akten der Ekstase und zu sinnlich-übersinnlicher Vereinigung mit der Gottheit führte, wie sie andrerseits ekstatische Kollektiverscheinungen, z. B. den Kinderkreuzzug, ins Leben rief,[14] übertrug sich bei den deutschen Mystikern diese Ekstase in eine träumerische Inner-

[9] Steinhausen a. a. O. S. 249.

[10] K. Weinhold, Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter, 2. Aufl., S. 261 f.

[11] *Iwein* 6574-6582.

[12] Wechssler a. a. O., Kap. 12 u. 13, bes. S. 251 ff., 273.

[13] W. Preger, Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter, 1. Teil (1874), S. 8.

[14] *Ib.* S. 137. 140 f.

lichkeit,[15] die der ketzerischen Unabhängigkeit des späteren Protestantismus näher steht. Die Brechung des Eigenwillens, die Ueberwindung der Welt durch einen innern Prozess,[16] die Erhöhung der innerlich erlebten Religiosität über alle Werkheiligkeit[17] sind Forderungen, die Meister Eckhart zum Vorläufer des grossen Begründers der deutschen Nationalkirche machen. Und ebenso germanisch empfanden in ihrem Bedürfnis nach steter Selbstvervollkommnung jene belgischen Beginen, von denen Bischof Malder berichtet: "Sie wollen lieber unverbrüchlich keusch sein, als unverbrüchliche Keuschheit geloben. Sie wollen sich lieber in freier Knechtschaft stets von neuem unterwerfen, als sich ein für allemal gefangen geben."[18]

Alle diese Strömungen haben ihren Weg in Wolframs Gemüt gefunden. Die Forderung verfeinerter Sitten, Bändigung des Lebenswillens, völlige Absage ans Leben spielen vor allem im Parzival bedeutende Rollen. Das Adjektiv *kiusche* mit seinen Ableitungen, das in dem weiten Umfange, in dem es von Wolfram gebraucht wird, jede dieser Tendenzen in sich fasst, kommt in des Dichters Werken viele Dutzend Male vor,[19] während es sowohl im Nibelungenlied wie bei Gottfried überhaupt nicht begegnet.[20] Diese eine Tatsache sollte genügen, die erstaunliche Behauptung Paul Pipers[21] zu widerlegen, dass bei Wolfram "der sitt-

[15] Arnold Oppel, Das hohe Lied Salomonis und die deutsche religiöse Liebeslyrik, Abhandl. z. mittl. u. neueren Gesch., Heft 32 (1911), S. 14 ff.

[16] Pfeiffer, Deutsche Mystiker des 14. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 2 (1857), S. 204, Meister Eckhart (65. Predigt): "Alliu minne dirre welte ist gebûwen ûf eigenminne. Hêtest dû die gelâzen, sô hêtestû al die welt gelâzen." *Ib.* S. 562 (17. Taktat): "Kristus hât gevastet vierzic tage. Dar an volge ime, daz dû war nemest, war zuo dû allermeist sîest bereit: dâ lâz dich an unde nim wol dîn selbes war, daz gebürt dir mê, dich unbekümbert ze lâzen, denne ob dû zemâle vastest aller spîse."

[17] *Ib.* II 15 (2. Predigt): "Aber unser sêlikeit lît niht an unsern werken, mêr: an dem daz wir got lîden."

[18] Preger, a. a. O. I. 5. In ähnlichem Sinne schreibt Andreas Capellanus: "Magis deo placet, qui opportunitate non utitur concessa peccandi, quam cui delinquendi non est attributa potestas": Wechssler S. 411.

[19] K. Kinzel, Zsfdphil. Bd. 18 (1886), S. 458, hat 83 Belegstellen, der spätere G. C. L. Reimer, Die Adjektiva bei W. v. Esch., Lpz. Diss. 1906, S. 78 f., mit überraschender Abweichung nur 45.

[20] Riemer a. a. O.

[21] Deutsche Nat.-Litt. Bd. 5, S. 17. 19.

liche Halt, der religiöse Ernst" zu vermissen sei, dass sein Werk der "ethisch-religiösen Grundlage" entbehre! (Ebensowenig ist es freilich zutreffend, dass Wolfram, wie Lichtenstein meint,[22] Didaktiker in dem Sinne sei, dass ihm mehr auf die sittliche Erziehung seines Publikums als seiner Helden ankomme.)

Häufiger als irgend ein anderer zeitgenössischer Epiker verwahrt sich Wolfram gegen die Äusserlichkeiten des Rittertums. Während er im Willehalm die Notwendigkeit des Kampfes gegen die Heiden anerkennt, ist doch, nach Ehrismann,[23] das ganze Gedicht eine Klage über das ungeheure Blutvergiessen, das allein Gottes Reich auf Erden fördern zu können scheine. Aber die Modetorheit, die den Kampf um des Kampfes, das Abenteuer um des Abenteuers willen sucht, ist vom Dichter nicht nur, des abschreckenden Beispiels halber, zum Hauptmotiv des Titurel-Gedichtes gemacht worden, sondern wird auch sonst wieder und wieder gegeisselt. Selbst von der "heiligen" Schlacht von Alischanz sagt er gleich zu Beginn des Willehalm (10, 20), dass Mord die rechte Bezeichnung für den Kampf wäre. Ein Zweikampf ohne zureichenden Grund, wie der zwischen Gawan und Lischoys, wird gemissbilligt (Parz. 538, 5 ff. 542, 16 ff.), ebenso der zwischen Parzival und Gawan (704, 18 f.); der Kampf zwischen den beiden Halbbrüdern wird beklagt (740, 2 ff.); und für Gramoflanz, "diesen renommistischen Sonderling, ein Prachtexemplar ritterlichen Spleens," wie Hertz ihn nennt, hat der Dichter anscheinend keine Sympathien übrig. Bekannt sind Wolframs Angriffe gegen die frivole Auffassung der Liebe in der Ritterwelt, wie sie z. B. in Hartmanns verbindlicher Laxheit zum Ausdruck kommt: Sigunens ewige Treue wird mit fast ungerechter Schärfe dem Rate Lunetens an Laudine gegenübergestellt (253, 10 f.); liebenswürdiger, aber nicht minder scharf wird das verliebte Treiben an König Artus' Hofe gegeisselt (216, 23 ff.). Frau Minne wird angeklagt, dass sie den Menschen zu böser Lust verführe und dadurch seine Seele in Höllengefahr bringe (291, 28 ff.); und 643, 8 spricht der Dichter seine Forderung sittlicher Mässigung an die Liebenden aus: "zuht sî dez slôz ob minne site." Die Betonung dieses Momentes der *zuht* wird bezeichnend klar, wenn sein Vorhandensein bei der hässlichen und ganz unsinnlichen Kundrie lobend hervorgehoben wird (779, 22. 780, 29.).

[22] Julius Lichtenstein, PB Beitr. Bd. 22 (1897), S. 65.

[23] Zsfda. Bd. 49, S. 462.

Ueber aller Sinnlichkeit steht bei Wolfram das sittliche Motiv der Treue als Mensch und Gott umfassendes höchstes Lebensprinzip. Treue in der Liebe selbst über den Tod hinaus wird wieder und wieder an Sigune gepriesen (249, 24. 436, 11 ff. und sonst), Treue gegen die Geliebte trotz Hohn und Spott führt das so anders geartete Verhältnis zwischen Gawan und Orgeluse zum verdienten glücklichen Abschluss (532, 10, Will. 15, 16 reht minne ist wâriu triuwe). Selbst der so treulose Gahmuret erkennt wenigstens im Prinzip an, dass es männlich sei, in der Liebe Treue zu wahren (90, 27 f.). Trevrizent lehrt Parzival, dass Gott die Treue sei, dass alle Falschheit ihm fremd sei (462, 19); so wird auch Christus die Treue genannt (752, 30). Wer aus Treue selbst eine so unritterliche Pflicht wie die Armut auf sich nimmt, rettet seine Seele (116, 15 ff.).

Am höchsten wird aber die Treue in der Ehe gepriesen. Das ungeheuer Kühne, das in der Einführung dieses Zuges durch Wolfram lag, wird klar, wenn man bedenkt, wie wenige Nachfolger unter den grossen Künstlern der mittelalterliche Dichter damit gefunden hat und wie wir das Gefühl des Ungewöhnlichen selbst bei den beiden grössten Werken moderner Kunst nicht los werden, in denen das Motiv der Gattentreue, obwohl in grundverschiedener Art, im Vordergrunde steht: in Goethes vollkommenstem Roman und in Beethovens einziger Oper.—Nicht nur dass die beiden Hauptheldeu Wolframscher Dichtung, Parzival und Willehalm, verheiratet sind und ihren Frauen körperlich und seelisch unverbrüchliche Treue bewahren, der Dichter hebt im Falle des jüngeren Helden mehrfach hervor, dass er nie ein Weib ausser Kundwiramurs seiner Liebe habe teilhaftig werden lassen (258, 17 ff., 732, 10 ff., 802,6 f.), dass er die Meisterprobe, der ihn die verführerische Orgeluse aussetzte, siegreich bestand (619, 11) und damit Trevrizents Rate folgte, der ihn belehrt hatte, dass die Höllenqual dessen, der in rechter Ehe lebe, verkürzt werde (468, 5 ff.). Nicht minder werden die treuen Frauen gepriesen[24]: die heidnische Belakane beschämt ihren leichtfertigen Gatten nicht minder als die ergeben duldende Jeschute den grausamen und pedantischen Orilus. Kundwiramurs und vor allem Gyburc stehen in gesetzter, selbstbewusster Weiblichkeit hinter den Männern sicher nicht zurück, und Herzeloyde und Sigune wahren ihren Geliebten bis

[24] Vgl. Lichtenstein, a. a. O. S. 63.

über den Tod hinaus die Treue. Parzival hält sich sogar von den Freuden der Tafelrunde fern, solange er sich durch Erringung des Grals seines Weibes nicht würdig erwiesen habe, und Willehalm legt sich in ähnlicher Weise freiwillige Entbehrungen auf, solange er von Gyburc fern ist.

Dabei ist bemerkenswert, dass das Motiv der Kindesliebe verhältnismässig unentwickelt bleibt; sowohl bei Chrestien wie in dem englischen Gedicht des 14. Jahrhunderts spielt das Heimtrachten des Sohnes zur Mutter eine grössere Rolle als bei Wolfram.[25]—Das Weib als solches erscheint dem Dichter zuweilen in fast göttlicher Verklärung, er weist auf die Verwandtschaft von echter Gottesminne und Weibesminne hin (466, 1 ff.), wie sie ja auch von seinen Zeitgenossen vielfach gefeiert wurde.[26] Das Weib, wie die Kirche, konnte dem Mann sogar Asyl sein vor Verfolgung, und Vergulaht, der das Asylrecht missachtete, wird von Antikonie als Verräter gescholten (427, 23 ff.).[27] Diese Verehrung des Weibes in der ritterlichen Welt stand freilich in schneidendem Gegensatze zu den eifernden asketischen Sittenpredigern, die die Weiber als *bestiae bipedales* bezeichneten.[28]

Während die Forderung ehelicher Treue zusammen mit der ihr zugrunde liegenden Forderung straffer Selbstzucht und bewusster Sittlichkeit zum grössten Teil Wolframs Eigentum ist, steht er mit der gelegentlich erhobenen Forderung völliger geschlechtlicher Enthaltsamkeit inmitten einer starken Zeitströmung. In der sittlichen Utopia der Gralsritterschaft müssen sowohl die Männer, mit Ausnahme des Königs, wie die Frauen in ewiger Keuschheit dahinleben. Keuschheit am Manne wird sogar von der Heidin Belakane gepriesen, obwohl als vorzüglich weibliche Eigenschaft bezeichnet (26, 15), und die Reinheit der Heidenkönigin selbst wird, zeitweilig zumindest, der christlichen Taufe gleichgestellt (28, 14; s. dagegen 55, 25 f.). Mit Keuschheit kämpft Trevrizent gegen den Teufel (452, 28). Und nicht weniger als drei Fällen begegnen wir im Parzival, in denen von keuschen Ehen die Rede ist: Parzival lässt sein Weib in der Hochzeitsnacht unberührt ("si wânde iedoch, si waer sîn wîp": 202, 23): 201, 21 ff., 202,

[25] W. Hertz, Parzival v. W. v. Esch., 5. Aufl. (1911), S. 437; s. a. S. 488.

[26] Vgl. Wechssler a. a. O.

[27] San-Marte, Parzival-Forschungen, 3. Bd. (1862), S. 121.

[28] Alwin Schultz, Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger. 1. Bd. (1889), S. 611.

22; sein Vater Gahmuret hatte in keuscher Ehe mit Amphlise gelebt (406, 4), und seine Mutter war mit Kastis vermählt gewesen, ohne je sein Weib zu werden (494, 15 ff.). Mit Ausnahme des Hauptfalles ist diesem Zuge dagegen vom Dichter kaum grosse Bedeutung beigemessen worden, und selbst die keusche Brautnacht von Parzival und Kundwiramurs, die ja ein bekanntes Seitenstück in der Josefsehe zwischen Tristan und Isolde Weisshand hat, ist ein ursprünglicher Zug der Sage, keine Hinzufügung unseres Dichters.[29]

Zur letzten Stufe unbedingter Askese führt uns der Dichter an der Hand von Sigune und Trevrizent. Sigune, dies "profane Gegenstück der mater dolorosa,"[30] hat die Welt vollkommen von sich abgetan und trauert und fastet bewusst ihrem Ende entgegen. Sie lebt in völliger Einsamkeit und nimmt nicht einmal an der kirchlichen Messe teil; ihr Leben ist ein beständiges Gebet. Bereits bei seiner zweiten Begegnung mit ihr bemerkt Parzival ihren körperlichen Verfall (252, 30 ff., s. a. 435, 24 f.), doch erst gegen Ende seiner Lehrjahre bezahlt sie in der Einsamkeit ihrer Baumwohnung, am Grabe ihres Geliebten, ihre vermeinte Schuld mit dem Tode (804, 23). Ueberall, wo er von ihr spricht, bezeichnet Wolfram sie als nachahmenswertes Musterbild der Treue; es scheint in der Tat, dass sie seine Phantasie und sein Mitleid tiefer erregt habe als irgend eine andere seiner Frauengestalten;[31] während sie bei Chrestien nur einmal erscheint, lässt Wolfram sie dreimal an hochbedeutender Stelle auftreten.[32]

Weniger leidenschaftlich in seiner Askese ist Trevrizent. Aber auch der Greis hat dem Leben abgeschworen; durch Keuschheit und strenges Fasten glaubt der "heilige" Mann schwere Schuld zu sühnen. Er meidet nicht nur Fleisch und Wein, sondern auch Fische und alles, was Blut trägt, und sogar Brot; er nährt sich von Wasser und von Wurzeln, die er im Walde findet. An manchen Tagen fastet er vollständig (452, 15 ff., 480, 16 ff., 485, 28 ff.). Hat er früher nach weltlicher Minne getrachtet, so ist jetzt alle irdische Lust von ihm abgetan. So ist er gefeit gegen die Welt: er fürchtet nichts Menschliches mehr (457, 29; 458, 6 ff.). Der tiefgreifende Unterschied zwischen Trevrizents Askese und der

[29] P. Hagen, Germania Bd. 37 (1892), S. 132.

[30] Kinzel, Zsfdphil. Bd. 21, S. 63.

[31] Vgl. B. Q. Morgan, Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Philol. vol. 12 (1913), p. 186.

[32] P. Hagen a. a. O. S. 144. S. a. Domanig, Parzival-Studien I, 38 f.

Askese Sigunens ist, dass Trevrizent die Welt in der Tat innerlich überwunden hat, dass er mit seinem Schicksal ausgesöhnt ist, dass er das Leben des Einsiedlers freiwillig (251, 13 f.) auf sich genommen hat (s.u.), während Sigune sich in untröstlichem Schmerz versteinert, bis zum Ende unversöhnt mit ihrem Gewissen; sie ist gleich dem Selbstmörder nach Schopenhauers Definition, der sich des Lebens entäussert, nicht weil er das Dasein als solches hasst, sondern weil er mit der zufälligen Form des Daseins, die das Schicksal ihm aufgelegt hat, unzufrieden ist. Dies wird klar an der Stelle, da sie, Parzival zum ersten Mal sehend, sich des Schwachsinns bezichtigt, dass sie ihrem Geliebten nicht lieber ihre Minne geschenkt, statt ihn in den Tod zu treiben (141, 20 f.). Andrerseits ist die beruhigte Lebensansicht des Trevrizent mit dem Ausspruche des genesenen Anfortas verwandt (820, 1 ff.), der gesteht, dass er den Frauen keinen Hass trage, obwohl sie sein Leid verursacht hätten: hohe männliche Freude komme von ihnen, von der er aber wenig genossen habe. Trevrizent hat die Welt überwunden, dadurch dass er sich selbst überwunden hat, während Sigune sich bloss von der Welt zurückgezogen hat.

Demütige Gesinnung ist die Grundlage christlicher Denkungsart und das Mittel zur Ueberwindung der Welt. So empfiehlt Gurnemanz, obwohl aus mehr äusserlichen Gründen, bereits dem jungen Parzival die Ausübung dieser Tugend (170, 28). Mangel an Demut verschuldet des Anfortas Fall (479, 1) seine Genesung ist mit Widererlangung der Demut gleichbedeutend.[33] Die demütige Gesinnung kann äusserlich durch Bussübungen betätigt werden: Trevrizent und Sigune unterziehen sich solchen in weitestem Masse; offenbar ohne besondern Anlass pilgert der greise Kahenis alljährlich am Karfreitag mit Weib und Töchtern barfuss im Schnee zur Klause Trevrizents (449, 14 ff.); die beiden Oheime der Kundwiramurs werden bei Schoysianens tragischem Tod Einsiedler (Tit. 22 f.).[34] Parzival selbst unterwirft sich bei Trevrizent fünfzehntägigem Fasten (501, 11 ff.). Aber wiederholt wird hervorgehoben, dass mit den äusseren Bussübungen ein innerer Wandel verbunden sein müsse: Parzival muss seine Schuld einsehn und Reue empfinden (499, 17 f.), und am Schluss rät ihm Trevrizent, seinen reinen Willen zu bewahren (502, 28). Nicht sein Mannesmut soll gebrochen werden, aber er soll lernen,

[33] Vgl. San-Marte, Parzival-Studien II 177 f.

[34] *Ib.* 117.

dass Gottes Huld über die Huld der Menschen gehe (467, 1 ff.); er soll Achtung vor den Schwachen empfinden, vor den Weibern und den Pfaffen (502, 4 ff.); und als er am Schluss von Trevrizent absolviert wird (502, 26), ist sein Gott-feindlicher Trotz in verinnerlichtes Selbstbewusstsein gewandelt.

Wenn Askese die selbstaufgelegte Strafe für schwere Sünde ist, so kann für mindere Vergehen die Stimmung der Trauer heilende Wirkung ausüben. Trauer ist Parzivals Grundstimmung von seiner Verstossung bis zu seiner Reinigung; ihren erzieherischen Wert erwähnt Trevrizent (468, 2); die *tristitia* gehörte nach scholastischer Auffassung zu den *passiones*, durch die der Christ hindurchzugehen hatte[35]; nach bestandenen Prüfungen kann sie zur *laetitia coelestis* werden: so bei Parzival am Schlusse seiner Entwicklung. Der veredelnde Einfluss des Leidens tut sich vor allem auch bei Anfortas kund, der nach seiner Heilung schöner selbst als Parzival genannt wird (796, 3 ff.).[36]

Hiermit gelangen wir an die Grenze von Rationalem und Irrationalem bei Wolfram. Eine Art mystischer Verzückung, aus überstarker Sehnsucht geboren, liegt ja ohne Zweifel dem poetischen Märchenmotive von den drei Blutstropfen im Schnee zugrunde, die Parzival an sein Weib erinnern. Dieser halluzinationsartige plötzliche Wechsel des Weltbildes unter dem Eindruck einer starken Leidenschaft findet auch in der Seele des liebenden Weibes statt in dem alten Liede, in dem sie sagt, dass wenn ihr Geliebter zugegen sei, ihr der Winter wie der blühende Frühling erscheine.[37] Der lang währende Zustand geistiger Entrücktheit bei Parzival rührt im letzten Ende an das Problem von der Identität der Persönlichkeit, das in dem christlichen Dogma von dem stellvertretenden Tode Jesu eine so übersinnliche Lösung erfahren hat. Auch bei Wolfram haben wir dies Motiv stellvertretender Handlungen, vor allem stellvertretenden Leidens. So nimmt bereits Jeschute, nachdem sie von Parzival kompromittiert worden ist, seine Schuld auf sich und duldet ihres Gatten Züchtigungen mit stolzem Schweigen; ja sie empfindet sogar ihres Gatten Kummer stärker als ihren eigenen (137, 23 ff.). Wenn von Sigune gesagt wird, ihr Leben sei ein einziges Beten gewesen (435, 25), so mag sich dies wohl

[35] Ehrismann, Zsfda. Bd. 49, S. 424; vgl. a. S. 450.

[36] Siehe G. Gietmann, Parzival, Faust, Job; Freiburg i. B. 1887, S. 187.

[37] Minnesangs Frühling S. 6, Z. 5; s. Wechssler a. a. O. S. 266.

auf ihren Wunsch beziehen, Anfortas wieder gesund zu sehen.[38] Aus demselben Beweggrunde treibt sie Parzival so energisch an, den Gral zu suchen (253, 19 ff.).[39] Auch Parzival hat, wie man gemeint hat, sich einer Anzahl stellvertretender Prüfungen zu unterziehen: indem er Orgelusen widersteht, sühnt er bereits einen Teil von Anfortas' Schuld, und durch seine Niederwerfung des Feirefiz siegt er über Secundillens Zauber und Minne.[40] Doch lassen sich diese Vorgänge wohl zwangloser durch den einfachen Zusammenhang von Ursach und Folge erklären. Am stärksten ist dieser Zug des stellvertretenden Opfers aber in Trevrizent entwickelt. Er ist nicht, wie Sigune, aus Reue über eigene Verschuldung zum Einsiedler geworden, obwohl er seine weltliche Vergangenheit bedauert; er hat alle Opfer der Askese auf sich genommen, um für die Schuld seines Bruders Anfortas zu büssen, um, wie er sagt, Gott "bei seiner Ehre" zu zwingen, seinen Bruder wieder gesund zu machen (480, 10 ff.). Freilich wird seine Hoffnung, sein Glaube, dass eine gute Tat nicht verloren sein könne, nicht von dem gewünschten Erfolge gekrönt; als Parzival zu ihm kommt, erkennt er in ihm den möglichen künftigen Erlöser seines Bruders, und da auch Parzival eine schwere Sündenschuld auf der Seele hat, klärt Trevrizent den jungen Ritter über seine Verirrungen auf und nimmt, als er von der inneren Umkehr Parzivals überzeugt ist, seine vergangenen Sünden auf sich (502, 25) und wird dadurch mittelbar zum Retter des siechen Gralkönig.[41]

Ohne Zweifel hat sich Wolfram mit den tiefsten religiösen Problemen ernst beschäftigt. Askese und der mystische Glaube an stellvertretende Erlösung sind zwar dem Christentum nicht fremd, sind aber doch wohl dem buddhistischen Glauben an die Einheit alles Lebens und Leidens näher verwandt. Es wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass die Askese orientalischen Ursprungs ist[42]; viele der in die mittlehochdeutsche Literatur eingegangenen Heiligengeschichten des Mittelalters sind direkt von Indien her übernommen worden; Wolframs Feirefiz war vielleicht Held eines orientalischen Sagenkreises,[43] selbst der Gral hat in der

[38] So wenigstens Domanig a. a. O. S. 15.

[39] Gietmann a. a. O. S. 158.

[40] So J. Seeber in Hist. Jahrb. d. Görres-Ges., Bd. 2 (1881), S. 192 f.

[41] Gervinus, Gesch. d. d. Lit., 5. Ausg., Bd. 1, S. 595. Domanig I 15 meint, dass Trevrizent einen Teil von seines Bruders Schuld gebüsst habe.

[42] Vgl. a. Wechssler S. 14.

[43] S. Singer, Zsfda. Bd. 44 (1900), S. 323.

buddhistischen Welt ein Gegenstück in dem heiligen Almosentopf Buddhas;[44] pantheistische und vor allem quietistische Stimmungen verbreiteten sich aus dem fernen Osten über das christliche Europa. Es bleibt zu untersuchen, welches das Verhältnis dieser lebenverneinenden Einflüsse zu den lebenbejahenden Motiven im Gesamtwerke Wolframs ist.

Es bedarf kaum des Beweises, dass die monastischen Elemente bei Wolfram nicht im Vordergrunde stehen. Während die religiösen Motive des Parzival naturgemäss in der zweiten Hälfte des Gedichts mehr zum Ausdruck gelangen als in der ersten, erscheinen die Adjektiva für höfische Dinge gleichwohl bei weitem häufiger dort als hier.[45] Ehrismann weist darauf hin, dass die Mönchsideale der Armut, der Keuschheit und des Gehorsams bei Wolfram fast gänzlich fehlen, dass an ihrer Stelle vielmehr Pracht, Ehe und Herrentum gefeiert werden;[46] dennoch ist es nicht ganz überraschend, dass der Katholik Seeber die Behauptung hat äussern können: im Parzival sei das "Scheinglück der Welt" als Trug und Sünde hingestellt;[47] Einzelzüge scheinen in der Tat, wie oben ausgeführt, darauf hinzudeuten. Im selben Sinne spricht Domanig sogar die vielleicht zu bezweifelnde Ansicht aus, der Dichter habe in seinem Titurel die *jungfräuliche* Liebe Sigunens über den Tod ihres Geliebten hinaus feiern wollen.[48] In der langen Anrede des Dichters an Frau Minne 291, 1 ff. stellt er die Liebe fast als böses Prinzip hin, das den Menschen zu Untreue und Verrat verleite und das Heil der Seele gefährde. Trevrizent rät zum Schlusse (502, 4 ff.), dass Parzival zwar die Frauen ehren, aber die Priester als allen andern Menschen übergeordnete Wesen hochschätzen solle. Wolfram drückt seine, wenn auch mässige, Missbilligung der sinnlichen Leidenschaft Gawans aus (532, 19 ff.), und später sagt er, dass er, der Dichter, Orgelusen trotz ihrer Schönheit nicht begehrt hätte (604, 4 ff.).[49] Parzival findet das Glück seiner Seele nicht in der grossen Welt und durch ritterliche Heldentaten, sondern in der Klause des Einsiedlers, unter Fasten und Bekennen.[50]

[44] Hertz a. a. O. S. 457.

[45] J. G. Bohner, Das Beiwort des Menschen und der Individualismus in Wolframs Parzival, Diss., Heidelb., 1909, S. 28 f.

[46] Zsfda. Bd. 49, S. 455 f.

[47] Seeber a. a. O. S. 74 f.

[48] Domanig I 49.

[49] G. Bötticher, Das Hohelied vom Rittertum (1886) S. 78.

[50] Ehrismann a. a. O. S. 441.

Seine grösste Sünde war das Unterlassen der Mitleidsfrage—ein Vergehen verwandt mit der katholischen Hauptsünde, den Betrübten Trost zu versagen.[51] Dennoch beweist gerade ein anscheinend so wichtiger Zug wie Parzivals keusche Brautnacht nichts für Wolframs Hochschätzung derartiger Asketik, da er ihn bereits in seiner Quelle fand[52]; und in Wolframs Werk findet sich nichts von der "düsteren asketischen Weltanschauung," die auf den von Geistlichen geschriebenen Gralsromanen der Franzosen lastet, in denen die Minne überhaupt keine Rolle spielt.[53] So stimmen denn die meisten Beurteiler darin überein, dass Wolfram "kein Ascet nach dem Herzen der Kirche" ist, dass er die tatenlose Beschaulichkeit verwirft und vom Manne mehr verlangt als "dumpfe Ascetik"[54].

Wolframs Stolz auf seine Ritterschaft, seine prinzipielle Anerkennung ritterlicher Massstäbe ist zu oft hervorgehoben worden, um hier erneuter Anführung zu bedürfen. Wolfram wäre so wenig wie Goethe zufrieden gewesen, hätte man ihn für einen blossen Schriftsteller angesehen. Noch weniger hätte es seine Befriedigung erregt, wenn man die asketischen Ideale, die sich hin und wieder bei ihm ausgedrückt finden, als für seine Lebensansicht entscheidend hingestellt hätte. Solch einseitigem Urteil stehn ja die allbekannten Derbheiten in Anschauung und Ausdruck gegenüber, die vor allem in geschlechtlichen Dingen zuweilen an Geschmacklosigkeit streifen.[55] Wolfram war sich der rauhen bajuvarischen Art seiner Landsleute und seiner selbst bewusst und hielt es nicht für nötig, sie unter einem Firniss glatter Formen zu verstecken. Die Offenheit, mit der er diese Dinge behandelt, gibt uns ohne Zweifel ein treueres Bild der wirklichen sittlichen Zustände seiner Zeit als etwa die Ängstlichkeit eines Hartmann von Aue, dem die Sitte durchaus über der Sittlichkeit steht. Das Ziel alles ritterlichen Liebeschmachtens war trotz allem der Liebesgenuss[56], und Wolfram verwahrt sich gegen das beständige

[51] *Ib.* S. 442.

[52] Vgl. Note 29.

[53] W. Hertz a. a. O. S. 446.

[54] W. Scherer, Gesch. d. d. Lit., S. 175; Kuno Francke, Hist. of Ger. Lit., 8th impr. (1911), p. 95; San-Marte, Germania Bd. 7 (1862), S. 65.

[55] Morgan, Journal of Eng. and Ger. Phil. vol. 12, p. 184. Eine Liste solcher Stellen, die sich leicht verlängern liesse, bei Alwin Schultz, Das höfische Leben usw. Bd. 1, S. 613.

[56] Wilmanns, Leben Walthers S. 161.

sentimentale Gerede vom *kumber* (588, 1 ff.), obwohl auch bei ihm Empfindsamkeit und Weltschmerz (*riuwe*) keine geringe Rolle spielen.[57] Freilich kann nicht geleugnet werden, dass der Wechsel von Ernst und Schamlosigkeit, mit der Wolfram geschlechtliche Dinge behandelt, uns zu keinem einheitlichen Urteil über seine Auffassung des Problems von Mann und Weib kommen lässt.[58] Während er sich an verschiedenen (oben angeführten) Stellen gegen die Frivolität am Artushofe und in der Ritterwelt im allgemeinen wendet, ist er selber nicht minder frivol, wenn er versichert, dass es eine "gute Frau" einem "würdigen Mann" noch nie übel genommen habe, wenn er sie um "Hülfe" ansprach (766, 9 f.); und obwohl Feirefiz, Verehrung für die "Schönen im Plural" (736, 1 ff., besonders 754, 5 ff.) mit seinem Heidentum zusammenhängen mag, so hält der Dichter ihn dennoch nicht der Aufnahme in die Gralsgemeinschaft für unwürdig. Die Abwesenheit sittlicher Beurteilung ist an gewissen Stellen ebenso bemerkenswert wie an anderen die Hervorkehrung ethischer Massstäbe. Der dem Dichter gewiss nicht sympathische Vergulaht wird, wahrscheinlich rein konventionell, *der werde süeze man* genannt (428, 1); Wolfram, oder zum mindesten Gawan, treibt offenbaren Missbrauch mit Worten und Begriffen, wenn der verliebte Held im Augenblick, da er Orgelusen um *genâde* anfleht, ihr zugleich *wîplich êre und werdekeite lêre* ans Herz legt (614, 29 f.). Benes Vater ist nichts weniger als entrüstet, als er bemerkt, dass seine Tochter am frühen Morgen bei Gawan im Schlafzimmer ist, obwohl er den Verdacht hat, dass "*dâ was gerungen*"—"*daz liez ir vater âne haz,*" und auch der Dichter unterlässt es, ein Wort des Urteils über diese weitherzige Gastfreundschaft beizufügen (555, 17 ff.). All den keuschen Ehen und all der gepriesenen Gattentreue über den Tod hinaus steht eine ganze Reihe zweiter Heiraten gegenüber (Sangive, Herzeloide, Gahmuret),[59] gegen die der Dichter gleichfalls kein Wort des Vorwurfs beibringt.

Das Erstaunlichste in dieser Beziehung bietet natürlich die Antikonien-Episode. Das Meisterhafte der Darstellung, der reiche Humor, die Ungebrochenheit von Antikoniens weltlichem, leben- und liebebejahenden Charakter können uns nicht darüber

[57] L. Bock, Wolframs v. Esch. Bilder v. Freude und Leid, Strassb. Quellen u. Forsch. Bd. 33 (1879), S. 52 f.

[58] Kinzel, Zsfdph. Bd. 21, S. 49.

[59] San-Marte, Parzival-Studien, Bd. 2, S. 135.

hinwegtäuschen, dass das achte Buch des Parzival aus dem Rahmen der Wolframschen Lebensanschauung herausfällt. Aber das Auffallende ist weniger, dass Wolfram eine Frau preist, die ebenso anzüglich wie anziehend ist, sondern dass er es mit denselben Worten tut, mit denen er die Frommen und Reinen schildert. Das eine Beiwort, das Antikonien von den anderen Heldinnen unterscheidet, ist "kurzweilig" (404, 5); die einzigen anderen, denen der Leser ohne weiteres zustimmen kann, sind die der Treue, Falschlosigkeit und Stäte (409, 15. 427, 15. 17. 431, 17). Aber schon die wiederholte Hervorhebung ihrer "grossen Zucht" (404, 10. 405, 15) mag Bedenken erregen. Vollends der Ausdruck "*maget reine*" (408, 19) und die Betonung ihrer *kiusche* (427, 6) finden keinen Glauben mehr beim Leser. Dass die Königin sich ihrem Bruder gegenüber rühmt, *guot gebaerde und kiuschen site* zu besitzen, in denen ihre einzige Verteidigung bestünde (414, 23 ff.), ist ebenso wenig überraschend wie wahrheitsgemäss; dass aber der Dichter selbst ihr so uneingeschränktes Lob spendet (427, 5 ff.), lässt Kinzels Ansicht zweifelhaft erscheinen, Wolfram habe bei der Geschichte der Antikonie ein gewisses Unbehagen empfunden, oder gar, er habe der Person der Antikonie nicht sympathisch gegenübergestanden).[60] Wolfram ergötzte sich wahrscheinlich an der künstlerisch anziehenden und menschlich zum mindesten nicht abstossenden Geschichte, die er in seiner Quelle fand, und vergass nur, die moralische Einschätzung, die er dem lockeren Mädchen angedeihen liess, der Hauptidee seines Epos unterzuordnen—ein Fehler, der ja keineswegs vereinzelt bei ihm dasteht. Vom künstlerischen Standpunkt bleibt gewiss bedauerlich, dass er zwei so entgegengesetzte Charaktere wie Sigune und Antikonie—Niobe und Philine—mit denselben lobenden Epitheta auszeichnet. Ein ähnlich formelhafter Gebrauch von Lobesbezeichnungen findet ja in dem weniger extremen Fall des populären Musterritters Vivianz im Willehalm und des unsympathischen Vergulaht im Parzival statt, die beide süss und wert genannt werden.

Dass Parzival selber der weltlichen Züge nicht entbehrt, bedarf keines besondern Nachweises. Immerhin bleibt etwas auffällig, dass er noch gegen Ende des Epos gesteht, er sei in des Gramoflanz Land aus dem einzigen Grunde eingebrochen, um mit Gramoflanz Streit zu beginnen (701, 5): im allgemeinen wird den

[60] Kinzel, Zsfda., Bd. 30, S. 357. 362.

Abenteuern des Helden von Anfang an eine moralische Unterlage und Bedeutung zugesprochen. Andrerseits wird Parzivals Kampf um den Gral von ihm zunächst als eine ritterliche Pflicht erfasst; er glaubt, nicht nur den Preis des Heldentums, sondern auch das Paradies der Seele mit Schild und Speer erjagen zu können (472, 1 ff.). Dann freilich macht ihn Trevrizent darauf aufmerksam, dass er zum höchsten Heile nicht ohne Demut und Vertrauen in Gottes Gnade gelangen könne; doch beschränkt sich Trevrizent am Schlusse wieder auf den rein formellen Rat "belîp des willen unverzagt" (502, 28), in dem der unverzagte Wille von dem rein weltlich-sittlichen Prinzip des unverzagten Mannesmutes kaum verschieden ist.[61] In ähnlicher Weise hat Wolfram auch verfehlt, den Gegensatz des ganz weltlich gesinnten Gawan und des sich zum Heile durchringenden Parzival ethisch auszubeuten: es fehlt nicht nur an entschiedener Missbilligung von Gawans Leichtfertigkeiten, der Dichter nimmt auch nie die Gelegenheit wahr, die von den beiden vertretenen Lebensprinzipien deutlich zu kontrastieren. Dies freilich hängt mit der indirekten Art von Wolframs Didaktik zusammen, die sich stets auf die Darbietung der konkreten Dinge beschränkt und die sittliche Ausdeutung dem Publikum überlässt.[62] Auf diese Weise gewinnt der Leser freilich nicht den Eindruck, dass Wolfram selber den Gegensatz seiner beiden Hauptthelden ethisch gefasst habe; Parzival scheint für Wolfram kein schlechterer, sondern nur ein anders gearteter Vertreter des Rittertums zu sein als der schwerere und tiefere Parzival, der die Probleme des Lebens in sich durchzukämpfen hat und deshalb menschlich wie künstlerisch interessanter ist.[63] Wolfram macht auch keinen Gebrauch von der sich so natürlich bietenden Gelegenheit, das Verhalten der beiden Helden gegen Schastel Marveille sittlich auszubeuten; Parzival widersteht nicht den Lockungen des Zauberschlosses, sondern zieht, ohne seine Existenz zu ahnen, an ihm vorüber (559, 23).

Selbst der Einsiedler Trevrizent macht Ludwig Bocks Wort[64] wahr, dass Wolfram "das Universum verrittere." Wiederholt versichert Trevrizent, dass er vor Zeiten ein Ritter war wie die übrigen, dass er nach irdischer Minne strebte (458, 6 ff., 495, 15

[61] Vgl. Ehrismann a. a. O. S. 451; Bötticher a. a. O. S. 68.
[62] Bötticher a. a. O. S. 86.
[63] *Ib.* S. 54. 77 ff.
[64] Bock a. a. O. S. 8.

ff.); er erzählt mit bescheidenem Stolze, dass er noch nie geflohen sei (458, 1 f.[65]); und er "scheidet" zwar Parzival "von seinen Sünden," heisst ihn aber in seinen Ratschlägen keines der Gebote des Rittertums aufgeben (501, 17 f.).

Diese starke Betonung der diesseitigen Motive in einem Gedicht, dessen wichtigste Handlung die Erringung des Seelenheils durch den Helden ist, hat dazu beigetragen, die Hauptidee des Ganzen zu verdunkeln. Nicht nur Piper, sondern selbst Wilhelm Hertz sprechen, sei es dem Gedichte, sei es dem Helden das religiöse Interesse ab, wogegen sich recht viele Belege, vor allem der Schluss des Werkes, anführen liessen. Im entgegengesetzten Lager stehen San-Marte und Seeber, von denen der eine Wolfram zum Vorkämpfer des Protestantismus, der andere zu dem des mittelalterlichen Katholizismus machen will. Verglichen mit Hartmanns Gregorius ist die Reinigung Parzivals allerdings ein streng weltlicher Prozess und die ganze Lebenssphäre des Dichters die Welt des Rittertums.[66] Die oben angeführte Behauptung Seebers, dass für Wolfram die Welt nur ein trügerisches Scheinglück darbiete, dürfte unter keinen Umständen haltbar sein. Selbst Parzivals Läuterung ist weniger einem transzendenten Gnadenwunder als der selbsterkämpften inneren Umkehr des Helden zu verdanken. Dem pessimistischen Christentum der Kirche stellt Wolfram eine optimistische Weltansicht gegenüber, die sich auf Vertrauen in die menschliche Natur gründet.[67] Der Wert der auf sich selbst gestellten Persönlichkeit wird überall anerkannt: Gawan ist zwar diesseitig genug zu sagen, dass wer immer den Forderungen des Rittertums genüge, über allen Spott erhaben sei (612, 7 ff.); er eilt von Liebesabenteuer zu Liebesabenteuer, aber selbst seine Verliebtheit tritt innerhalb des Gedichtes mehr in seiner Gesinnung als in seinen Handlungen hervor, und der Dichter preist ihn wegen seiner Männlichkeit, die ihn nie zum Sklaven eines Weibes werden liess (532, 27 ff.). Und als Willehalm Abschied von Gyburc nimmt, um Ersatz gegen die Heiden herbeizuschaffen, ermahnt sie ihn zur Treue: bei seiner *werdekeit*, bei dem, was sie für ihn getan und erlitten, und bei ihrer gegenseitigen Liebe (Will. 104).

[65] Vgl. hierzu Fr. Vogts Erklärung der beiden Zeilen, Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altert. Bd. 3 (1899), S. 136.

[66] W. Scherer, Gesch. d. d. Lit. S. 177. 181.

[67] Ehrismann a. a. O. S. 453 f.

So ist es in der Tat unmöglich, Wolframs Weltanschauung auf eine einzige Formel zu bringen, wie man das sowohl bei Hartmann wie bei Gottfried tun kann—es sei denn die Formel der Zweipoligkeit. Himmel und Erde, Liebe und Seligkeit, Freud und Leid werden in gleicher Weise von ihm geschätzt. Das Streben nach Allseitigkeit veranlasste den Dichter, in sein Bild einer hoch idealisierten Ritterwelt die Thersites-ähnliche Gestalt eines Liddamus einzufügen, des Feiglings, der nicht an den Ruhm des ritterlichen Kampfes glaubt und offen zugibt, dass ihm sein Leben lieber sei als alle Ehre (417, 24 ff., 420, 15 ff.). In ähnlicher Weise hat der Dichter auch, gegenüber all der Verherrlichung der *kiusche* und Frauenverehrung, wenigstens die Erwähnung eines Falles der Notzucht (526, 2 ff.).

Die Zweiseitigkeit des Lebensideales gelangt an einigen Stellen des Willehalm zu umittelbarerem Ausdruck als im Parzival; Willehalm spricht es deutlich aus, dass zweifache Liebe ihm im Herzen wohne, die Liebe zum Weibe und die zu "den Engeln im Himmel" (Will. 16, 30 ff.). So erwartet den guten Ritter, der tapfer gegen die Ungläubigen kämpft, zweifacher Lohn: der Gruss werter Frauen und die ewige Seligkeit. Der wahre Mann soll der Liebe nicht aus dem Wege gehn, sagt Wolfram mit Bezug auf Gawan (537, 7 f.). Als Kundrie Parzival sein Gralkönigkeit verkündigt, ruft sie ihm zu "nu wis kiusche unt dâbî vrô" (781, 12). Am deutlichsten kommt des Dichters Humanität in den oft angeführten Schlussworten zum Ausdruck, die als Ideal dasjenige Leben bezeichnen, das die Seele nicht verloren gehn lasse und sich doch die Huld der Welt bewahre (827, 19 ff.). Am bemerkenswertesten ist aber Wolframs wiederholt ausgesprochene Ansicht, dass Freude und Leid gleichen Anteil am Aufbau eines mannhaften Charakters nehmen. Echte Liebe bringt Schmerzen sowohl wie Lust, aber der wahre Mann hat beide in treuer Gesinnung auf sich zu nehmen (532, 7 ff., 272, 14 ff.); wer den Minnelohn der Frauen erwerben will, muss zuweilen "grôzen kumber" erdulden, aber der "minne süeze" macht am Ende alles wieder gut (Will. 385, 7 ff.). Wolfram ist weit entfernt von einer Apotheose des Schmerzes, aber er verkennt nicht den vertiefenden Einfluss des Leidens. In schönen Worten rühmt sich König Lippaut seiner beiden Töchter und preist auch das Leid, das sie ihm angetan haben (367, 9 ff.). Das Schönste über den Wechsel von Freud und Leid im menschlichen Leben sagt Wolfram im Willehalm

(280, 13 ff., 281, 3 ff.): Trauer und Lust gehören zusammen; wer nur Freude erlebt, hat nie das Leben wirklich genossen; männliches Streben muss Liebe wie Leid erwerben; auch das wahre Weib muss beider teilhaft werden; mit Jammer werden wir geboren, mit Jammer fahren wir in die Grube, aber dazwischen kommt die Freude des Lebens, und obwohl wir nicht wissen, was auf dieses unser irdisches Leben folgt, wird das traurige Sterben vielleicht auch in einem froheren Dasein seine Fortsetzung finden (das ist wenigstens die Logik der Verse).

Dies ist Wolframs mannhafte Lebensansicht, die uns das Dasein in all seinen Tiefen ausschöpfen heisst und sich von den monastischen Forderungen der Kirche wie von dem Eudämonismus der typischen Ritterwelt gleichweit entfernt hält. Vielleicht ist auch ihm das Ziel des Lebens Glück und Seligkeit, aber das Glück muss durch Kampf errungen sein, und Kampf bringt Leiden. Aber weder Liebe noch Leid ist Selbstzweck, beide sind nur Mittel des Kampfes zur Erringung des höchsten Zieles: einer fest auf sich selbst gegründeten, gottvertrauenden Persönlichkeit.[68] Der lautere Wille, den Trevrizent dem scheidenden Parzival anempfiehlt, ist mit Recht mit Fausts strebendem Bemühen verglichen worden, wie Wolframs Dualismus von *liep* und *leit* wohl mit des reifen Goethe Naturphilosophie und ihrem Doppelprinzip von Systole und Diastole zusammengehalten werden kann; ja eine ähnliche Wertschätzung von Schmerz und Lust, wie wir sie bei Wolfram finden, liesse sich selbst aus des jüngern Goethe Liebeslyrik vielfach belegen.[69]

In der Tat ist Wolframs Humanismus mit dem Humanismus Goethes und Herders eng verwandt: ihr Lebensideal ist die Ausbildung der menschlichen Fähigkeiten zum Aufbau einer allumfassenden Persönlichkeit. Ob der Dichter dabei ein treuer Katholik seiner Zeit ist oder Ansichten des Protestantismus vorwegnimmt, ist von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus von geringer Bedeutung. Sogar vom religiösen Standpunkt ist es wichtiger, dass Trevrizent den verirrten Gralsucher auf sein besseres Selbst zurückführt, als dass er ihn kirchlichen Bussübungen unterwirft oder in seiner Klause einen Altar hat; es sagt uns mehr über den Charakter Sigunens, dass sie alles Weltleben von sich abgetan hat, als dass sie

[68] *Ib.* S. 462; derselbe, Germ.-rom. Mon. Bd. 1. S. 673 f.; O. Unger, Die Natur bei Wolfram v. Esch., Diss., Greifsw. 1912, Schluss.

[69] Scherer a. a. O. S. 177 f.

aus einem Psalter singt. Der Willehalm ist in der Tat eine "Apologie des Christentums," obwohl kein einziger Priester in ihm vorkommt. Wichtiger als eines grossen Dichters Gestalten ist das, was sie über des Dichters Ansichten von Welt und Leben verraten. Und aus Wolframs Werken lernen wir zuvörderst, dass der Dichter die Welt *moralisch* beurteilte. Die *scham*, die seinem Haupthelden empfohlen wird, ist ihm das Prinzip der Unterscheidung von Gut und Böse.[70] Die gesellschaftliche Tüchtigkeit der *mâze* wird von Wolfram keineswegs geringgeachtet; selbst Willehalm, der Treue und Keusche, wird gescholten, als er in seinem berechtigten Zorn gegen die Schwester der *mâze* vergisst (Will. 153, 7). Aber diese *mâze* ist grundverschieden von der *aurea mediocritas* Horazens und seiner epikureisch-stoischen Zeit- und Gesinnungsgenossen, denn sie ist aus dem Kampfe mit der Welt geboren, nicht aus bequemer Verzweiflung an der Welt. Und die blosse *mâze* wird durch die Weiterbildung zur *kiusche*, zur Selbstbeherrschtheit und Herzensreinheit, ins Ethische erhoben.[71] Die *triuwe*, das unverzagte Festhalten an dem für gut Erkannten, ist für Gott und Menschen das oberste Sittenprinzip. Alle Dogmatik ist der Ethik Wolframs fremd; für ihn gibt es mehrere Wege des Heils; keine Verurteilung trifft Gawan, der sein Glück ganz innerhalb der Sphäre irdischen Genusses sucht und findet; Parzival weiss die Pflichten des Weltlebens mit denen der Gottgefälligkeit zu vereinigen, und Trevrizent und Sigune leben in weltabgewandtem Gottesdienste.[72] Die drei Sphären menschlichen Glückseligkeitstrebens stehn in den Augen des Dichters vielleicht nicht ganz gleichberechtigt nebeneinander, aber ebensosehr würde er sich weigern, die eine der andern geradezu unterzuordnen. Die Entwicklung des Haupthelden führt zu einer Vereinigung ritterlicher und mönchischer Ideale[73]; sie ist der Aufbau einer neuen Persönlichkeit nach dem Zusammenbruch der alten, der Zustand der *tumpheit* hat einem gekräftigten und bewussten sittlichen Wollen Platz gemacht.[74] Dies ist Wolframs Ideal, dies sein Humanismus, dies sein freies Christentum.

[70] Kinzel, Zsfda. Bd. 30, S. 354 f.

[71] Ehrismann a. a. O. S. 440.

[72] *Ib.* S. 457.

[73] Ehrismann, Germ.-rom. Mon. Bd. 1, S. 670.

[74] Bötticher a. a. O. S. 52; Ehrismann, Zsfda. Bd. 49, S 447.

Der wilde, zügellose Wille zum Leben muss gebrochen werden, bevor der Mensch zur sittlichen, in sich beruhigten Persönlichkeit wird: in diesem beschränktesten Sinne ist Wolfram Quietist. Das "Stirb und werde" steht als Motto über dem ganzen neunten Buche des Parzival. Aber keine der Tugenden mönchischer Askese wird je als Selbstzweck gefeiert, sie werden stets einem höhern sittlichen Zweck untergeordnet. Die so unritterliche Tugend der Armut wird mehrfach lobend erwähnt: Herzeloide nimmt sie auf sich—im treuem Gedenken an ihren toten Gemahl; Jeschute unterzieht sich ihr zugleich mit den körperlichen Misshandlungen durch ihren Gatten—weil sie sich wirklich schuldig fühlt (257, 29 ff.): Anfortas entsagt zum Schlusse dem Besitz wie der Minne, da die Erlösung aus seinem Leiden nicht seinem Verdienst entsprang (819, 21 f.); Gyburc hat die Schätze ihrer Heimat aufgegeben, um dem geliebten Manne zu folgen, in dessen Seelenreichtum sie volle Entschädigung findet (Will. 216, 1 ff., 27 f.); Wolfram selbst preist die Armut, die aus Treue ertragen wird (116, 15 ff.; s. ob.). So ist auch Enthaltsamkeit von der Minne an sich keine Tugend. An einer bereits angeführten Stelle (534, 7 f.) sagt der Dichter, ein würdiger Mann solle vor der Liebe nicht fliehen, die Liebe solle ihm vielmehr an seiner Seligkeit mithelfen. Parzival ist keusch und widersteht Orgelusen (619, 11) nicht, weil er dem mönchischen Ideal absoluter geschlechtlicher Enthaltsamkeit huldigt, sondern weil er sich durch sein Weib gebunden fühlt; so wird er am Ende des Grales für würdig befunden, weil er seine Seelenruhe erstritten und die Freuden der Welt trotz den Bitternissen der Entsagung abgewartet hat (782, 29 f.). Ähnlich legt Willehalm sich selber, aus freiem Willen, die härtesten Entbehrungen auf (Will. 105, 7 ff., 112, 7 ff.), da er sich anders seines unter Gefahren zurückbleibenden Weibes nicht wert halten würde. Ueberall, wo das Motiv der Weltverneinung auftritt, erscheint es in bedingter Form. Askese ist bei Wolfram überall selbstverhängte Strafe für nicht wieder gut zu machende Vergehen; ein solches liegt bei Parzival nicht vor, und darum ist er kein Asket; er ist frei von der christlichen Anmassung, die durch Selbststrafe auf Erden die ewige Strafe vorwegzunehmen sucht. Wolfram steht in der Mitte zwischen Hartmann, der im Gregorius die Selbstertötung seines Helden feiert, und Gottfrieds Evangelium des Lebensgenusses; sein Gedicht ist auch nicht so naiv wie das Nibelungenlied, das den Begriff der *kiusche* überhaupt nicht kennt.

Wir sehen bei ihm kein Umkippen des Helden am Ende wie in dem quietistischen Schlusse des Simplizissimus-Romans oder in Grillparzers "Jüdin." Wolframs Parzival ist viel eher mit dem Goethischen Faust verwandt als mit dem vergöttlichten Helden von Wagners Parsifal-Drama. Und wie das Hauptmotiv des gewaltigen Dichtwerks, das Motiv von *zwîfel* und *triuwe*, echt germanisch ist,[75] so auch die Abweisung der Askese an und für sich, deren logisches Ergebnis die Beschränkung und Ertötung des germanischen Individualismus sein müsste,[76] und ihre Ersetzung durch die Forderung beständiger Selbsterziehung und -verfeinerung, die den Willen zum Bösen nicht zerbricht, sondern in stets erneuter Gewissensarbeit zum Guten wandelt. Wolframs sittliche Weltanschauung, die christliches Empfinden und germanischen Charakter so wundervoll vereint,[77] liesse sich in die Zeilen von Goethes "Geheimnissen" fassen:

> "Von der Gewalt, die alle Wesen bindet,
> Befreit der Mensch sich, der sich überwindet."

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[75] R. M. Meyer, Der germanische Nationalcharakter, in Deutsche Charaktere (1897), S. 14. 19.

[76] Siehe oben und Steinhausen a. a. O. S. 254.

[77] Ehrismann, Germ.-rom. Mon. Bd. 1, S. 671.

TROILUS ON PREDESTINATION

A cardinal sin of the middle ages according to the average modern critic is its long-windedness; another is its proneness to digression. As a beautifully flagrant example of both these faults is usually cited the long speech on predestination in the fourth book of Chaucer's *Troilus*. Professor Lounsbury's statement of the case may serve as typical. He is talking of the "poet's passion for dialectics"[1]:

"With the grossest instance of the failure on the part of Chaucer to comply with the requirements of his art, I pass from this branch of the subject. His special fondness for the questions connected with the doctrine of free-will and predestination has been mentioned in a previous chapter. It is not always a misfortune. In the Knight's tale it is made conducive to the general effect. In the tale of the Nun's Priest it relieves the situation by its contrast between the greatness of the questions involved and the pettiness of the incidents upon which it is brought to bear. But in 'Troilus and Cressida' it is an intrusion of the worst kind. The hero is in an extremity of grief at the enforced departure of his mistress from Troy. He is so fallen into despair that he cares not whether he lives or dies. But his method of deploring the coming calamity is unexampled on the part of a lover. He enters into a discussion with himself upon the doctrine of predestination. Fully one hundred and twenty lines he takes up with establishing the proposition that everything that happens, happens by necessity. The passage is a versification of the argument on the subject of God's foreknowledge and man's free-will that is contained in the fifth book of the treatise of Boethius. It utterly interferes with the movement of the story. It is tacked to it by the flimsiest of fastenings. It is lacking in some manuscripts, though unfortunately not the best ones. Still, its absence from these makes it reasonable to suppose that its addition was an afterthought which in this case was not of the wisest. The bad taste exhibited by the poet in such passages will be conceded by all. His most fervent admirers would be the readiest to admit the justice of the censure."[2]

From the attacks,[3] of which Lounsbury's criticism is representative, we hear that the monologue of Troilus has little to do with the

[1] *Studies in Chaucer*, New York, 1892, vol. III, pp. 372 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 374 f.

[3] Criticism of the passage finds a beginning in the *Étude* of Sandras (1859, p. 45):—"Le plus souvent Chaucer se laisse aller à un ton bourgeois ou pédantesque qui fait disparate avec les endroits où il copie son modéle." See H. Morley, *English Writers*, London, 1890, p. 197, who speaks of the hundred lines of reasoning "from Bradwardine," and thinks that then "follow the four lines of lament really proper to the occasion." See also A. W. Ward, *Chaucer* (*Eng. Men of Letters*, Morley), New York, p. 92, who speaks of the predestination theme here "pedantically put, perhaps, and as it were dragged in violently

main thread of the plot; that it hinders the progress of the narrative; that it is absurd in the mouth of its speaker; and finally that the passage is an anachronism.[4] I shall try to answer these points separately, but they may all be summarized as taking issue with the dramatic fitness of the speech.

Most critics will agree that Chaucer seldom rambles on to no purpose. That he very well knew the principle of selection in art is made evident again and again in his poetry when he brings us sharply back to the main issue. On this matter we may quote from the *Troilus* itself:

> "But now, paraunter, som man wayten wolde
> That every word, or sonde, or look, or chere
> Of Troilus that I rehersen sholde,
> In al this whyle, unto his lady dere;
> I trowe it were a long thing for to here;
> Or of what wight that stant in swich disioynte,
> His wordes alle, or every look, to poynte."[5]

Compared with the verse of some of his contemporaries Chaucer's lines are crammed; and he cannot, he says, waste time by setting down every detail of the speeches of Troilus to his lady. Yet in the very next book he gives up one hundred and twenty lines to the argument on predestination which Troilus utters to himself. Nothing even remotely corresponding appears in the *Filostrato*,[6] and, as Lounsbury has said, we find it in the best manuscripts of the *Troilus*.[7]

by means of a truncated quotation from Boethius." R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston and New York, 1906, p. 118, is unique in thinking that the speech is in character, but adds that it is long and possibly an artistic blemish. See T. R. Price, *PMLA*, XI, p. 311: "The passage is the chief artistic blemish." See Manly, *Kittredge Anniv. Papers*, p. 77: Chaucer "did not restrain within proper limits the ideas brought up by association (note the famous passage on predestination in the *Troilus*)." Also Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, New York, 1914, p. 212 f., "There is no real occasion for the discussion here." Cf. Legouis, *Chaucer*, Paris, 1910, p. 120, on Pandarus's borrowings from Boethius. See Tatlock, *Dev. and Chron.*, p. 8.

[4] Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, New Edition, London, 1824, vol. II, p. 224, makes this point.

[5] *TC* III, ll. 491-497.

[6] Cf. *Il Filos.*, IV, st. XXX ff.; and st. CIX.

[7] Professor Tatlock put it in his later version of the *Troilus*. See *Dev. and Chron.*, pp. 8-9. Professor Root's recent searching investigations and analysis of the readings in the manuscripts leave little doubt that the passage was a

Still it is possible that Chaucer's style may be terse enough and that he did not insert the passage with total unconsciousness of any motive. Interested in a certain conception of philosophy, he may have seized an occasion to preach. After the story itself had grown cold for him, he picked up his manuscript and saw in one of the most intense scenes of the tragedy a splendid opportunity to point a moral. The passage has been defended in this way, and from various appreciations we learn that the poet is here trying to edify his readers or that he is here giving us his own spiritual doctrine.[8] For example we are told that the monologue "has a

later addition (see the *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus*, Chaucer Soc., London 1916, pp. 216 ff.) He is supported by the evidence of those MSS. in which stanza 108 appears after 105. If this theory is true, then it is evident that Chaucer went out of his way to insert the passage; and that he never changed his mind about it seems to be clear from the fact that it was definitely incorporated. One or two difficulties remain, however, in the face of the almost overwhelming proof: The phrase "disputing with himself in this matere," which is found in stanza 155 intact in the Cambridge Gg Ms., refers back very neatly indeed to the long argument. And Pandarus's "O mighty god in trone," gains added power when it picks up Troilus's "almight Iove in trone" as a prayer to the all-powerful one who is responsible for all the events of this world, good and bad alike. But stanza 155 is omitted in Harl. 1239 and Harl. 2392. and Pandarus's echo is left without its antecedent. Therefore we are led to suspect that the Cambridge Gg represents a version which once had the passage. And to imagine that Chaucer inserted the long passage in a context like that of the Harleian MSS. and thus worked the reverse process of putting in an anticipation of Pandarus's line is to compliment the poet with an almost supernatural skill. Professor Root explains the mechanics of the difficulty well enough by his suggestion of a threefold development: (1)a version where stanzas 136 and 156 follow uninterruptedly; (2) a version where Chaucer intended to add the Boethian speech and so added st. 155 and changed the end of 136, yet had not time to insert the speech itself, and in the meantime two copies (the ancestors of St. John's College and Cambridge Gg) were made; (3) the final version with the passage. Apart from some questions raised by parts of this explanation, it neglects the point of the extraordinary felicity of the insertion of 155, where, although the reverse process would be easy, the anticipation of Pandarus's light reference would be almost too clever. Furthermore, Root admits (p. 219) that in his explanation there is no accounting for the omission of the passage including st. 155 in Harl. 2392.

[8] See R. Bell (quoted by Furnivall, *Athenæum*, Aug. 15, 1868, p. 211. Bell's edition of Chaucer, from which Furnivall got the quotation, is not accessible to me.) Bell's statement is as follows: "In this passage, he (Chaucer) exhibits a power of stating logical arguments with clearness and accuracy in verse which none of his successors, except Dryden, has ever approached. The whole essence of the question is preserved in these few stanzas." Ten Brink,

special interest in showing us the settled determinism of Chaucer's philosophical conception of human life."[9] Views of this sort presuppose, to my mind, a most remarkable idea of Chaucer himself. But no matter how the critics imagine the poet, the views themselves rest on several assumptions which can be readily tested: first, that the monologue is so placed that we are justified in lifting it from its context and in regarding it as one of the moral conclusions of the poem; secondly, that in Troilus's speech the poet does give a proper and adequate statement of the problem; thirdly, that in whatever he presents here, he is perfectly serious.[10]

In support of these assumptions we have what is extremely important—almost contemporary evidence.[11] In the *Testament of Love*, the lover asks the Goddess of Love whether, since everything happens through God's knowledge and takes its being from Him, God is not therefore the author of bad deeds as well as of good:

"Quod Love, 'I shal telle thee, this lesson to lerne. Myne owne trewe servaunt, the noble philosophical poete in Englissh . . . in a tretis that he made of my servant Troilus, hath this mater touched, and at the ful this question assoyled. Certaynly, his noble sayinges can I not amende; in goodnes of

Hist. of Eng. Lit., translated by W. C. Robinson, N. Y., 1893, vol. II, pp. 92-3, at a loss for any other way to account for the passage, says: "It is his tragic intensiveness that leads the poet into such depths, and makes him express ideas in sonorous verses, which agitated deeply the most eminent minds of the age, ideas which touch strongly on the doctrine of predestination such as Wyclif conceived it in following Augustine and Bradwardine. Not unworthy of notice is this coincidence between the great poet at the height of his artistic maturity and the great reformer who was then in Lutterworth closing the great life account of this thoughts and actions." See also Courthope, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, New York, 1895, vol. I, p. 262, who says that Chaucer used Boethius for a moral tone to emphasize the stages of the action. J. S. P. Tatlock, *Mod. Philol.*, III, p. 370, note 3, says that the passage is "greatly out of place where it occurs, and therefore indicative of Chaucer's personal interest;" and on page 370, he speaks of Chaucer's "leaning to determinism." And see Carleton F. Brown, *PMLA*, XIX, p. 128, n.1, setting forth a view similar to that held by ten Brink.

[9] T. R. Price, *PMLA*, XI, p. 311.

[10] As for example one critic has thought he was in the similar passage in the *Nonne Preestes Tale*: see Grace Hadow, *Chaucer and his Times*, London, 1914, p. 99.

[11] The *Testament of Love* is dated 1387 by Bradley, *Athenaeum*, 1897, I, p. 184; also by Skeat, *The Chaucer Canon*, Oxford, 1900, p. 97.

gentil manliche speche, without any maner of nycetè of storiers imaginacion, in witte and in good reson of sentence he passeth al other makers. In the boke of Troilus, the answere to thy question mayst thou lerne."[12]

Two centuries later, Speght, in his second reprint in 1602 of Thynne's edition of Chaucer, puts at the head of the *Troilus* as its argument: "In which discourse Chaucer liberally treateth of the divine purveiaunce."[13] These quotations seem to indicate that Usk and later Speght thought that Chaucer was pretty much in earnest in the discussion. This view complicates my problem; for if Chaucer intended to present a really adequate account of the question of predestination and if he intended the monologue to be sufficient unto itself, then he was not so likely to keep the passage true to its dramatic setting. Therefore, while this general defence in a measure would answer the criticism that Chaucer's lines are meaningless in themselves, it would not in any way refute the objection that the monologue is totally out of place where we find it.

What is the relation of Troilus's speech to the main thought of the poem? To decide this point we must first make very sure of just what Troilus has in mind. What he says may be summarized as follows: (a) he gives the various attitudes taken by different clerks toward the subject of predestination and free will; (b) then he comes to his own conclusions on the subject—viz. (1) whether God has divine foreknowledge of events, or whether He foresees things because they are foreordained, events are surely destined to happen; and therefore (2) man has no free will. In the course of his argument Troilus is not vitally concerned whether God or fate is responsible for the "necessity" of affairs, but he seems to incline to the former view.[14]

[12] *Test. of Love*, III, ch. IV, ll. 248 ff. in Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 123.

[13] *Wks. of Chaucer*, 1602, sig. Bb 5 recto. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. G. L. Hamilton's note: *Indebt. of Chaucer to Guido* etc., New York, 1903, p. 18, n.2. Mr. Kenneth P. Kempton, who took the trouble to look up this matter for me in the original editions in the Harvard Library, thinks that Mr. Hamilton is in error in his additional reference to Speght's edition of 1598.

[14] The idea of pure necessity in the speech of Troilus seems to amount to a conception of fate or destiny, and the principle of its operation is several times touched upon: e.g. ll. 999-1001; ll. 1048-50 (original with Chaucer); ll. 1051-53. But Troilus does not seem to be quite willing to accept pure necessity, as he shows in stanza 153.

It is often pointed out that in the passage we are studying Chaucer merely versified parts of Boethius,[15] which he already knew in the original and had himself translated. There in the *Consolatio* the speaker asks whether there is any such thing as free will. Lady Philosophy assures him that there is. The speaker then proceeds to oppose this idea with the doctrine of divine prescience and predestination in much the same manner as Troilus; but he goes even further and carries the idea to what seems its logical conclusion:

> . . . "in ydel ben ther thanne purposed and bihight medes to gode folk, and peynes to badde folk, sin that no moevinge of free corage voluntarie ne hath nat deserved hem. . . and it sholde seme thanne, that thilke thing is alderworst, which that is now demed for aldermost iust and most rightful, *that is to seyn*, that shrewes ben punisshed, or elles that gode folk ben y-gerdoned: the whiche folk, sin that hir proppre wil ne sent hem nat to that oon ne to that other . . . but constreineth hem certain necessitee of thinges to comen: thanne no shollen ther nevere ben, ne nevere weren, vyce ne vertu, but it sholde rather ben confusioun of alle desertes medled with-outen discrecioun . . . than folweth it, that oure vyces ben referred to the maker of alle good. . . . Thanne is ther no resoun to hopen *in god*, ne for to preyen *to god*; for what sholde any wight hopen *to god*, or why sholde he preyen *to god*, sin that the ordinaunce of destinee, which that ne may nat ben inclyned, knitteth and streineth alle thinges that men may desiren?"[16]

Removing the burden of sin from mankind in this way would, I say, seem to be the logical goal of Troilus's speech; but Chaucer, who must have been aware of this, prevented any such interpretation by a touch that proves itself to be quite deliberate. He omitted the sentiments which I have quoted, and borrowed instead, for the beginning of Troilus's speech, some of the sound doctrine from the discourse of Lady Philosophy herself:

> . . . "god seeth every thing, out of doutaunce,
> And hem desponeth, thourgh his ordenaunce,
> In hir merytes sothly for to be,
> As they shul comen by predestinee."[17]

This passage is lifted from a section in Boethius different from that required for the rest of Troilus's speech, and it shows how carefully Chaucer composed the long monologue. Troilus, then, believes

[15] See Boethius, *Cons.*, lib. V, pr. 2 and 3. See Skeat's notes on the *Troilus* *Complete Works*, second ed., Oxford, 1900, II, p. 490 f. He quotes the Latin.

[16] Chaucer's translation, Skeat, *Complete Works*, II, Boethius, Book V, Prose III, ll. 109-133. I have omitted most of the glosses.

[17] TC, IV, ll. 963-966. See Boethius, Chaucer's Trans., Bk. V, Pr. II, ll. 30-33. Note the setting.

that although ruin is his destiny, God has so arranged matters that it is also what he deserves; although mankind is not originally responsible for its merits, or defects, yet ultimately punishment or reward are quite *apropos*. In other words Troilus wishes to indicate that he is not responsible for the present disaster, but he wishes to do so piously. There is a kind of self-pitying humility in his attitude. He will not trouble to blame anybody else, God or man, so long as it be acknowledged that he himself has been opposing unfair odds and that he has never really had a chance—with all due respect to the Creator's sense of justice.

We need not be disturbed by the logical inconsistencies involved in this view. In a way they are no worse than those involved in the greater issue—that of divine prescience and human free will—but even if they were it would not matter, for, if I am right, the speech is not intended as a sample of dialectic fireworks but as an outburst of human emotion.

In still another place Chaucer deviates from his source. Although it does not seem to be generally remembered, ten Brink has already observed that the ultimate conclusion of the whole problem in Troilus's speech differs from that reached in Boethius,[18] that in the *Consolatio* when the speaker has finished, Lady Philosophy gives a rather striking reply:

> . . . "I axe why thou wenest that thilke resouns of hem that assoilen this questioun ne ben nat speedful y-nough ne sufficient: the which *solucioun, or the whiche resoun*, for that it demeth that the prescience nis nat cause of necessitee to thinges to comen, that ne weneth it nat that freedom of wil be destorbed or y-let by prescience."[19]

[18] *Studien* (Münster, 1870) p. 75 f: "Die erwiderung der philosophie, welche das räthsel aufzuhellen, den zweifel zu beseitigen sucht hat Chaucer unübersetzt gelassen." He does not attempt to explain this phenomenon: "Ich will nun gern einräumen, dasz diese erörterung namentlich durch ihre breite und ihre schulgerechte form in der gegebenen situation sich sehr fremdartig ausnimmt, und unternehme nicht, wie ausgezeichnet die verse auch sind, in welche Chaucer die prosa des Boethius übertragen, die stelle vom ästhetischen standpunkte auszurechtfertigen. Soviel aber wird man nun wenigstens eingestehen müssen, dasz es kleine blosze laune von seiten des dichters war, wenn er seinen helden in einem so bedeutungsvollen moment, . . . gedanken aussprechen liesz, welche einer das ganze gedicht durchziehenden anschauung angehören." We have already seen how Ten Brink interprets this situation: note 8 above. See also the note by Carleton F. Brown, *PMLA*, XIX, p. 128, n.1.

[19] Boethius, Book V, Prose IV, ll. 16-21.

The speaker finally admits his mistake,[20] but Troilus in contrast holds to his fatalistic views and Chaucer does not give us any further solution of the problem.

It used to be held, however, that in this passage Chaucer had more prominently in mind another work on predestination and free will, and that there he borrowed his theories of determinism supported by a more or less orthodox scholastic.[21] This different authority was Thomas Bradwardine's ponderous treatise *De Causa Dei*, written against the surviving heresies of Pelagius. But the passages in Bradwardine which suggest something like the argument of Troilus are only vaguely similar and then similar in content not in style.[22] Furthermore there are some serious discrepan-

[20] *Ibid.*, V, pr. IV, ll. 32-35; ll. 64-68.

[21] In his introduction to the *De Causa Dei*, Sir Henry Savile pointed out Chaucer's acquaintance with the work with reference to the lines on predestination in the NPT: "Is cum esset philosophicis Theologicisque haud mediocriter imbutus, ac hasce Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi lucubrationes jam tum recens emissas, ut videtur, pervolvisset, pro more suo jocis seria intertexens, in fabella quadam Cantuariensi arduam de Dei praescientia, rerumque contingentia quaestionem obiter attingit," Savile, DCD, London, 1618, Lectori a 3. He quotes Chaucer ("socco suo indutum")—the direct reference in the NPT to Bradwardine. Urry, in his edition of 1721, in the "Life of Chaucer," refers to Savile's note and relates it to the passage in the *Troilus*: "He (Chaucer) seems by this passage (that in the fourth book of the *Troilus*), and that in the Priest's Nonne's Tale . . . to be so well versed that Sir Henry Savil thinks he had perused Archbishop Bradwardine's learned book *De Causa Dei* published at that time." Urry's note might easily be mistaken to mean that he himself and Savile too considered the DCD the *source* of the passage in the *Troilus*. See Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, II, p. 224. Cf. G. L. Hamilton, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer to Guido* etc., p. 18 and note 2. Tyrwhitt in his edition of Chaucer (*Poetical Works*, p. 457) pointed out that in the *Troilus* passage Chaucer was really indebted to Boethius. Later certain scholars seem to have forgotten this note: e.g. Furnivall, *Athen.*, Aug. 15, 1868, p. 211; and they were corrected by ten Brink, *Studien*, p. 75.

[22] See e.g., DCD, III, cap. I (Savile, p. 638, wrongly printed 362, —D) where he quotes Augustine: "His *et* talibus testimonijs diuinorum eloquiorum, satis, quantum existimo, manifestatur, operari Deu*m* in cordibus hominu*m* ad inclinandas eoru*m* voluntates quocunq*ue* voluerit, siue ad bona pro sua misericordia, siue ad mala pro meritis eoru*m*;" cf. TC, IV, ll. 964-66. Compare also DCD, I, cap. XXVIII ((p. 267 C): "Quapropter et voluntates nostrae tantum valent, quantum Deus eas valere voluit, atque praesciuit, *et* ideo quicquid valent certissimè valent, *et* quod facturae sunt, ipsae omnino facturae sunt, quia valituras ac facturas ille praesciuit, cuius praescientia falli non potest." He supports this principle with a reference to Boethius. And finally compare

cies between the thought of Troilus and that of Bradwardine in general. The latter does subordinate the human will to Necessity and both of these to the Divine Will:

"Si vis omnium quae fecit *et* quae passus est veram scire necessitatem, scito omnia ex necessitate fuisse, quia ipse voluit, voluntatem verò eius nulla praecessit necessitas: voluntatem, inquam, eius diuinam nulla parecessit necessitas, sed humanam."[23]

But he proceeds to demonstrate that necessity and freedom, and merit, chance, and fortune, are not mutually exclusive. He states his thesis as follows:

"Necessitas et libertas, ac meritum casusque et fortuna invicem non repugnant; de fati quoque praescientia, praedestinationis et gratiae cum libero arbitrio ac merito concordia generali."[24]

In this view he is clearly in opposition to Troilus and he continues more and more emphatically to be so.[25] For example, Bradwardine says that Necessity attains moral power only as man submits his will to it, and sin and virtue are matters directly connected with the willing:

"Ex his autem euidenter apparet, quod licet quis necessitatus fuerit ad faciendum quicquam boni vel mali, si tamen necessitationem illam ignoret, et faciat hoc voluntariè et liberè, quantum in *eo* est, meretur."[26]

At times, perhaps, Bradwardine seems to place more emphasis on the power of God than on the freedom of the human will,[27] but that is because his work is directed especially against the Pelagians. This sect believed on the one hand that where man had no power he was sinless: obligation was, they said, in accordance

Bradwardine's proposition, III, cap. I: "Quod Deus potest necessitare quodammodo omnem voluntatem creatam ac liberum actum suum, et ad liberam cessationem ab actu." It is quite possible that Chaucer read Bradwardine's discussion for the *Troilus* but decided to model his own treatment on Boethius.

[23] III, cap. I, p. 640 B.

[24] Page 640, *Corollarium*.

[25] Compare too (p. 643 B) his reference to that "error": "dicentium hominem non posse peccare, quia habet necessitatem vel impossibilitate*m* faciendi vel non faciendi quodcunque; quare, ut arguunt, non habet liberum arbitrium, nec culpam, nec laudem," etc. And see lib. II, cap. III and IV.

[26] III, cap. I, p. 644 B.

[27] See. e. g., lib. II, cap. XX.

with ability, and so they diminished the sinner's responsibility.[28] On the other hand they laid great stress on the freedom of man's will, and in so doing went to heretical extremes, diminishing the power of God.[29] It is against this latter element in particular that Bradwardine writes.[30]

Chaucer might have been influenced by such a placing of emphasis, did not Bradwardine bring out very clearly and emphatically too his belief in free will:

"Quare manifestum est, quia si virtus coelestis vel fatum, vel quicunque alius motor extrinsecus moueret animas humanas ad volendum vel nolendum, non aufert eis dominium *et* imperium, vel autoritatem suarum voluntatum et actionum, cum nec vim, nec violentiam nec coactionem eis inferre ad haec possunt: *et* hoc est propter libertatem atque imperiositatem voluntatis, propter quas nec coactionem sustinet, nec receptibilis est vllo modorum ipsius."[31]

It lies not in our stars that we are underlings; we have a complete and free choice to do what we will. Bradwardine reconciles this choice with divine prescience in the following manner:

[28] These doctrines are well recognized as Pelagian: see for example, J. Alzog, *Manual of Universal Church History*, translated by Pabisch and Byrne, Cincinnati, 1874, vol. I, §116 (3), p. 575; also A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 600, C (c).

[29] There is no need here of going into their particular definition of free will. On the point of the relation between man and God, see J. Keftan, *Dogmatik*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901 (in the *Grundriss der Theol. Wiss.*, Fünfter Theil, I Bd), §37 (3); also W. A. Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, New York, 1907, p. 245; G. P Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1893, p. 136. For direct evidence on the subject, see St. Augustine, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Aug. X, *Contra Duas Epistolas Pel.*, I, col. 570 f., cap. XXIV: "Tantumque constituunt in libero arbitrio, quo in profundum demersus est homo, ut eo bene utendo dicant hominem mereri gratiam: cum nemo bene illo uti possit, nisi per gratiam. Quae non secundum debitum redditur, sed Deo gratis miserante donatur. Parvulos autem ita contendunt esse jam salvos, ut a Salvatore audeant negare salvandos." Also Aug. II, col 765: "Tantum enim dicunt valentem," etc.

[30] See his *Praefatio*: he says he has been asked to write, for "quot, Domine, hodie cum Pelagio, pro Libero Arbitrio contra gratuitam gratiam tuam pugnant, *et* contra Paulum pugilem gratiae spiritualem? Quot etiam hodie gratuitam gratiam tuam fastidiunt, solumque Liberum Arbitrium ad salutem sufficere stomachantur? aut si gratia*m* vtantur, vel perfunctorie necessariam eam simulant," etc.

[31] III, cap. I, p. 644 A and B.

"Atque ita qui omnes rerum causas praesciuit, profecto in eis causis etiam nostras voluntates ignorare non potuit, quas nostrorum operum causas esse praesciuit."[32]

God can foresee not only our actions but the causes of them: he knows our wills. So Bradwardine answers the argument of Troilus.

Let us remind ourselves at this point that Bradwardine's lifetime was not so very long before Chaucer's, that in fact it extended well into the fourteenth century.[33] Orthodoxy had lasted as long as that at least. In opposing the Pelagians, the Church did emphasize the grace of God, but still it maintained a belief and a very pronounced belief in human free will.[34] The Church Fathers held to a faith in divine predestination of human affairs, but they reconciled it with human free will none the less.[35] Those who held independent

[32] I, cap. XXVIII, p. 267 B.

[33] See Savile's introduction (*Lectori*, a 2 verso and foll.): Bradwardine was born c. 1290; went to Merton College, Oxford; was Procurator in Oxford in 1325; he was named Doctor Profundus by the Pope; became Archbishop of Canterbury; died October, 1349. Some other details in Savile's account are added from Bale and Leland; but the general period of Bradwardine's activity is all that concerns us here and there seems to be no dispute about the limits assigned above. See Lechler, *De T. Brad, Commentatio*, Lipsiae 1862, p. 4 f.; Lounsbury, *Studies*, II, p. 382 f.; and Morley, *English Writers*, IV, 61.

[34] In writing against the ideas of the Manicheans, Augustine of course brings out this point. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Aug. VIII, *Disput. Sec. Diei*, col. 121: "Quod liberum arbitrium si non dedisset Deus, judicium puniendi nullum justum esse posset, nec meritum recte faciendi, nec praeceptum divinum ut ageretur poenitentia de peccatis; nec ipsa indulgentia peccatorum, quam nobis Deus per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum donavit." Col. 122: "Ego dico peccatum non esse, si non propria voluntate peccatur." Yet divine aid is necessary for good living: see Aug. III, col. 1778 (10); X, 202 (4). See also St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, Rome, 1886, vol. I, *Quaestio* LXXXIII, Art. I: "Respondeo dicendum, quod homo est liberi arbitrii alioquin frustra essent consilia, exhortationes, praecepta, prohibitiones, praemia, et poenia."

[35] In one of his discussions, Augustine quotes Jerome as follows: " 'Liberi Arbitrii nos condidit Deus, nec ad vertutem, nec ad vitia necessitate trahimur; alioquin ubi necessitas, nec corona est.' quis non cognoscat? quis non toto corde suscipiat? quis aliter conditam humanam neget esse naturam? Sed in recte faciendo ideo nullum est vinculum necessitatis, quia libertas est charitatis," (Aug. X, cap. LXV, col. 286.) Cf. Boethius, Chaucer's translation, V, pr. II, ll. 3-5 (Skeat, p. 129). See also St. Thomas, *Summa, Quaest.* XXIII, Art. VI: "Praedestinatio certissime et infallibiliter consequitur suum effectum, nec tamen imponit necessitatem, ut scilicet effectus ejus ex necessitate proveniat . . . Sic igitur et ordo praedestinationis est certus, et tamen libertas arbitrii non tollitur, ex qua contingenter provenit praedestinationis effectus."

views on these points would be considered heretical and, like the Lollards, would be marked extraordinary. If Chaucer introduced such alien doctrines into the moral of his poem, he must have been deliberate in the fact and he must have been conscious that he was thereby making his work conspicuously revolutionary. The fourth book of *Troilus and Criseyde* would indeed be a strange place to tuck away such a heterodox confession!

Does the prevailing sentiment of the poem bear out this view? Is the doctrine at the end of the poem consistent with Troilus's fatalism? After finishing his revision of Boccaccio's story, Chaucer added a passage from another tale by the Italian poet, borrowing from the *Teseide* to describe the ascent of Troilus to heaven and thus giving us Troilus's final realization of his own mistake. The youth sees that here on earth our deeds follow our "blinde lust" (pleasure)[36] when we really ought to set our hearts on heaven; and the poet warns "yonge fresshe folkes" to realize the emptiness of worldly frivolity and turn from it to God.[37] Evidently, then there was some choice in human affairs and Troilus suffered from having chosen to meddle in things that were not worth-while. In his early speech at the crisis of his tragedy, he merely gave utterance to what seem to be extremely typical ideas for such a time: he exonerated himself of all guilt for his disaster so that he might pity himself the more justly. This after all is but "the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune,—often the surfeits of our own behavior,—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars, as if we were villains on necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion." There is no reason for thrusting this foppery upon Chaucer himself. Furthermore it is quite characteristic of Troilus, who all through the poem, at every turn of the plot, blames Fate or Fortuna for whatever occurs.[38]

[36] V, ll. 1821 ff.

[37] V, ll. 1835. On all this view of the tragedy, see the statement in Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, pp. 142 ff,, where, however, this application of the ending is not found. The problem of such a thing as guilt in the *Troilus* is far from simple, and after all Troilus does not suffer eternally for his folly; but he does suffer for a while, he learns that it is folly, and we are warned against "these wrecched worldes appetytes." The complexity of the situation is a phase of its great humanity, and none knew that better than Chaucer, who wrote: "Swich fyn his lust, swich fyn hath his noblesse."

[38] See for example: I, ll. 837; III, ll. 733; IV, ll. 260; IV, ll. 1192; V, ll. 1699. Chaucer found considerable Fortune material in his source, the *Filostra-*

The speech is, therefore, dramatically appropriate to Troilus but does not voice the moral of the poem as a whole. To take this passage as representative of Chaucer's own ideas is as logical as to take Shakspere's "Out, out brief candle" as evidence that the dramatist believed in universal suicide. Troilus denied the existence of free will, but in reality his only bondage has been the subjection to his own folly. As Boethius puts it:

> "For after that they han cast awey hir eyen fro the light of the sovereyn soothfastnesse to lower thinges and derke, anon they derken by the cloude of ignoraunce and ben troubled by felonous talents; to the whiche talents whan they aprochen and asenten, they hepen and encresen the servage which they han ioyned to hem-self; and in this manere they ben caitifs fro hir propre libertee."[39]

Obviously, however, Chaucer could not state his moral in this fashion; for the *Troilus* is not a gloomy, heavy tragedy, nor does the love affair consist in complete abandonment to "lowe thinges and derke"! Such things are a matter of degree. I have no doubt that Chaucer's own sympathies were with his hero, and that he enjoyed the lovers and was heart and soul with them in their difficulties; but I believe that his sense of moral values was never jostled by his emotional interest and that he never dreamed for an instant of a code of "higher morality." He does not say, to be sure, that Troilus had cast his "eyen fro the light of the sovereyn soothfastnesse," but he does bid young folk to do the opposite:

> "And of your herte up-casteth the visage
> To thilke god that after his image
> You made."[40]

We are now left with the problem of Usk's complimentary reference to Troilus's speech. Usk's comment that here Chaucer

to, which is really a sentimental tragedy due to the workings of the element of chance; but he deliberately altered his version of the story by adding the Christian Conception of Fortuna the "executrice of wierdes": see III, ll. 617 ff., and V, ll. 1541 ff. In his poem, therefore, the whole course of events, in so far as it is outside of human power, moves according to the rule of Jove. Whatever are the motives of the guiding force, it is not capricious; and I intend to show in this article how largely the element of human will enters into, and was thus meant to enter into, the development of the tragedy. Troilus and Criseyde become responsible for their own doom. To the quotation from *Lear* above, one may add the speech of Argante in the *Fourberies of Scapin* (Act I, Sc. iv).

[39] Chaucer's Boethius, V, pr. II, ll. 24-30.

[40] V, ll. 1838-40.

has "at the ful this question (of predestination) assoyled," must mean one of two things, if it is sincere. Either Usk must refer to the solution given by the entire poem and so not specifically to the monologue of Troilus, and this seems improbable; or he must have taken the speech to be sufficient unto itself because he, Thomas Usk, was a fatalist. The latter possibility is not promising when we read one of the speaker's remarks in the *Testament*: "So that now me thinketh, that prescience of god and free arbitrement withouten any repugnaunce acorden."[41] The safest inference, to my mind, is that Usk's reference is not based upon any deep consideration at all, but that it is merely a sample of his skill in unctious flattery.[42] As to Speght's reference later, it is obvious that that does not bear on the question either way except in so far as it shows Speght's own interest in the passage.

What, then, were Chaucer's own ideas on the subject of fate and free will? I cannot here enter into this problem fully, because it would require a study of his use of Fate, Fortune, and divine predestination in the schemes of all his works. He certainly seems to have had a steady interest in the question, perhaps stimulated by the vivid discussion in the *Consolatio*. It might be urged that Troilus's speech is not the only place where he gives utterance to deterministic doctrines: in the *Knight's Tale* we read in the speech of Arcite:

> "Allas, why pleynen folk so in commune
> Of purveyaunce of God, or of fortune,
> That yeveth hem ful ofte in many a gyse
> Wel bettre than they can hem-sel devyse?"[43]

Here again we find, it might be said, that "purveyaunce of god" or Fortune actually do give man's destiny to man, and although this passage too may be fitted dramatically to its setting yet this is the second time that the poet has found an opportunity to express these views. This argument proves unsound, however, when we remember that no one denied that much of man's destiny did come

[41] *Test.*, III, chap. IV, ll. 236-38. Cf. also III, IX, ll. 5-7. Usk was no profound thinker, as one may gather from his account of the origin of evil (ll. 264-7, ch. IV); but after all he was not deadly in earnest in any part of his treatise.

[42] Bradley suggested that Usk complimented Chaucer in hopes of aid. See *Athen.*, 1897, I, p. 184.

[43] A 1251-54.

from God: the Church in fact laid stress on this point as a part of the doctrine of God's grace. The essential part was not to omit the doctrine of man's free will, and it is this omission of which Troilus is peculiarly guilty. In general in regard to the poet's own views, if impressions are to count for anything, I suspect from Chaucer's dismissal of the subject in the *Knight's Tale*, his turning of the argument in the *Troilus*, and his humorous reference to it in the *Nonnes Preestes Tale*, that so far as laymen were concerned, he thought that the subject had been laboured a good deal more than was necessary or fruitful.[44]

I have now dealt with all the points proposed at the beginning of this paper except one. No one apparently has ever felt that Troilus's speech is anything but an anachronism, even if a forgivable one. A distinction should have been made in this criticism, however, in its relation to subject-matter and to method. In regard to the former, I very much doubt whether the accusation is just; for it seems reasonable to suppose that in Trojan times, as much as in the middle ages or in our own day for that matter, there was a discussion of something corresponding to fate and free will. In regard to the method of the speech, one must admit that the system of logic employed seems more characteristic of the Church Fathers than of the Trojan youth. But it must be remembered that the young man of the middle ages probably adopted some of the methods of the scholastics when he had a particular reason to strive for soundness: in his day those methods seemed after all to be the best form, and they certainly represented the form with which he was most familiar.[45] And can we not go even a step

[44] After writing this discussion of Chaucer's own ideas, I was interested to find that Fansler in his study of the problem (*Chauc. and the Roman de la Rose*, pp. 210 ff.) had come to practically the same conclusion. In part he says: "We are inclined to judge, however, that for practical living the poet believed in the freedom of man to do right or wrong as he chose." Compare on the other hand B. L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Pilosophy of Boethius*, Princeton Univ. Pres, 1917, p. 79 f., who thinks differently.

[45] The long monologues such as we find in the *Roman de la Rose* are not of point here, because Jean de Meun was simply turning a very neat allegory into an encyclopaedia in the style of the *de Nuptiis* of Martianus Capella. A really analogous case seems to be found in Alexander's speech in Chretien's *Cliges* where he debates the pro's and con's of how love could enter one's heart without wounding one's eyes in the process. Of course the mediaeval epics were not attempting to be true to the ancient spirit, possibly because they had not conceived of such a spirit. The methods of the poets are certainly no more

further? If the speech shows a peculiar earnestness which would naturally express itself in the unusual care in detail and in the repetitiousness so common to the scholastic writings, but which might reveal those same traits in any age even without scholastic influence, its appropriateness then becomes a question of its relation to the mood of the speaker and the charge of anachronism falls to the ground.

To establish this final point in regard to the monologue of Troilus requires considerable delicacy. It must be observed that if I fail to make myself clear in this particular, the points already made will be in no way affected. I have the double difficulty of tracing Chaucer's steps in the operation of a piece of alchemy and of persuading my readers that the final product is gold. I have also that worst task of all—the discovering of humor where none has been seen before. I can only ask the reader first to follow my discussion closely and then with my interpretation in mind to reread the passage in its proper setting in Chaucer.

Let us now see how the speech develops. In his despair Troilus feels that he is "but loren," he goes to the temple to pray and finds no consolation, and his first outburst comes from his feelings, not from his intellect:

> "For al that comth, comth by necessitee;
> Thus to be lorn, it is my destinee."[46]

to be censured than the methods of the eighteenth century in modernizing Shakspere. We do not find classical restraint in the lament of Ismène in the *Roman de Thebes*; the inconsistencies of Lydgate are delightful in turning Amphiaraus into an "olde bisshop" who goes down to hell, we are told in one place, "only of fate" but later we read: "Lo here the mede of ydolatrie" and thus the devil paid him "for his old outrages." But these elements and this style were familiar to the middle ages, and after all, romance is usually not the worse for a little realism. The process is familiar enough in a composite of Theban and English life in Shakspere. Professor Kittredge has remarked: "We have already accepted Troilus as a mediaeval knight and a mediaeval lover, and we cannot take umbrage at his praying like a man of the middle ages, or arguing with himself in the mediaeval manner," (*Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 116.) In part the present paper is a development of the views expressed in Professor Kittredge's book; and before attempting to publish, the writer submitted his article to Mr. Kittredge, who, in response, gave him the benefit of a most generous and detailed criticism.

[46] IV, ll. 958-59.

First the feeling of his destruction and then of the inevitableness of it; one thought has suggested the other and here is the germ of all that follows. He is glad to have something, especially something external, to accuse; for his chief purpose is to exonerate himself in order to justify his self-pity. So he proceeds, "For certaynly, this wot I wel," and the whole game is begun: he remembers the scholastic discussion on the subject, the opposing views, and the possible inferences and conclusions. It is a splendid beginning, humanly real in every way.

He remembers the paradox between the dogma of divine prescience and that of human free will, and he applies it at once to his own case:

> "That for-sight of divyne purveyaunce
> Hath seyn alwey me to for-gon Criseyde."[47]

Then, as I have shown, he points out that doubtless God takes human merit into consideration; but the inference of this statement is that, merit or no merit, God has doomed Troilus to destruction and he has had no real fighting chance in the matter. After all, he says, clerks are divided on this subject of destiny and free will: some hold to the one and some to the other. Thereafter follows almost to the end of Troilus's speech a pretty close rendering of the section from Boethius,[48] and sometimes Chaucer echoes the very language of his own translation, which probably he had already made.[49]

[47] Ll. 961-62.

[48] TC IV, ll. 974-980 — Chaucer's Boethius, V, pr. III, ll. 7-12; TC ll. 981-987 — B ll. 12-18; TC ll. 988-994 (except for the wording of "fals and foul and wikked corsednesse") — B. ll. 17-19; TC ll. 991-994 — cf. B. ll. 85-89; TC ll. 997-1001 — B. ll. 22-26; TC ll. 1002-1022 (except for "al falle it foule or faire") — B. ll. 26-39; TC ll. 1023-28 — B. ll. 39-41; TC ll. 1030-1043 (except for the shift to the general "you") — B. ll. 41-51; TC ll. 1044-47 — B. ll. 51-53; TC ll. 1051-1078 — B. ll. 53-71. Cf. B. L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Cons. of Philos.* etc., p. 139, and pp. 73 ff. It should be noted that the Boethian discussion also appears in the *Roman de la Rose* and that there Reason continues the argument, as in Boethius Philosophy does, to prove the freedom of the human will. See Fansler (*Chaucer and the R. d. l. R.*), pp. 210 ff.

[49] Cf. especially, TC IV, ll. 985-86 — B. V. pr. III, ll. 15-18; TC ll. 1009-10 — B. ll. 30-32; TC ll. 1016-17 (where he again makes the mistake pointed out by Skeat, *Troilus*, p. 491) — B. ll. 35-36; TC ll. 1045-47 — B. ll. 51-53. See Jefferson, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.

"What clerks," says Troilus, "am I to follow? For some of them say that if God has foreseen everything, then everything must happen according to the way he has foreseen it, and so we have no free will," (ll. 974-980). The next two stanzas are devoted to an elucidation of this argument: if God has perfectly foreseen our deeds and our thoughts, we can have only such deeds and thoughts as He has known we were going to have; otherwise His prescience would be imperfect and we must not believe such heresy as that, (ll. 981-994). Although practically the same statements are found in Boethius, the setting here is of course different and the effect is that of Troilus becoming perhaps wordy and even repetitious but extremely anxious to be logically clear and correct. "Other eminent clerks," he continues, and his reference to them is perhaps just a trifle flippant or bitter:

"Somme
That han hir top ful heigh and smothe y-shore,"[50]

"other eminent clerks hold that prescience is not the cause of the happening of events, but that since something is going to happen, therefore God must foreknow it," (ll. 995-1001). "So necessity falls on the other side of the proposition, (ll. 1002-1008); and the whole issue reduces itself to a matter of the order of causes—whether the prescience of God is the cause of the happening of events, or whether the necessary happening of events is the cause of the prescience," (ll. 1009-1015).

"But," he says, "I will not bother with the order of causes. The upshot of it all, whichever way you take the causes, is the same: I know surely that the happening of things which are foreseen, is necessary, although it may not seem that prescience causes them—for better or worse," (ll. 1016-1022). This stanza introduces the first marked touch of what I have called the dramatic quality of the speech; but if this quality is not clear already, I must make it clearer by analyzing the psychology of Troilus at this part of his argument. Roughly put, his course of thought is as follows: "One school of clerks says that prescience makes the happening of events necessary; another says that the necessary happening of events causes the prescience. In either case (waiving all fine logic) I am sure of one thing anyhow: what is known ahead of time *must* happen—whether foreseeing it causes it or not."

[50] Ll. 995-96.

The first proposition (of which he says he is sure) he states with dogged determination because it is about that truth that he most cares; and his second proposition—"although it does not seem that prescience causes the events"—is uttered in deference to the logic of the case: in fact, is added somewhat as an afterthought. The total effect to the casual listener is indeed strange: "The fact that something is foreseen means that it must happen, although, if logicians are right, it does not happen because of the fact that it is foreseen"! Such a verbal contradiction, surprising in itself, suits splendidly the dramatic effect of which I am speaking; and yet at the same time, we are able to see by what mental processes Troilus got there. A man does not wilfully leap into such a contradiction. Troilus is arguing very solemnly indeed, determined not to slip, and although perhaps a little conscious that he may seem confusing, he is all the more grim about it. His last desperate "Al falle it foule or faire," shows that he thinks he has gained his point.

He then proceeds to give the figure of one man's sitting on a seat and another man's observing him there. Whether this figure be considered logically sound or not (Troilus substitutes the necessity of the fact of sitting and of seeing for the sureness of divine vision which has no place in this general application of the argument), the figure in each of its two forms must certainly seem highly ludicrous—especially in the wording into which Troilus occasionally stumbles. And here for once, Troilus gets thoroughly confused himself. "If you see a man sitting on a seat, and if he is actually sitting there, then your opinion that he is sitting there must be true." He is now up to his neck in the complexity of the argument; stating the reverse of this case will take very careful thought indeed to make no error in the argument:

> "And ferther-over now ayenward yit,"

he says. "Beside, notwithstanding this point, however,"—the jargon of a self-conscious beginner in the study of logic and coherence, as any teacher of first-year English will recognize.[51] In

[51] Such jargon is also rather characteristic of scholastic discussion, and perhaps Chaucer had this partly in mind. Compare for example such language as in Bradwardine (DCD, Savile, p. 646 A): "Non est enim propter quid, nec quia, quoniam nec à causa ad effectum nec e contra." The lingo, however intelligible to a professional philosopher in the middle ages, is enough to pro-

Boethius the transition to the other half of the argument is quite simple: "And on the other hand it is also true of the reverse case"—"And ayeinward also is it of the contrarye."[52] Troilus, however, fights on: "Beside—now—on the other hand—still, just see!—it's exactly the same with the counterpart of this—that is to say," (he gulps once more) "now listen, for I'm not going to take long," (he is talking aloud to himself and forgets the character of his audience[53]),—"I *say*," and at last for a moment he is on his feet again.

> "And ferther-over now ayenward yit,
> Lo, right so it is of the part contrarie,
> As thus—now herkne, for I wol not tarie—
>
> I seye, that if," etc. (ll. 1027-30).

voke the irritation and humor of the general reader. Chaucer would not be exactly satirizing scholastic methods if he so copied their weaknesses; he would be merely showing once more that his sense of humor accompanied him wherever he went.

[52] B. V, pr. III, l. 41.

[53] This line has been taken as evidence that "Chaucer through interest in the subject may have forgotten that Troilus is the speaker and momentarily have assumed that position for himself. The inconsistency may also result from Chaucer's overlooking the point in a revision of the poem," Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Cons. of Philos.* etc., p. 75, n. 49. (See also Fansler, *Ch. and the R. d. l. R.*, p. 213.) These explanations seem to me little short of preposterous: they neglect the fact that Chaucer was an artist and generally misinterpret the passage as giving Chaucer's own views. On this last point, however, it is only fair to add a note on a matter discovered by Root in his study of the manuscript evidence on the free will passage (*The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's T.*, pp. 216 ff.) The St. John's Coll. MS Ll has a space between stanzas 154-55 for sixteen stanza spaces with a note in a contemporary hand: "her faileth. thyng yt is nat yt made." The writing, according to Root, seems to be that of the scribe. Perhaps, then, Chaucer did intend to add the rest of the discussion from Boethius; if that is the case, all my interpretation falls to the ground But perhaps the scribe or some fifteenth century writer intended to do so: the MS contains (in a sixteenth century hand) Henryson's completion of the story in the *Testament of Criseide.* Root offers, however, a still better explanation. He thinks the note and space may go back to an ancestor of the MS in which a larger blank had been left for the entire free will passage; later the eighteen stanzas were written in and the note was not erased. If this is the case, the scribe of this parent MS must have been in very close communication with Chaucer, and Root's ingenious suggestion involves thus its own difficulties. Whatever the explanation of the note, the passage seems finished as it is, and it seems hard to think how Philosophy's reply could be logically incorporated.

If I exaggerate, it is only slightly and I do it to make my point thoroughly clear; for it seems to me a distinct and subtle dramatic touch which should be more generally appreciated.

The figure of the man sitting and of his observer is used, from a logical point of view, to illustrate the argument drawn from the two opposed schools which has already been cited; and the result is the same. "The fact of his sitting may be the cause of the truth of one's seeing him, but necessity plays a part on both sides of the proposition. So in the same way I may reason about God's prescience," (ll. 1023-1047). Then Troilus adds (not from Boethius), "Wherefore men can see that what happens on earth, happens necessarily," (ll. 1048-50).

Having shown the strong element of necessity in human affairs Troilus goes back to the order of causes. To make the conclusion that is of most importance to him, he must restate the whole situation: "Although a thing is foreseen because it is going to happen and does *not* happen because it is foreseen, yet it follows necessarily either that what is to come be foreseen or else that what is foreseen necessarily happen," (ll. 1051-57). This statement would certainly be a staggerer for the casual listener—or we may say, reader! He is simply pointing out once more the necessary part that necessity plays (!), but he does it in what certainly sounds like rubbish or, at best, self-contradiction. The last clause certainly seem impossible after what is granted in the first. Muddled as he seems, however, Troilus is working his way through the involutions and we can see both his way into and his way out of the apparent contradiction. The boy is having a hard time of it, but he gets there! "This necessity in either case destroys our free will. And to return to the order of causes, it would be wrong to say that the happening of temporal events causes God's prescience. What kind of thinking should I be guilty of, if I thought that all the events of the world that have ever happened were the cause of that sovreign Foreknowledge?" (ll. 1058-71).

He has now made his point and made it definitely. But he continues:

"And over al this, yet seye I more herto,"

and he puts this with rather broad confidence, having achieved his goal in his own mind. Then he goes on apparently to repeat the gist of the whole matter once more! "Just as when I know there

is a thing, that thing must necessarily be true; so when I know of a coming event, it must likewise come. And so the happening of events which are foreknown, cannot be avoided," (ll. 1072-78) He repeats all this, to be sure, to take up the alternative problem as to whether God's foreknowledge causes the events, since the reverse is not true; but the proposition is put so weakly that it sounds fallacious (how certain is the knowledge that "I," the speaker, know? Troilus does not give the corrective to this that is found in Boethius) and it gives merely the impression of stating the old argument once more: God foresees events; therefore they must happen; therefore man has no free will.

This argument Troilus has found occasion, for one reason or another, to state about four times.[54] To one who cannot follow his thought closely (and it would be an unusual reader or listener who could at the first reading!) he seems to repeat his idea of the part played by necessity at least six times.[55] In a way his logic is straight enough; but the effect of it is at times very much tangled as a result of its presentation in a time of emotional stress. To all intents and purposes he contradicts himself at least twice, although by careful analysis we can see how his mind is moving. In other words, Chaucer shows amazing power in keeping both the dramatic effect and the psychology of his character true. There is the same effect of happy fallacy in Troilus's speech that we find in a solemn and earnest malapropism. Once the boy has succeeded in clearing his mind to his own satisfaction, he stops his argument to call on Jove to have pity on his sorrow or kill him straightway. He has satisfied himself that Jove is running all the affairs of this world: why, then, does not the great god run them *properly!*

Nothing, it seems to me, could be more beautifully adapted to the scene than this speech by Troilus. It is his way of saying "I've never had a chance," and he sets out bravely to prove his case. It is involved and confusing, but the boy gets bravely through with it. He is extraordinarily conscientious at every step, and develops his argument with the most elaborate, the most scrupulous care. *Of course* he would be verbose and repetitious and longwinded. Pandarus does not take the speech (so far as he hears it) as instructive, but comments, "Ey! who seigh ever a

[54] Ll. 960-966; ll. 978-980; ll. 1056-59; ll. 1076-78.

[55] Ll. 1002-1008; ll. 1012-1015; ll. 1018-20; ll. 1042-43; ll. 1049-50; ll. 1051-56.

wys man faren so!" Troilus has certainly been "going on"; and nothing could be more delightful, and, I feel, nothing under the circumstances could be more like a young man—like Troilus.

Certain objections to this interpretation will occur to everyone. It might be urged that we moderns find more fault with this speech than a man in the middle ages would have found. Let us remember in answer to that point, however, that Chaucer himself saw the humor of the tedious *Tale of Melibeus*. Again, I may be reminded that all this speech was taken pretty much as we find it from Boethius. In reply to that, I must say that I have not denied all virtues to the passage. That the argument seems involved or repetitious in the speech of Troilus does not mean that one is to find fault with it for the same reasons in its setting in the *Consolatio*. Chaucer has not represented the full argument as the speaker in Boethius gives it;[56] and in Boethius the full scholastic apparatus was necessary for logical reasons—there the speaker is fully justified in being so painstaking. Besides, although Chaucer does show a sense of the humor of the *Tale of Melibeus*, he had once seen enough value in it to bother to translate it entire.

I cannot maintain that I have wholly removed the grounds for the charge of anachronism. Troilus refers to "clerks" and mentions a discussion which was really in the air in Chaucer's time. But I hope to have reduced these grounds to a minimum: merely so to say, to the fact that Chaucer does use certain mechanical properties, which to be sure were not genuine antiques, but for the use of which he is no more to be censured than for the fact that Troilus speaks English rather than Aeolic Greek. He takes a discussion which is redolent of the scholastic treatises, although its subject was a common topic of controversy among laymen; but he metamorphoses it into a completely adequate expression of Troilus's personality and feelings. It is one of those obvious and yet felicitous strokes of which a genius is so strangely capable and in the effecting of which it is worth while to watch the genius at work.

[56] Boethius takes up the matter of man's imperfect knowledge in relation to the discussion of prescience in general; (ll. 71-85); and he relates the whole matter to vice and virtue, as I have pointed out above. Compared with the argument in Boethius, Chaucer's is in part much more compact, but that does not affect the impression it gives of being extremely repetitious and verbose in its narrative setting and (with some of Chaucer's changes) of being very much confused.

The result shows an almost unparalleled example of Chaucer's balance in his just comprehension of tragedy and his gentle sense of humor.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

Nearer and Remoter Cognates of German "Wald"

The old and almost abandoned connection of Eng. *wild* with the sept of Germ. *wald* becomes, after restatement, quite convincing. Eng. *wold* was the range, locus errationis; *wild* originally meant ranging, errans. Cf. OEng. *weallĭan*, errare, from the root *wel* (:*ul* in Lat. *ambulare*?). The *IE.* neuter collective *wel-t-es-* (whence Germ. das *Wild*) is in its formation like Skr. *srŏ-t-as*, stream (fluens). —Domesticated cattle (*vieh*) were designated by the counter term *pek̂-es-* (in Lat. *pecus*, see TAPA. 41, 34; AJPh. 34.31), meaning *bound* or *band*; cf. Lith. *bandà*, herd, and Lat. *armentum*. The *binding* may have included hobbling, cf. the Berne Scholia to Virgil, G. 3, 141, cum pascunt (equae) pedibus impeditis; or fencing, as in the mediaeval contrast between the park and the *forest* (*forestis*, the outside), the range and not, save by connotation, the trees; cf. Ital. *forestiere*, stranger.

A permissible primate of ἄλσος grove, is *al-twes-* (or *l-twes-*). As will appear from the cognates, *twes* is either a compound suffix (*tu*+*es*); or, in view of Skr. *at-as-ám*, ge-büsch (of formation like Lat. *op-er-ā*), *altwes-* is from the blending of *altu-* and *a×tes-*; or of *altu-* and *ales-* (ἄλη, erratio). The root *at*, errare, is thoroughly attested in Sanskrit, so that Skr. *a[l]-ṭavi*, forest, certainly exhibits a blend of the synonym roots *al* and *at*; cf. also Skr. $\sqrt{at} = \sqrt{aṭ}$.

Apropos of Skr. *at* and *aṭ*, I raise the question whether the later conversion in the medieval and modern dialects of original *t* etc. to *ṭ* etc. may not have started in one or a few pairs like *at* and *aṭ*.

Germ. *wald* and Lat. *saltus* come from *(s)waltu-/s(w)altu-*, derived from the root *al*, compounded with the preverb *sw-*, co- (see TAPA. 44, 107 sq.). The root may have meant 'errare,' so that *sw-altu-* would have meant 'locus errationis'; but there is a root *al* which means 'pascere' (in Lat. *alit*), so that *sw-altus* might have meant 'locus pastionis.' In Goth. *alan* this root *al* means 'to grow,' so that *swaltus* may have meant 'ge-wächs,' collectively used like Eng. *the bush* (=gebüsch). The compound root *sw-al* (in Av. *x^{v}ar*) means 'pasci, frui.' The two roots *al* may be resolved into one if we define by 'errare pascentem' (Anglice, to graze="move on devouring") or by 'pasci errantem,' whence 1)

pasci; 2) errare. Note νέμει pascit; νέμεται pascitur; and νόμας errans; also Lat. *nemus* and νέμος, grove (for pasturage).

That the root *al*, errare, is different from the root *el*, ire (cf. Walde, s.v. ambulo), is not credible; cf. Skr. *at* defined in the Petersburg lexica by 'gehen, wandern, laufen.' Greek forms in ἀλ will then come from *l* or *ll* (before vowels); while Latin forms will have generalized *ll* before vowels (as in *alit*, e.g.). Cf. Lith. *el-ka*, grove.

If to *al*, errare, we allow, as in Skr. *at*, the connotation, and then definition, currere, we may also explain the root *s(w)al*, to leap, in ἄλλομαι and *salio*, as a compound of *al*; cf. Germ. *laufen*, currere: Eng. *leaps*, salit. Thus, in conformity with Latin usage, *saltus* was a 'run' (for cattle).

Latin *silva* will belong with this group; primate *si-sl-ow-ā* > **sīlua* > *sĭlva* (*sĭluà*), cf. Lat. *ărdus* from *āridus*. By a very natural figure a clump of trees on a Texas prairie is called an island. Conversely Lith. *salava* (: *salà*), island, may originally have been a *silva* in the steppes.

The Root of Eng. Heath

The lexica—I refer particularly to Skeat and Kluge—fight shy of identifying the root of *kaitī*, primate of Eng. *heath* and Germ. *heide*. Here also the original sense was 'run' (for cattle), and the root is to be sought in the root of κῑ́-ω, eo; curro, cf. Lat. *cieo* and *cĭtus*. Alongside of *kaitī*, i.e., *kəitī* (*kəito-*), stood—unless we operate with dialectic *ē* from *ae*—*kē(i)to-*, in Latin *bucētum* (also *bucītum*), cattle-run. True, for this analysis Walde enters trivial pleas of avoidance. That *bū-cētum* would be surer if we had the simplex **cētum* may be granted, but surely Walde does not deny survivals in composition of words not attested as simplicia. As for Brugmann's *bū<c>ētum* after *īlic-ētum*, the grounds for this analogy are as fantastic as though one fashioned in modern English a *cowbery* to match *shrubbery*.

Winter = year, and the Northern Habitat of the Indo-Europeans

The definition of Av. *ayan-/ayar-* by iter solis, whence the daily journey (*journêe*) of the sun, day, seems to me beyond question. *Dies it*, cf. Horace's quotquot eunt dies and gratior it dies. Also note Skr. *áyanam*, iter, but specifically of either half-yearly journey

of the sun from solstice to solstice. The sun's full yearly journey is similarly designated by Goth. *jer*, Av. *yār(ə)*, from the root in the form *y-ē-*. From the root *ĝhēi*, discedere, in Germ. *gehen* (see Walde,[2] p. 256), we have Skr. *hāyaná-*, year, not to be separated from the differently graded Av. *zayan-*, winter. The winter half-year was the going away of the sun, and 'winter' was an earlier sense than 'year.' For the extension to the whole year we have the analogy of English fifty winters for fifty years. Also cf. Lat. *bīmus*, from **bi-himus*, two years old; ONorse *gymbr*, yearling>lamb. The designation of winter (*zayan-*) and snow (χιών) and storm (Lat. *hiems*) by words that originally meant abitus solis points to a northern habitat.—The sun's yearly journey may also be designated by Goth. *aþn*, year, from a primate *otnom*: Skr. *átati*, errat (root *et*, see TAPA, 44, 116). We may explain the *a* of *annus* if we derive it from haplologic *ad-[od]nos* (*dn* from *tn*) : Goth *at-aþni*, year. On *[s]w-etes*, year, see the last reference. But the *aþn* group may refer to an annual nomadic migration, or even to the shift of tillage from year to year (cf. e.g., Caesar, Bell. Gall. 6.22).

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TWO FUGITIVE POEMS OF PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE

A few years ago the writer found among a collection of old MSS and newspaper clippings in a Virginia home, several poems of the Charleston poet, Tinrod, and a larger number by his friend and fellow citizen, Paul Hamilton Hayne, which had apparently been lost to sight altogether, and which are not included in any of the editions of the two poets' works.

Most of these poems, with a description of their sources, have been printed in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*.[1] Two by Hayne were, however, omitted from publication. Though Hayne may be destined eventually to a measure of obscurity, yet his work as an American writer, and as a link in American literary history is such that any reputable production of his should be made public. The poems are as follows:

"Written for the *Illustrated News*"

POEMS OF THE WAR
By Paul H. Hayne

Scenes

Oh, God! if gifted with an angel's flight,
And somewhat of an angel's mystic sight,
'Twere our[s] to pass this bleeding country over,
What visions would those piercing orbs discover!
What horrors branded on the shrinking brain
Would burn, and burn, like Purgatorial pain,
Thrilling throughout our consciousness—to rise
In nightmare terror on our sleeping eyes!
Nay! tho' our flight be fancy's, and our view
But owns the magic of an insight true,
We well may pause and tremble as we see
Revived, in all their shame and infamy,
The cruel orgies of that later day
Of Rome, which knew the Borgia's brutal sway,
Ere Rome sunk to perdition———!
But with these
Are mingled tenderer scenes and images,
Mournful as any Shakespeare pitying wrought
On the dim canvass of pathetic thought:
[Gap of one line here]

[1] Jan. 1903, April 1908, Oct. 1910.

Farewells! whereat no scorching tears are shed,
Mute claspings of the brave, untimely dead,
Calm hero bearings, tho' the heart be broke,
And the soul withered at the lightning stroke
Of Supreme Grief!—unconscious children playing,
Despite a father's corse, a mother's praying;
Fair maidens, smiling on despair to make
A lover's death-bed softer for love's sake,
And all home's fragrant ministries that bring
Full blooms and odors (like a sudden spring
Born in mid-winter) to the sufferer's room,
Wafting both light and sweetness thro' the gloom!
[Gap of one line here]

Yet o'ver it all, pierce tumult and false calm,
Unseen, but sovereign, rules the dread "I am!"
His prescience guides the complex threads of Fate,
His mercy will not leave us desolate,
For in our blood, and tears, our pain, and sorrow,
Rest the rich germs of some sublime to-morrow!

From the Charleston *Mercury*

THE KENTUCKY PARTISAN

By Paul H. Hayne

Hath the wily swamp Fox
Come again to earth?
Hath the soul of Sumter
Owned a second birth?
From the Western hill slopes
Starts a hero form,
Stalworth, like the oak tree,
Tameless, like the storm!
His! an eye of lightning!
His! a heart of steel!
Flashing deadly vengeance,
Thrilled with fiery zeal!
Hound him down, ye Minions!
Seize him—if ye can,
But wo worth the Hireling knave
Who meets him, man to man!

Well done! gallant Morgan!
Strike with might and main,
Till the fair fields redden
With a gory rain;
Smite them by the roadside,

Smite them in the wood,
By the lonely valley,
And the purpling flood;
'Neath the mystic starlight,
'Neath the glare of day,
Harrass, sting, affright them,
Scatter them, and say:—
Beard, who durst, our Chieftain!
Bind them—if ye can—
But wo worth the Hessian thief
Who meets him, man to man!

There's a lurid Purpose,
Brooding in his breast,
Born of solemn Passion,
And a deep unrest;
For our ruined homesteads,
And our ravaged land,
For our women outraged
By the dastard hand,
For our thousand sorrows
And our untold shame,
For our blighted harvests,
For our towns aflame—
He has sworn (and recks not
Who may cross his path)—
That the foe shall feel him
In his torrid wrath—
That, while will and spirit
Hold one spark of life,
Blood shall stain his broad sword,
Blood shall wet his knife:—
On! ye Hessian Horsemen!
Crush him—if ye can!
But wo worth your staunchest slave
Who meets him, man to man!

'Tis no time for pleasure!
Doff the silken vest!
Up! my men! and follow
Marin of the West!
Strike with him for freedom!
Strike with main and might,
'Neath the noonday splendor,
'Neath the gloom of night—
Strike by rock and roadside,
Strike in wold and wood!

By the shadowy valley,
By the purpling flood;
On! where Morgan's war horse
Thunders in the van!
God! who would not gladly die
Beside that glorious man!

Hath the wily Swamp Fox
Came again to earth?
Hath the soul of Sumter
Owned a second birth?
From the Western hill slopes
Starts a hero form,
Stalworth, like the oak tree,
Restless, like the storm!
His! an eye of lightning!
His! a heart of steel!
Flashing deadly vengeance!
Thrilled with fiery zeal!
Hound him down, ye Robbers!
Slay him—if ye can!
But wo worth the hireling knave
Who meets him, man to man!

Charleston, March 29th, 1862.

James Routh.

Tulane University.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

DER ALRAUN, ein Beitrag zur Pflanzensagenkunde von Adolf Taylor Starck. Baltimore, 1917. New York University. Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs. No. 14.

Die Arbeit Starcks gehört in das Gebiet der Volkskunde, jener jungen Wissenschaft, die so viele, Berufene und Unberufene, in ihren Bannkreis zu ziehen verstanden hat. Das Arbeitsfeld hat gewiss etwas Verlockendes auch für die nüchternste Natur, aber das Arbeitsmaterial hat für den Uneingeweihten etwas Erdrückendes, Entmutigendes. Wer es daher wagt, trotzdem sich auf diesem viel umstrittenen Gebiet herumzutummeln, dem darf man jedenfalls den Vorwurf nicht machen, dass er vor Hindernissen der verschiedensten Art zurückschrecke.

Was ist der Alraun und was ist die Summe der Sage, die sich um ihn unter dem Volke krystallisiert hat. Ich nehme an, dass es manchem meiner Kollegen gehen wird wie mir selber, dass ihm wenig oder garnichts von dem mit dem Alraun in Verbindung gebrachten Sagenstoff bekannt sein wird. Zur Orientierung und um die Aufmerksamkeit im allgemeinen auf die Pflanzensagenkunde zu lenken, schicke ich der Besprechung von Starcks Arbeit das voraus, was die Gebrüder Grimm, die tiefen Kenner der deutschen Volksseele, darüber in ihrem epochemachenden Werke, Deutsche Sagen, 3. Ausgabe, Berlin 1891 unter No. 84 geben. "Wenn ein Erbdieb," heisst es da, "dem das Stehlen durch Herkunft aus einem Diebsgeschlechte angeboren ist, oder dessen Mutter, als sie mit ihm schwanger ging, gestohlen, wenigstens gross Gelüsten dazu gehabt (nach anderen, wenn er zwar ein unschuldiger Mensch, in der Tortur aber sich für einen Dieb bekennet) und der ein reiner Jüngling ist, gehängt wird und das Wasser lässt (aut sperma in terram effundit), so wächst an dem Ort der *Alraun* oder das *Galgenmännlein.* Oben hat es breite Blätter und gelbe Blumen. Bei der Ausgrabung desselben ist grosse Gefahr, denn wenn er herausgerissen wird, ächzt, heult und schreit er so entsetzlich, dass der, welcher ihn ausgräbt, alsbald sterben muss. Um ihn daher zu erlangen, muss man am Freitag vor Sonnenaufgang, nachdem man die Ohren mit Baumwolle, Wachs oder Pech wohl verstopft, mit einem ganz schwarzen Hund, der keinen anderen Flecken am ganzen Leibe haben darf, hinausgehen, drei Kreuze über den Alraun machen und die Erde ringsum abgraben, so dass die Wurzel nur noch mit kleinen Fasern in der Erde stehen bleibt. Danach muss man sie mit einer Schnur dem Hund an den Schwanz binden, ihm ein Stück Brod zeigen (oder ein Stück Fleisch vorhalten) und eilig davon laufen. Der Hund, nach

dem Brote (oder Fleische) gierig, folgt und zieht die Wurzel heraus, fällt aber, von ihrem ächzenden Geschrei getroffen, alsbald tot hin. Hierauf nimmt man sie auf, wäscht sie mit rotem Wein sauber ab, wickelt sie in weiss und rotes Seidenzeug, legt sie in ein Kästlein, badet sie alle Freitag and gibt ihr alle Neumond ein neues weisses Hemdlein. Fragt man nun den Alraun, so antwortet er und offenbart zukünftige und heimliche Dinge zu Wohlfahrt und Gedeihen Der Besitzer hat von nun an keine Feinde, kann nicht arm werden, und hat er keine Kinder, so kommt Kindersegen. Ein Stück Geld, das man ihm nachts zulegt, findet man am Morgen doppelt; will man lange seines Dienstes geniessen und sicher gehen, damit er nicht abstehe und sterbe, so überlade man ihn nicht: einen halben Taler mag man kühnlich alle Nacht ihm zulegen, das höchste ist ein Dukaten, doch nicht immer, sondern selten."

"Wenn der Besitzer des Galgenmännleins stirbt, so erbt es der jüngste Sohn, muss aber dem Vater ein Stück Brot und ein Stück Geld in den Sarg legen und mit begraben lassen. Stirbt der Erbe vor dem Vater, so fällt es dem ältesten Sohn anheim, aber der jüngste muss ebenso mit Brot und Geld begraben werden."

Mit geringfügigen Abweichungen ist die Sage nachgewiesen in allen Teilen Deutschlands, aber auch in Skandinavien, Island, England, Russland und den romanischen Ländern. Was Grimm giebt ist eine Zusammenfassung aller Motive der Sage vom Alraun.

Dass eine solche Sage die Aufmerksamkeit von Gelehrten und Ungelehrten immer und immer wieder auf sich gelenkt hat, darf uns kaum wundern, auch dass sie nicht nur im Volksglauben, sondern auch in der Literatur aller der vorhingenannten abendländischen Völker Behandlung gefunden hat. Botaniker, Mediziner, Volkskundler und Sprachforscher haben sich gerne und liebevoll seit Jahrhunderten mit der Sage beschäftigt. In der Literatur über den Alraun, das Galgenmännlein oder die Mandragora der Ärzte finden wir die Namen der bedeutendsten Forscher auf dem Gebiete der Sagenforschung und Mythologie, der Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte, der Medizin, der Botanik, der Sittengeschichte, der Sprache und Altertumkunde, die Gebrüder Grimm, Wuttke, von Luschan, Meyer, Perger, Friedländer, Brugsch, Söhns, u.a.

Eine der letzten Arbeiten, die für uns Germanisten von besonderem Interesse ist, ist die von Alfred Schlosser. Die Sage vom Galgenmännlein im Volksglauben und in der Literatur, eine Doktorarbeit der Universität Münster aus dem Jahre 1912. Sie erhält besondere Bedeutung dadurch, dass Starck gerade weil er in Schlossers Arbeit eher einen Rückschritt als einen Fortschritt verzeichnen zu müssen glaubte, sich veranlasst sah, die Sage vom Alraun nochmals von einem neuen Gerichtswinkel aus zu betrachten. Schlosser ist ausgesprochener Verfechter der von Kuhn und Schwartz ver-

tretenen Ansicht, dass die Mythologie der Indogermanen nichts anderes sei, als das Resultat eines Wechselspiels zwischen den Naturerscheinungen und der Einbildungskraft der Naturvölker. Und wenn Schlosser auch sehr wohl weiss, dass diese Art der Betrachtungen durch neuere Forscher als einseitig erfunden und in Miskredit gebracht worden ist, so schliesst er sich doch derselben Methode an, weil sie unendlich viel helles Licht auf die Beziehungen zwischen den indogermanischen Völkern, wie den Indern, Griechen, Römern und Germanen geworfen hat. Hiergegen nimmt Starck in seiner Arbeit Stellung, denn er gehört einer anderen, nüchterneren Schule an, er will von den Theorien von Kuhn u. Schwartz über den indogermanischen Ursprung deutschen Volksaberglaubens nichts wissen. Er stellt sich die Aufgabe an einer Pflanzensage, der vom Alraun, darzutun, wie sich verschiedene medizinische Vorschriften vom hohen Altertume an im Volksmunde fortgeerbt haben, und so den Beweis zu liefern gegen Schlosser, dass einige Züge des Alraunglaubens nicht etwa mythologischen Ursprungs sind, sondern direkt auf die vom rein praktischen, professionellen Standpunkte aus gegebenen Anweisungen und Vorschriften der alten Ärzte zurückgehen. Starck glaubt, dass die Forschung auf diesem Gebiete der Volkskunde, der Pflanzensagenkunde, nur dann vorwärts kommen könne, wenn alle Pflanzensagen unter Heranziehung und Vergleichung der griechischen und arabischen botanischen Schriften, besonders der des Theophrast, einer gründlichen Prüfung unterzogen werden. Für die Gründlichkeit, mit der Starck hier vorgeht, für die peinliche Genauigkeit, mit welcher er alle die hier hineinschlagende Literatur, vielfach alte wertvolle Werke, die ihm nur auf europäischen Bibliotheken zugänglich waren, ausgezogen und durchgearbeitet hat, gebührt ihm ohne Frage der Dank seiner Mitforscher.

Im 2. Kapitel seiner Arbeit behandelt er die Mandragora in Griechenland und im nahen Orient, Palästina, Persien, Nordafrika. Wir erfahren, dass die Mandragora den Griechen als betäubende, narkotische Pflanze bekannt war, auch die menschenähnliche Form der Wurzel ihre Aufmerksamkeit erregte.

Aus Hippokrates, Xenophon, Plato und Lucian werden hierfür Belege gebracht. Aus der Materia Medica des Dioskorides (geboren 50 n. Chr.) bringt er dann die genauen Anweisungen zum Gebrauche der Pflanze in der Medizin.

Starck weist darauf hin, dass dem Gelehrten nur daran liegt, den Wert der Pflanze für die medizinische Wissenschaft darzutun, dass er auf der anderen Seite aber den damit verbundenen Aberglauben, wenn ein solcher überhaupt existierte, ganz und gar unberücksichtigt lässt.

Grösseren Wert legt Starck anscheinend auf die Werke des Theophrast, der bereits 400 Jahre vor Dioskorides über die Mandragora berichtet, wenn auch aus seiner Beschreibung der Pflanze

hervorgeht, dass Dioskorides und Theophrast nicht ein und dieselbe Pflanze meinten, vielleicht eine der drei Abarten derselben.

Bei Theophrast wird jedoch Gewicht darauf gelegt, auf die Gefahren hinzuweisen, die nach dem Glauben der Zeit mit dem Sammeln nicht nur der Mandragora, sondern auch anderer medizinischer Pflanzen verbunden waren. Wind u. Wetter, die Tageszeiten, auch allerhand Hokuspokus bei dem Ausgraben der Heilpflanzen wird hier von Theophrast mit grosser Ausführlichkeit bereits erwähnt.

Das Resultat seiner Untersuchungen im 2. Kapital fasst Starck dahin zusammen, "dass eine Pflanze unter dem Namen Mandragora (die Herkunft und Bedeutung des Namens herzustellen hält er für aussichtslos) mit Hilfe verschiedener Zeremonien gegraben wurde; dass diese Pflanze vielfach ärztliche Verwendung fand, besonders als Schlafmittel; und dass man sie in der Bereitung von Liebestränken wertschätzte."

Aus dem Schwanken in der Identifizierung der Pflanze glaubt Starck schliessen zu müssen, dass die Griechen erst durch andere Völker mit der Mandragora bekannt gemacht wurden.

Da ist es nun von Wichtigkeit zu wissen, dass den Juden und Arabern eine solche Wurzel von alters her bekannt war und dass sie dort auch heute noch gebraucht wird.

Starck zieht die Bibelstelle Genesis 30, 14-16 heran, wo im hebräischen Text die *duda-îm* der Rahel erwähnt werden. Dieses Wort, das die Bedeutung von Liebesäpfeln hat, wird in der Septuaginta durch *mandragorai* wiedergegeben, woraus man nicht mit Unrecht schliessen darf, dass die liebeerregende Kraft der Mandragorawurzel den siebzig gelehrten Übersetzern wohl bekannt war.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass diese Pflanze wegen ihrer zauberkräftigen Wirkung von den Juden im Altertum geschätzt wurde und Starck bringt aus dem 17. und dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts Belege dafür, dass jüdische Frauen sich der Mandragora gegen Unfruchtbarkeit bedienten.

Was aber für die Entwickelung und Ausbildung der Alraunsage von grosser Wichtigkeit ist, das ist die Tatsache, dass in diesen Berichten die menschenähnliche Form der Wurzel immer besonders betont wird. Zu verwundern ist es dabei nicht, dass gewisse Eigenschaften der Mandragorawurzel auch auf andere Pflanzen übertragen wurden, so dass schliesslich das Gleiche von ganz verschiedenen Gewächsen berichtet werden konnte.

Von besonderer Wichtigkeit aber, was die Vererbung der Sagenmomente anbetrifft, die nachzuweisen die Hauptaufgabe der Arbeit Starcks ist, ist die Stelle aus dem jüdischen Geschichtsschreiber aus dem ersten Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt Flavius Josephus. Josephus beschreibt in seiner klassischen Weise, die ihm den Namen des jüdischen Livius verdient hat, das Tal Baara und eine Wurzel desselben Namens, welche in diesem Tale vorkommt. Die Wurzel wird sehr geschätzt, aber sie zu gewinnen ist

mit Schwierigkeiten verknüpft. Sie entzieht sich dem Nahenden und hält nur still, wenn man Urin oder Blutfluss darauf giesst. Wer die Wurzel berührt, ist dem Tode verfallen. Man gewinnt sie aber gefahrlos, wenn man sie rings umgräbt, so dass nur noch ein kleiner Teil der Wurzel unsichtbar ist. Dann bindet man einen Hund daran, und wenn dieser nun seinem Herrn folgen will, reisst er die Wurzel aus, stirbt aber auf der Stelle. Hat man die Pflanze einmal, heisst es dann, so ist keine Gefahr mehr. Man müht sich aber deshalb so sehr um die Wurzel, weil man mit Hilfe derselben Dämonen austreiben kann.

Der Hund, von dem hier die Rede ist beim Ausgraben der Wurzel, ist ohne Frage derselbe, den wir in dem Bericht der Gebrüder Grimm über die Sage vom Alraun oder Galgenmännlein antreffen. Weitere Belege für die Quelle des Alraunglaubens bringt Starck dann aus den Schriften der arabischen Ärzte des Mittelalters.

Bei dem wichtigsten derselben Ibn Baithar wird von einem Baume, einer Art von *atropa mandragora* erzählt, dass seine Wurzel die Gestalt und Glieder eines Menschen habe.

Das Ausgraben dieser Wurzel ist aber ein lebensgefährliches Geschäft, das nur zu einer ganz bestimmten Zeit vorgenommen werden darf.

Auch hier wird erwähnt, dass man die Wurzel nur gewinnen könne, wenn man sie, nachdem die Erde um die Wurzel herum gelockert ist, um den Hals eines Hundes binde, den man zwei Tage lang habe hungern lassen.

Wenn dann der Mann sich vom Baume entfernt und den Hund ruft, so bringt dieser dem Herrn die Wurzel, nachdem er sie aus der Erde herausgezogen hat, stirbt aber gleich darauf infolge der Berührung mit der Wurzel. Nachdem man die Wurzel auf diese Weise erlangt hat, soll man sie in weisse Leinwand einhüllen. Aus der Frucht des Baumes wird ein Öl bereitet, das alle Liebeswünsche befriedigt, auch wird es gebraucht, um Frauen die Geburtswehen zu lindern.

Der bei der Ausgrabung der Wurzel nötige Hund findet sich endlich nach Starck in einer Handschrift des Dioskorides aus dem 5. Jahrhundert bildlich dargestellt, wo er unter der Mandragora ausgestreckt liegt als Opfer für seine Tat. Mehrere Handschriften von Herbarien aus dem 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert zeigen ebenfalls die Mandragorawurzel in dem Augenblick, wo sie von dem Hunde aus der Erde herausgezogen wird.

Ein Wiener Codex aus dem Jahre 1470 erwähnt schliesslich bei dem Hunde ausdrücklich den Josephus. Der Schluss ist daher berechtigt, dass dieses Moment vom Hunde, wenn nicht direkt von Flavius Josephus herrührend, sicher nach dem Orient hinweist.

An der Hand der botanischen Schriften, die Starck von Dioskorides bis auf die jüngste Zeit eingesehen und ausgezogen hat, und

wobei er einen auch für den Laien nicht uninteressanten Überblick über die Entwicklung der botanischen Wissenschaft gibt, verfolgt nun der Verfasser die Mandragorasage von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert in der Wissenschaft zuerst, dann auch in der schönwissenschaftlichen Literatur.

Das Resultat seiner Untersuchung ist, dass wir zwei Wege der Überlieferung haben, eine wissenschaftliche durch die auf das Praktische gerichteten Ärzte, und daneben eine Volksüberlieferung.

Den ersten ausführlichen Bericht über den merkwürdigen Standort der Wurzel unter einem Galgen finden wir bei dem Engländer William Turner, der im Jahre 1568 starb und zweimal in Köln sich aufgehalten haben soll, um religiösem Fanatismus im eigenen Lande zu entgehen. Er sagt, dass die Wurzeln der Mandragora künstlich nachgemacht werden, sogar mit Haaren versehen und ganz wie ein Mensch gestaltet, dass dieses aber nichts weiter als eitel Torheit sei, von schlauen Betrügern ausgeheckt. Ich habe selber, sagt er, Mandragorawurzeln ausgegraben, habe aber niemals an ihnen das gefunden, was man an den Wurzeln sieht, die von den Wurzelkrämern schön in Schachteln verpackt angepriesen werden. Die Wurzel wächst nach Turner nur in Gärten in England und Deutschland, ist aber weit verbreiteter in England. Aber unter Galgen, sagt Turner, wächst sie nicht, wie ein gewisser vernarrter Doktor aus Köln es seine Zuhörer in seinem Vortrage lehrte. Auch wächst die Pflanze nicht aus dem Samen, den ein Mensch verliert, wenn er gehängt wird, und endlich wird sie nicht deswegen Mandragoras genannt, weil sie aus dem Samen eines Mannes entstanden ist, wie der vorhergenannte Doktor phantasierte.

Im fünften Kapitel seiner Arbeit befasst sich Starck mit den Abhandlungen über den Alraunglauben, besonders aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Diese Schriftsteller machen es sich entweder zur Aufgabe wie der Engländer Turner die Betrüger zu bekämpfen, das Volk vor den Quacksalbern zu warnen und zu schützen, oder sie wenden sich als gute Christen und aufgeklärte Menschen gegen den Aberglauben im allgemeinen.

So viel aber können wir zwischen den Zeilen lesen, dass der Unfug mit künstlichen Alraunen in jenen guten alten Zeiten einen beträchtlichen Umfang errreicht haben muss. Am berühmtesten und bekanntesten dürften die beiden Alraune in Wien geworden sein, welche dem Kaiser Rudolf II. gehörten. Da C. Hartwich, Über eine Mandragorawurzel, Schweizer Wochenschrift für Chemie und Pharmazie 49. Jahrgang, No. 20 Zürich, den 20. Mai 1911, sich ebenfalls mit diesen beiden Alraunen beschäftigt und diese Schrift Dr. Starck selber nicht zugänglich war, so berichte ich hierüber etwas ausführlicher, besonders weil Hartwich darin auch F. v. Luschans Bericht über Mandragoraswurzeln aus dem Jahre 1891 erwähnt, welcher Artikel ebenfalls von

Starck nicht eingesehen werden konnte, falls nicht in der Bibliographie auf Seite 81 ein Versehen vorliegt, wo der Stern vor Luschans Arbeit fehlt, während die in derselben Nummer der Zeitschrift gedruckte Arbeit von Ascherson als unzugänglich verzeichnet ist.

Hartwich beschreibt eine in seinen Besitz gekommene Wurzel aus Smyrna und weist hin auf F. v. Luschan, der sechs aus dem Orient stammende Mandragoraswurzeln vorlegte und abbildete in der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. Hieran knüpfen sich Erörterungen von T. Ascherson, R. Beyer und F. G. Wetzstein.

Nach Ascherson liefert Mandragoras officinarum L. in Syrien und im südlichen Kleinasien (die Pflanze blüht grünlich weiss im Frühjahr) den Stoff zu der Wurzel, der man künstlich durch Schneiden, Drücken etc. nachhilft.

Die deutschen Alraunen (ursprünglich allwissende, weissagende, zauberkundige Frauen) sind niemals Mandragoraswurzeln gewesen. Die auf uns gekommenen, in Museen aufbewahrten Exemplare sind die Wurzelstöcke von *Allium Victorialis* L. *Siegwurz* oder *Allermannsharnisch.* Dahin gehören die zwei Exemplare in der Wiener Bibliothek aus dem Besitze des Kaisers Rudolph II., ferner ein Exemplar im Germanischen Museum in Nürnberg.

Ausserdem wurde gerne zu diesem Zwecke die Wurzel der Zaunrübe verwendet, die von vorne herein nicht selten eine menschenähnliche Gestalt hatte. Schon im 10. Jahrhundert wird Mandragora durch Alruna übersetzt.

Was die Alten von der Mandragoras gefaselt hatten, wird auf die Alraune übertragen, so dass deren eigenes ursprüngliches Bild fast ganz verschwindet.

Die abendländischen Alraunwurzeln, die man genauer kennt, stammen durchweg nicht von dieser Pflanze Mandragoras vernalis. Gehe & Co. (Handelsbericht 1902) berichten, dass die im abendländischen Handel befindliche aus Triest ausgeführte Wurzel seit Jahren nicht mehr von Mandragoras, sondern von *Scopolia carniolica* stammt.

Hieraus geht deutlich hervor, dass bis auf den heutigen Tag ein schwunghafter Handel mit dieser Ware im Orient getrieben wird, während der Okzident anscheinend über dieses Stadium hinaus ist.

Dass die Erzählung vom Alraun auch in die Literatur Eingang fand, darüber dürfen wir uns kaum wundern. Dem Alraunglauben in der Literatur der romanischen wie der germanischen Völker widmet Starck daher ein besonderes Kapitel, das sich aber an Reichhaltigkeit nicht mit dem von Schlosser in seiner Arbeit über das Galgenmännlein im Volksglauben und in der Literatur messen kann.

Von deutschen Bearbeitern seien genannt, nur um die Aufmerksamkeit darauf zu lenken, Hans Sachs, Grimmelshausen, Achim von Arnim, De la Motte Fouqué, Rudolf Baumbach und als letzter Hans Heinz Ewers (Die Alraune 1911).

Das siebente Kapital von Starcks Arbeit bringt eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Alraun, dem guten Geist sozusagen, und dem Spiritus familiaris, dem bösen Geist, die von Hause aus nichts miteinander zu tun haben, aber im Volksglauben anscheinend miteinander vermischt worden sind. Der Spiritus Familiaris ist ein Hausgeist, der auf unrechtem Wege erlangt wird, dem Besitzer Glück und Reichtum bringt, dem man aber dafür seine Seele verschreiben muss als Pfand.

Im folgenden Kapital wird der Versuch gemacht den Alraunglauben zu erklären.

Die Etymologie des Wortes Alraun ist anscheinend ebenso wenig klar als die Bedeutung des Wortes Mandragora.

Die Erklärung von Mandragora aus Mann und tragen, oder gar aus griechisch *mandra* Stall und *ageiro* ich sammle oder endlich aus dem Namen eines fabelhaften Arztes namens Mandragoras befriedigt nicht mehr als die Etymologie von Alraun.

Nach Kluge soll der zweite Teil des Wortes vom Gotischen runas das Geheimnis kommen. Aber was bedeutet dann der erste Teil? Mit alb Elbe hat er jedenfalls nichts zu tun.

Im weiteren setzt sich dann Starck mit den früheren Erklärern des Alraunglaubens auseinander, vor allen natürlich mit Schlosser, dem jüngsten Verfechter der von Kuhn und Schwartz begründeten mythologischen Methode. Ich möchte an dieser Stelle eine Arbeit erwähnen, auf deren Titel ich durch die letzte Nummer der Modern Language Notes aufmerksam gemacht wurde, die aber mir leider nicht zugänglich ist.

Fritz Langer, Intellektual-Mythologie. Betrachtungen über das Wesen des Mythus und die mythologische Methode. Leipzig, Teubner, 1917.

Nach Schlosser gehört der Alraun zu den Blitz- und Somapflanzen, welche den Göttertrank, den Soma, liefern.

Starck stellt alle Argumente, welche Schlosser hierfür vorbringt, die ganze äussere Erscheinung, die betäubende Wirkung des Mandragorasaftes u.s.w. in Abrede.

"Durch die Aufzählung einer Reihe meistens zufälliger Ähnlichkeiten," sagt Starck, "zum Teil allgemein folkloristischer Art, ist keineswegs bewiesen, dass er sich in diese Gruppe (der Blitz- und Somapflanzen) einreihen lässt. Diese Motive erscheinen nur im heutigen Volksaberglauben. Man darf sich nicht bewegen lassen, den heutigen Volksaberglauben schrankenlos zu benutzen, um Schlüsse auf die alte Mythologie zu ziehen, und noch weniger ist man dazu berechtigt, wenn man wie bei der Mandragora uralte

Belege hat, die mit diesem Aberglauben entschieden in Widerspruch stehen. Ferner muss man immer vor Augen behalten, dass die Mandragora in Nordeuropa nicht bekannt war. Der heutige Glaube ist also eine Mischung von dem, was man von der alten Mandragora wusste, von Sagen, die sich auf die Vertreter der Mandragorawurzel im Norden beziehen, und von neuerem Aberglauben, der durch die Wechselbeziehungen dieser Pflanze zu anderen entstanden ist.

Der heutige Aberglaube steht da als ein verworrenes Mischprodukt von Motiven, die aus allen Ecken und Enden zusammengetragen worden sind, und eine Deutung ist bei den trostlosen Mischverhältnissen kaum möglich oder nötig. So viel dürfte aber feststehen, dass die Germanen auf die Ausbildung des Alraunglaubens keinen Anspruch erheben können, die Sage kam zu uns aus dem Orient. Von Hause aus war die Sage auch nicht an eine bestimmte Pflanze gebunden, wurde aber schliesslich auf die Mandragora ausschliesslich festgelegt. So kam sie aus dem Orient in das Abendland und zwar zu zwei Malen, zuerst vermittelt über Nordafrika und Ägypten und dann zum zweiten Male durch die griechischen und römischen Ärzte. In späteren Jahrhunderten hat die Sage dann vielfache Verwandlungen durchgemacht, aber der Kern lässt sich doch heraus schälen, und der weist ohne Frage nach dem an Phantasie so reichen Orient hin."

Wer die beiden Arbeiten von Schlosser und Starck genauer vornimmt, wird an beiden seine Freude haben, es sind Kinder der Liebe, aber von zwei ganz verschieden veranlagteen Naturen geschrieben, von zwei sich diametral gegenüberstehenden Methoden beeinflusst.

Das Gefühl aber kann man schlieslich doch nicht loswerden, dass die mythologische Methode, die in Schlosser einen begeisterten späten Verfechter gefunden hat, nicht länger bestehen kann, sie hat abgewirtschaftet, steht nicht auf dem Boden der Wirklichkeit.

Und man muss bei Leibe nicht glauben, dass die nüchternere wissenschaftlichere Methode, welche Starck befolgt, Herz und Gemüt unbefriedigt lasse, allen Reiz verloren habe.

Ganz und gar nicht. Aber Starcks Arbeit wirkt befreiend, erfrischend. In jedem Falle aber macht sie bescheiden, denn, wie Starck es so hübsch ausgedrückt hat, ist eine Deutung aller dieser Verschiebungen und Vermischungen und Verrenkungen der Sage am Ende auch gar nicht nötig, so wünschenswert sie uns auch erscheinen mag.

E. Voss.

Madison, Wis.
May 3, 1918.

EIN VOLKSFEIND. Schauspiel in fünf Akten von Henrik Ibsen. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by J. Lassen Boysen, Ph. D. Oxford German Series, 1917. Pp. CX+193. Price 90 Cents.

This edition of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* in German translation is a unique and splendid innovation. It can hardly be denied that Henrik Ibsen was the world's foremost dramatist and one of the most original literary figures in the 19th century; certain it is at least that his influence in the world of letters has been so paramount that no student of literature can afford to neglect a closer study of this great literary genius. Only a small percentage of American students, however, is able to reach the author in the original Norwegian, and therefore Dr. Boysen's edition of this work in German translation has rendered one of Ibsen's masterpieces of dramatic exposition available to the majority of our American students.

The work is prepared primarily for students of the German language and literature and this attitude is consistently preserved with scholarly clarity thruout the *Introduction* and *Notes*. The edition, therefore, properly constitutes a supplement to the many literary monuments of the German language which have appeared in the *Oxford German Series*, and thus adds to our college editions one more treasure of Germanic culture.

Of all European countries Germany perhaps has been the most profoundly affected by Ibsen's genius, at least so far as his social propaganda and his dramatic art are concerned. Certainly, without a preliminary study of Henrik Ibsen no student can have an adequate comprehension of those forces which culminated in the *Realistic* or *Naturalistic Movement* of the 19th century in Germany. Therefore, in presenting Ibsen in German translation and with the German viewpoint constantly in mind Dr. Boysen has added materially to our available funds for instruction in German literature. Since Ibsen belongs to the world, his influence upon German thought and literature is rightly viewed as a special subject in German studies. But aside from this, the editor has also rendered a service to Norwegian literature by his sympathetic presentation which both enhances the intrinsic value of the play and increases our appreciation of the author's world-wide influence.

From the purely American viewpoint, on the other hand, Dr. Boysen has shown excellent judgment in the selection of his text. As noted in the *Preface* (p. VI), *An Enemy of the People* is one of Ibsen's social dramas most closely connected with the very life of the American commonwealth. Every true American, who has the ideal of democracy at heart, cannot fail to appreciate that Ibsen's scathing denunciation of the 'compact majority' applies with equally peculiar fitness to much that is in the spirit

of American public life. Whatever arguments Ibsen in this play may have advanced against democracy, it is nevertheless true that the fundamental principle of true democracy is *individual morality*, which is the key-note of the play and the essence of Ibsen's whole philosophy of life. *An Enemy of the People*, therefore, naturally lends itself to a more sympathetic understanding on the part of the American student that do many other of Ibsen's social dramas in which the more subtle questions of psychology tend to compromise the moral issue.

Dr. Boysen divides his *Introduction* into three chapters—I. *Ibsen's Life and Works*, II. *Ibsen and Germany*, III. Genesis of *An Enemy of the People*. Then follow a *Bibliography*, the *Text*, *General Note on Some Modal Adverbs*, and the *Notes*.

Introduction

The *Introduction* is on the whole a clear and succinct presentation of the subject matter. The editor has here united a fine scholarly sense with a sound pedagogical attitude consonant with the purpose of his work. He has nowhere burdened his students with unnecessary details or extended his work into an elaborate commentary for teachers (which is unfortunately the case with many of our college editions), yet at the same time the scholarly presentation of his subject must certainly be of great assistance to every teacher.

The *Introduction* is not intended for a comprehensive study of the author, but in certain instances (both in the *Introduction* and the *Notes*) the editor has made more or less serious omissions which impair the general value of his work. One is at a loss to know whether Dr. Boysen unintentionally omitted certain references to literary facts and parallel situations or whether he considered them as non-essential for a clear conception of Ibsen's literary development. Not all of the omissions noted in the following review are, to be sure, necessary to this end, yet the reviewer feels if they had been included (in an abbreviated form or by a brief marginal note) in the *Introduction*, that they would have furthered the editor's purpose without extending his work beyond its proper limits.

Dr. Boysen naturally lays his chief emphasis on Chapters II and III, which on the whole seem to be better done than Chapter I. Yet even here there is little to which serious objection can be made.

I. *Ibsen's Life and Works*

In emphasizing Ibsen's German ancestry (p. X) no mention is made of the fact that according to the most recent investigations (cf. especially Joh. K. Bergwitz, *Henrik Ibsen i sin avstamning Norsk eller Fremmed?* Kra. 1916) the percentage of German blood in the Ibsen pedigree was much smaller than has hitherto been supposed.

The humiliating experience of bankruptcy in the poet's early youth not only served him with "the psychological model for the crises in the lives of Dr. Stockmann, Nora, and others" (p. XIII), but is also reflected with poetic splendor in *Peer Gynt* (cf. especially Act. I, Sc. 1).

The editor's statement (p. XV) that Ibsen's poetic effusions in his Grimstad days, "written as they were in the dead of night, lack the bright and joyous note of youth," is open to misinterpretation. These poems lack "the bright and joyous note of youth" not *because* "they were written in the dead of night," but because this note was an inherent part of Ibsen's nature, enhanced in his youth by his peculiarly unfortunate circumstances and ill-suited environment. In fact, Ibsen never did enjoy a natural youth or participate fully in its pleasures.

In connection with Ibsen's sojourn of 1852 in Denmark and Germany, the editor calls attention to the fact (p. XVII) that Ibsen profited by the reading of Hettner's *Das Moderne Drama.* But since this chapter is devoted to Ibsen's literary career without special reference to Germany, the student should also be informed that Ibsen on this journey gained a first hand acqaintance with the French dramatist Eugène Scribe (*La Bataille des Dames*), whom he saw performed at Copenhagen. As poet-manager of the National Theater in Bergen, it was Ibsen's avowed purpose on this ourney to study dramatic art with special reference to its technical phases. That Scribe more than any other dramatist influenced Ibsen's dramatic technique is beyond peradventure. His adoption of the 'analytic' method for the tragedy was no doubt largely original, but the influence of Scribe in this regard is too important a literary fact to omit.

Furthermore, since Ibsen's plays serve as a model of dramatic technique and may be studied with profit from this viewpoint alone, it is to be regretted that Dr. Boysen has not devoted more attention to this practical phase of Ibsen study. Even a short chapter upon this subject would not in the reviewer's opinion have extended the *Introduction* beyond proper limits.

In connection with Ibsen's journey of 1862 and 1863 in Western Norway (p. XIX), no mention is made of the fact that on this journey Ibsen received many impressions of mountain scenery and of Norwegian peasant life, which later received literary expression in his *Brand* and *Peer Gynt.*

On page XXVII f. Dr. Boysen discusses Ibsen's doctrine of parental responsibility, yet in the analysis of *Little Eyolf* (p. XXXVI) no attention whatsoever is paid to this doctrine, notwithstanding the fact that upon this doctrine the essential problem of the play is based. In fact, nowhere has the poet pronounced such a severe judgment upon the lack of parental responsibility as in *Little Eyolf.* It is here too that he put into a concrete formula

that principle of life according to which the individual of future generations must develop—*Forvandlingens Lov* (Act II, III).

Nor has Dr. Boysen in this connection mentioned Ibsen's speech of Sept. 24, 1887 (at Stockholm) in which the poet formulated essentially the same law as applied to organized society—*Idealernes Forplantningsevne og deres Udviklingsdygtighed.* This doctrine, furthermore, reflects the poet's ideal of "das dritte Reich" (p. XXIV) and is extremely important with reference to the nature of Ibsen's pessimism, which in his Stockholm speech receives a clear and emphatic interpretation. A reference to this speech, therefore, deserves especial recognition in this chapter of the *Introduction.*

II. *Ibsen and Germany*

This chapter is a most interesting and skilful presentation of Ibsen's relation to German letters and deserves an emphatic word of praise. The editor has given a clear outline of the history of the German drama in the 19th century with special reference to those forces which laid the seed for the introduction of Ibsen into Germany. Dr. Boysen has with fine judgment pointed out the distinction between Ibsen's dramatic art and the method of the "Naturalists" who followed the Norwegian dramatist more or less under a misapprehension of his aim. It is refreshing also to note that justice is accorded the work of Ludwig Passarge, the only German of repute to render Ibsen's poetry into his native tongue (notably *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*).

It detracts in no wise from Ibsen's merit as a dramatist to accord him full justice as a poet. Too little emphasis in general has been laid (especially by German commentators) upon Ibsen the poet; which has resulted in giving the student who does not read Norwegian, a somewhat one-sided view of the author's contribution to literature. The average student, for instance, does not know the poet Ibsen but only Ibsen the dramatist and social reformer and therefore naturally labors under somewhat the same misguided apprehension of the poet's aim as did the German School of 'Naturalists.' The study of such works as, for instance, *Brand* or *Peer Gynt* is often undertaken with the exclusive intention of deriving therefrom some philosophical dogma and therefore without due regard for the intrinsic value of Ibsen's poetry, much of which must necessarily be lost in translation. The editor has not laid sufficient emphasis upon this factor which is so important for the student to understand, if he is to have a correct estimate of Ibsen's literary activity. A poet is something even more than a dramatist or a torch-bearer of civilization; he belongs to the peculiarly aesthetic and emotional realm of art.

For a more comprehensive and just estimate of Ibsen's contribution to literature the editor, in *likening* Ibsen to Lessing "in the common struggle for truth and freedom" (p. LXVII), might

also have *differentiated* these two authors; for Ibsen was also that which Lessing was *not*, viz., one of the greatest poets of his race and time.

In characterizing Dr. Stockmann as "typically German" (p. LVII), the editor should have made it clear that Dr. Stockmann's character is German only insofar as it is Germanic. The spirit of defiant individual self-reliance is peculiarly Scandinavian, of which the sagas are full to overflowing and which still lives in Modern Scandinavian literature in as much of its pristine vigor as ever can be found in the revolutionary literature of Modern Germany. A statement to this effect might have avoided giving the impression that Ibsen on account of his long sojourn in Germany and contact with German culture had been germanized to such a degree that he produced a specifically German type of character in Dr. Stockmann.

In connection with Ibsen's host of followers in Germany (p. LXV) it might have stimulated the student's interest if the editor had mentioned a few concrete examples of Ibsen's influence upon Germany's best known authors of this period; cf. e.g. *Rosmersholm* and Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen*, *Peer Gynt* and Hauptmann's *Die Versunkene Glocke*, or *The Lady from The Sea* and Sudermann's *Das Glück im Winkel*.

III. *Genesis of "An Enemy of the People"*

This chapter is all the more worthy a contribution since Ibsen has left no outline nor jottings of any sort to throw light upon the composition of his drama. The relation of Ibsen's inner experiences and of his private and public life to their expression in literature is clearly brought out and in some instances with refreshing originality (cf. e.g. the author's views as to educational reform in Norway (p. LXXXVI f.) with Dr. Stockmann's refusal to send his children to the public schools).

Since this work is edited primarily for students of German literature, attention should have been called in connection with Dr. Stockmann's doctrine of individual self-reliance (pp. LXXVIII ff.) to almost the identical expression of the same doctrine in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*—"Der Starke ist am mächtigsten allein" (l. 437).

In connection with the "double aspect" in Ibsen's majority argument (p. LXXXIII), two important facts should be noted.

First, Ibsen's plays often supplement one another by presenting essentially the same problem from a different viewpoint (e.g. *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, *A Doll's House* and *Ghosts*, *Ghosts* and *The Wild Duck*, etc.). The dramatic conflict is almost always heightened by the fact that in carrying out his ideal to a logical conclusion the hero inevitably becomes involved in an ethical dilemma,

which makes it necessary to restate the problem from a new viewpoint; hence the 'double aspect' presented in a sort of supplementary form in a new play.

Secondly, Ibsen in his dramas never loses that sense of proportion necessary to distinguish between a purely theoretical idea and its practical application to existing social conditions. However emphatic his position as a social reformer or as an idealist, he is above all a *poet*, who sees life as it is. Consequently, even tho his heroes be presented in the light of poetic abstractions or as an embodiment of a lofty ideal, they are after all human creations endowed with human limitations. Dr. Stockmann and Gregers Werle, for instance, have a lamentable lack of perspective necessary for the success of their ideal; a little common sense might have saved the situation. Indeed, Ibsen sometimes seems to give the other side of the question an undue advantage; which results in a sort of 'double aspect' in his own argument. But it must be remembered that Ibsen's strict sense of justice and his inherent disposition to ridicule human frailty often led him to satirize even those who uphold the banner of his own ideal; we feel this to be true to a certain degree even of Brand. The figure of Dr. Stockmann with his childish credulity, his lack of self-restraint and insight into human nature is, like that of Gregers Werle, a conspicuous example of Ibsen's attitude towards the representative of his own ideal. Even tho Dr. Stockmann is not identical with Ibsen, there may nevertheless have been a tinge of self-reproach in the poet's sarcastic references to this character "as more of a muddle-head than himself," etc. (p. C), for who may venture to say that Ibsen at this time did not feel to a certain degree at least that like Gregers Werle and Dr. Stockmann he too had bungled his life's work (cf. Christen Collin "Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*," *Samtiden*, pp. 593-613, 1913).

On page XCI, in connection with the *swamp* motif the editor calls attention to that fact that Konsul Bernick in *The Pillars of Society* speaks about "draining" the moral soil of his native town; but it is perhaps even more significant that Lona Hessel (Act. II) uses the same word (*swamp*, Norw. *myr*) as symbolical of that 'Illusion der Wirklichkeit' which in *An Enemy of the People* is the ulterior significance of the polluted swamp:

Lona Hessel. Men al denne herlighed, og du selv med, står som på *en gyngende myr.*

Bibliography

No mention is made of American literary journals, such as *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* or *The Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*. This is to be regretted inasmuch as these journals are in English and contain many valuable and suggestive articles on Ibsen.

Translation

Dr. Boysen has preserved with a few minor corrections the text of the standard German translation (*Volksausgabe*). A few additional suggestions as to translation may not, however, be out of place.

Act I (p. 21)

Petra. Ja, meinen Sie nicht, wir trügen sehr vieles vor, worən wir selbst nicht glauben?

Dr. Boysen evidently endorses this translation, as is shown by his note:

21–26. *trügen . . . vor.* "The implication is that they do."

The original reads:

Petra. Ja, tror De ikke, vi *må* foredrage mangt og meget, som vi ikke selv tror på?

There is no reason why *må foredrage* should not be rendered by *müssen . . . vortragen*, exactly as in Petra's statement directly above—"og i skolen *må* vi *stå* og *lyve* for børnene," which is translated by—"und in der Schule *müssen* wir den Kindern *vorlügen*." Petra's question is in repetition of her previous affirmation.

Act II (p. 59)

Petra. Bravo, Vater! Er unterwirft sich nicht.

The original reads:

Petra. Far er bra, han! Han gir sig ikke.

From the German translation one infers that Petra addresses the word *Bravo* to her father, whereas both statements are made in the third person as a sort of impersonal eulogy on her father, who in common with her represents the ideal of truth and devotion to a great cause. The shifting of vocative to third person spoils this effect.

Notes

As introductory to his *Notes*, Dr. Boysen has added (pp. 149-159) a *General Note on Some Modal Adverbs*. Aside from the purely pedagogical value of this little chapter no better method could have been chosen for increasing the student's appreciation of those delicate shades of meaning (often lost in translation) which are so essential to the poet's thought.

The *Notes* are prepared with thoroness and care, the counter-references to the play are well chosen and a practical attitude towards the acquisition of the German language consistently preserved. A study of the *Notes* should enable any student to gain a thoro knowledge of the play. In fact, the editor is scrupulously careful that no important detail in Ibsen's dramatic art be left unnoticed (cf. e. g. the reference to the scene directions 5-*12).

Almost no typographical errors have been noted and only in one instance does the editor's language seem to lack clarity; in fact, his faults are rather those of omission than of commission.

For a more comprehensive study of the play the reviewer has suggested in the following criticism a number of references (omitted by the editor) to parallel passages and situations in others of Ibsen's plays but most especially in *The Pillars of Society*, which is so intimately connected in thought with *An Enemy of the People*.

15.—14-15. *Besonders uns . . .die. . .* "By the use of the redundant "die" the preceding noun or phrase is itself left without grammatical function in the sentence." This is not true, since *uns* (*Besonders uns vom "Volksboten," die konnte er nicht verdauen*) is in the same construction as the demonstrative pronoun *die*, i.e. the object of the infinitive *verdauen*. In the examples given to illustrate this type of colloquial speech the editor has confused the *elliptical* with the *appositional* (redundant) construction; e.g. *15*, 25 f. *Und dann der verdammte dünne Tee, den er fortwährend in sich giesst* and *20*, 12 *das Arbeiten, das ist eine Strafe für unsere Sünden.* In the first case *der Tee* is the subject of some verb understood, *Und dann* (*kommt noch dazu*) *der verdammte dünne Tee, den er giesst*, whereas in the second case *das Arbeiten* is in the same construction as the (redundant) demonstrative pronoun *das*, i.e. subject of the verb *ist*.

Billing's favorite oath "Gott verdamm' mich" (*15*-9 etc.) labels this character, just as Hilmar Tønnesen's "uf" characterizes that pharisaical cynic. Hilmar Tønnesen's constant reference to himself as the standard-bearer of the ideal is, furthermore, similar to Aslaksen's ostentatious pride as a paragon of continence and moderation (*39*-9 f. etc.).

The proposed torchlight procession (*27*-27) in honor of "the first man of the town" plays a most conspicuous rôle in Karsten Bernick's career and no doubt represents one of the many impressions in *An Enemy of the People* which Ibsen carried over from *The Pillars of Society*.

In connection with Morten Kiil, the 'Badger' (*30*-*11), the editor should have called attention to Ibsen's proclivity to make use of appropriate nicknames (cf. e.g. *Rummel*=the *Noisy* in *The Pillars of Society*, *Falk*=*Falcon*, *Styver*=*Farthing*, *Strâmand*=*Strawman*, etc. in *The Comedy of Love*). In fact, the name *Stockmann* itself may possibly contain an implication as to Dr. Stockmann's natural stubbornness: 'den der holder sig stiv som en *stok*' (cf. Ibsen's *Efterladte Skrifter*, Introduction, XXXIII, f.).

Hovstad's reference (*41*-19) to "airing out" (*auszulüften*) the diseased atmosphere of the community is exactly the same metaphor as Lona Hessel (Act I) uses with reference to the social atmosphere of "the morally depraved": "jeg vil *lufte ud*, Herr Pastor."

The personal vanity which Dr. Stockmann expresses, upon receiving the support of the public press and of the most influential members of society (*43*-20 f.), reminds one of this particular weakness in Ibsen himself, who was easily flattered by the attention of princes and men of rank; he never refused a decoration. Dr.

Stockmann here certainly reflects one side at least of Ibsen's *ego*, which the poet does not hesitate to put into a very conspicuous light.

Dr. Stockmann's realization of the whole truth (*100*-10), which is suddenly revealed to him in the short experience of a few days, is parallel to that sudden awakening which Karsten Bernick experiences after the interviews with Lona Hessel (Act V).

54-9. "Note that Petra will not let her mother offer any excuses, but frankly admits that she has been listening to them." The pronoun "them" does not, of course, refer to the "excuses" but to *Dr. Stockmann and his brother*, who are engaged in a heated conversation.

60– **Hovstad . . schreibend* should read **Hovstad . . . schreibt.* The reference here to 214, 26 f. is a misprint (perhaps meant for 81, 8 f.?).

The assumption on the part of these self-satisfied philistines that the drunken man must be a foreigner (i.e. not 'one of them,' "er ist kein *Hiesiger*," *103*-17) is in accord with that narrow spirit of provincialism expressed with such masterful irony in *The Pillars of Society*, cf. e.g. Karsten Bernick (Act I): "Å hvad; med udlændninger må vi ikke tage det så strængt."

The note to *die Vornehmen* (*108*-28) might well have been supplemented by a reference to Stengard's views upon "aristocracy," as expressed in his conversation with Dr. Fjeldbo (*The League of Youth*, Act II).

The contemptuous view which Dr. Stockmann holds towards the *vulgus profanum* ("der Haufe," "die Masse," "der Pöbel," etc., *108*-18, *109*-23, 24, 25 etc.) is expressed in almost identical terms (Norw. *mobben og massen*) by Professor Rubeck in *When We Dead Awake* (Act I). Furthermore, the craven cowardice of the 'mob,' which paralyses every courageous impulse and prevents any decisive action,— "Und doch haben sie da draussen gestanden und krakehlt und geschworen, sie würden mir den Garaus machen; aber handeln—handeln—, nein, so etwas gibt es hier so gut wie gar nicht!" (125-26 ff.), is an exact counterpart of the "Gyntish self," which, as represented in the individual Peer, symbolized 'the compact majority' in Norway. Like the howling mob in front of Dr. Stockmann's home, Peer despite his boastful pretensions never dared to take the decisive step:

> Ja, tænke det; ønske det; *ville* det med;—
> men *gøre* det! Nej; det skønner jeg ikke!

Like Dr. Stockmann, Johan Tønnesen in *The Pillars of Society* suddenly reverses his decision to leave town and resolves to fight the battle out to the bitter end. The real 'enemies of society' are the liars and the hypocrites who must be met and crushed *upon their native soil*.

Thru this edition of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* in German translation Dr. Boysen has undoubtedly contributed much towards

a better understanding of one of the world's greatest dramatists. It is to be hoped that the *Oxford German Series* will continue to edit German translations of Scandinavia's representative authors. Too little work of this nature has been done either in German or English translation. Consequently, those American students who do not read Scandinavian generally lack a just appreciation as to the intrinsic value of Scandinavian literature. To enhance this appreciation a scholarly and sympathetic presentation of Scandinavia's representative authors is necessary; and certainly those of us who represent the cause of Scandinavian culture in America should feel this contribution of Dr. Boysen as a challenge to continue the work so well begun.

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THE SUPERNATURAL IN MODERN ENGLISH FICTION, by Dorothy Scarborough. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London, 1917. 12mo., pp. vi+329.

The supernatural in literature has found another advocate in the person of Dr. Dorothy Scarborough, who in her volume *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction* aims to show the vitality and validity of the supernatural in fiction as in literature in general. As Dr. Charles Edward Whitmore, in his recent book *The Supernatural in Tragedy*, sees in the supernatural the prime essential of tragedy, Dr. Scarborough stresses the persistence and permanence of the supernatural in fiction as well as in poetry and drama.

The supernatural in English fiction reaches back to the so-called Gothic days in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but did not assume its present proportions until toward the close of the nineteenth century. The abundance of ghost-stuff, which we find in the English novels and short-stories of to-day, has followed and is closely bound up with the revival of superstition, which has not failed to come as the predestined swing of the pendulum.[1] The novel and story writers of to-day, in their mad race for plots that will thrill and thrall, have not been slow to grasp upon the resuscitated beliefs of past mythologies, and bring back for our amusement in maturity the spectral fears of the nursery. The supernatural in English fiction is primarily a purveyor of "the creeps." Its function as a medium for social satire, the most striking recent instance of which is Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger*, is but of secondary importance. Hence the ascendancy in English fiction of the ghost over the devil in contrast to other literatures where

[1] The supernatural in modern Celtic literature has its source, moreover, in a love for national antiquity.

the devil, in his rôle as satirist or as concept of political or social sins, is the dominant figure in supernatural themes.

Although admitting the fact that German Romanticism had a decided influence on English supernatural literature in the early part of the nineteenth century, Dr. Scarborough, in her discussion of later foreign influences on English writers, takes no account of contemporary German literature. The inference is well justified,—unless we attribute her silence to a lack of acquaintance with modern German literature,[2]—that in her opinion the supernatural is such a negligible element in modern German literature as to be passed over in silence. The Germans of to-day are indeed more concerned with facts than with fancies. Phantoms and phrases have been banished from modern German life and literature.

But Russian literature, which in the opinion of Dr. Scarborough has supplanted German literature in its appeal to English readers, is just as low and earth-bound as German literature, if not more so. The supernatural in modern Russian literature is chiefly in the form of allegorical diabolism, and is due not to a fondness for the supernatural, as Dr. Scarborough states, but to a preference for allegorical parlance in addition to a profound admiration for the devil's talent as a satirist of human foibles. It is as incorrect to claim for the Russians an interest in the supernatural as it is to call them a savage race. Russian literature like the Russian temperament is sober; it clings to the clod of reality. The writer of this review does not wish to contradict the statement of Dr. Scarborough that contemporary English fiction has been influenced by Russian literature in the use of the supernatural, but he maintains that in contrast to modern English fiction Russian novels and short-stories show no special fondness for unearthly themes. The Russians have little use for those heavenly stories with no earthly meaning. Insanity, to be sure, is rampant in modern Russian literature, but abnormal mental phenomena are a normal, natural, every-day affair with the Russian men of letters. Of all the literatures of the world, Russian literature, alas! can boast of the greatest number of martyrs. The number of Russian authors who have fallen victims to insanity, hypochondria and neurosis as well as tuberculosis is, indeed, legion. Abnormal must, however, not be confounded with supernormal. Abnormal characters there are in abundance in Russian novels, principally in the novels of Dostoevsky, but of supernormal personages there are few.

The supernatural is a very negligible element even in the works of the Russian authors, whom Dr. Scarborough accredits with an

[2] Of modern German dramatists Dr. Scarborough only mentions the brothers Hauptmann and one August Stramm. It may be remarked in passing that in Gerhart Hauptmann's *The Assumption of Hannele* the delirious child confuses her teacher in her visions of heaven not with the angels, as is stated in this book, but with Jesus Christ. The typographical errors in German names and titles point to an unfamiliarity with the German language.

influence over present-day English fiction. Pushkin, the founder of modern Russian literature, was, with all his love for Byron, more of a realist than a romanticist.[3] His *Queen of Spades*, which is cited for its ghost, is the weakest of all his works, although it found the largest circle of readers. This story was written in a fit of gloomy fancy, and its supernaturalism is a reminiscence of the stories on which he was fed in his childhood by an old nurse, to whom he dedicated his most pathetic verses. Nothing was so far from Gogol, the unsurpassable realist, as supernaturalism. His *Dead Souls* as Terpigorev's *Scared Ghosts* are no spooks but serfs. The ghost in *The Cloak* is by no means essential to the story, and its presence at the end must be ascribed to the author's early romantic tendencies. On the other hand, the ghosts in his *Evenings on a Farm on the Dikanka* form a constituent element of the plot. The supernatural is natural in these sketches of the life of the Ukrainian peasants, on whom it still exerts an enormous influence. His *Notes of a Madman* are as realistic as the Russian stories of insanity of the present day. The supernatural is not to be found in the best works of Turgenev. Whether or no his unearthly stories have had an influence on English fiction, they by no means represent his art. They were not even the products of his normal mind. *The Song of Love Triumphant* and *Clara Militch*, which Dr. Scarborough quotes for their supernatural themes, were written under the influence of a phantastic mysticism, which held his mind captive toward the end of his life by the constant fear of death. Like Gogol, Turgenev also turned ascetic and mystic in his last years, and, in the words of Waliszewski, presented a sceptic desperately bent on penetrating the unknown. Tolstoi, who is generally considered as the most typical Russian writer, has shown little interest in the supernatural. He was, as Brückner expresses himself, the poet of earthly life only, without the tendency upwards, towards the supernatural. In his story *Ivan the Fool*, to which Dr. Scarborough refers for its supernatural element, and which, by the way, cannot be counted among his imperishable works, he has, however, employed symbolical diabolism and has introduced demons as concepts of social sins. In this respect, too, Tolstoi has remained the typical Russian. For although mystical moods are alien, allegorical speech is familiar to the Russian. It does not surprise us, therefore, to see allegory even in as strict a realist as Chekhov. Where he employs the supernatural, it is natural. The phantom in his story *The Black Monk* is the effect of insanity, and insanity is as real, as natural to him as it was to Maupassant, with whom he is usually compared. The ghost in that nerve-shattering story *The Red Laugh* by Andreev is also the

[3] It is more than an anachronism to number Alexander Pushkin among the Russian fictionists of to-day. He was a lyric poet and died eighty years ago.

product of a mind run mad with the horrors of war. In the technique of this writer the supernatural turns natural. Where substance is reduced to shadow, shadow may be taken as substance. The only great Russian writer, who has lifted the veil and has allowed a few of his abnormal characters in their hallucinations to catch a glimpse of the spirit world is the "sorcerer" Dostoevsky. He, however, was chiefly interested in the daemonic element in human nature and has, therefore, earned the name of the Great Daemon. His claim to immortal fame is, moreover, based not on the unearthly, but on the earthly element in his works. Not his Christian mysticism, but his Christian compassion for the downtrodden and oppressed has assured him immortality. "Not in *Faust*," says the German Brückner, "but rather in *Crime and Punishment* does the whole woe of mankind take hold of us."

But as the book under review is not a study of comparative literature, its discussion of the reciprocal influences of the literatures of Europe and America in the use of the supernatural is gratuitous and could as well have been left out. On the other hand, a comparison of the supernatural in the literature of modern times with the supernatural in the literature of earlier periods would have emphasized its continuity. But what constitutes a serious defect in the discussion is the evidence of a lack of knowledge of the source of the supernatural in Christian dogma, myth, and legend. The discussion of the supernatural in modern English fiction thus lacks its historical and theological background. Dr. Scarborough frankly admits in the Introduction of her book that she does not know much about the personages, whom she discusses. But the confession cannot make up for the defect. The ghost she seems in the end, to have learned to know, although we doubt her belief in him. We are reminded of Coleridge, who, when asked one day by a woman if he believed in ghosts, replied: "No, madam, I have seen too many of them." Her knowledge of the devil, however, is too insufficient to give her the right to speak of him with any air of authority. She knows that the devil is a Persian by birth, but an internationalist on principle. She is well informed in regard to a few of his aliases, but she is misinformed in regard to his character. If Dr. Scarborough knew the devil, she would not hold liable to prosecution by the devil for lèse majesté Bernard Shaw, who in *Man and Superman* has the devil present us with a new hell before we are given a new heaven and a new earth, but rather "Monk" Lewis, who tells us that the devil has not kept faith with Ambrosio. In Christian legend the devil was never found wanting in the literal and punctilious fulfilment of all his promises. Neither "Monk" Lewis nor Mrs. Dacree taught the devil to take guilty mortals to a mountain top and hurl them down to their death. Satan had already sent Judas to his death by this route. The snaky coiffure, which "Monk" Lewis wound around the devil's head, was borrowed

from the Erinyes, and is in no relation to the devil's ophiomorphic appearance. Satan as a man of sorrows and an object of our compassion rather than our condemnation is not Marie Corelli's invention, but a conbination of French and Russian motifs. The human element in Satan's repentance over his fall is not original with Milton. It was already fully developed in the medieval mystery plays.[4] The idea of Satan as a parody of God as found in Mark Twain's posthumous novel *The Mysterious Stranger* was also very popular with the medieval playwrights and goes back to the Church Fathers, who called the devil *simia Dei*. St. Peter's comic rôle can also be traced back to the medieval stage. The legend of the miraculous power of the name of the Deity in Algernon Blackwood's *The Human Chord* hails from the Orient. Neither H. G. Wells in *A Wonderful Visit*, nor Byron in *Heaven and Earth* has induced the angels to visit the earth. We have had visitors from heaven from time immemorial (*vide Gen.* vi. 2, I. *Cor.* xi. 10; *cf.* Tertullian's *De Virginibus velandis*).

Dr. Scarborough tells us very little about the Wandering Jew, seems to be barely on speaking terms with the Flying Dutchman, has never heard of the Wild Huntsman, and knows Herodias, one of the most august members of her sex, only by name. The reader is fed to the point of satiety on ghosts, but is hardly able to catch a glimpse of these illustrious personages. They seem to have little inspiration for modern English writers. The author might have done better if she had given us less of the ghost stories and more of the deathless tales of these deathless men and women.[5]

[4] Satan has in many medieval German plays not considered his fall "as a glory, a liberty, and a joy." In his lamentations over his fall he has often given a very poetic expression to his deep yearning for the heaven, which he has lost. A modern version of Satan's *De Profundis* has been given us by Frieda Schanz:

Der Teufel hat immer mit frechem Munde
Den Himmel verflucht und Gott verklagt.
Aber einmal in wunderbarer Stunde
Hat er gesagt:

"Und läge der Himmel noch tausendmal weiter
Ueber dem Höllenmoor
Und führte eine glühende Leiter
Zu ihm empoor,
Jede Sprosse aus eisernen Dornenzweigen,
Jeder Schritt unausdenkbares Weh und Grau'n,
Tausend Legionen Jahre möchte ich steigen,
Um nur einmal Sein Angesicht zu schau'n."

[5] There has been a recent revival of interest in the legend of the Wandering Jew, as is evident from the number of critical studies which have appeared in recent years on this subject. The following German titles will attest to German interest in this immortal. L. Neubaur, *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden.* Leipzig, 1884. J. Probst, *Die Sage, vom ewigen Juden in der neueren deutschen Literatur.* Leipzig, 1905. T. Kappstein, *Ahasver in der Weltpoesie.* Berlin, 1906. O. Heller, *Ahasver in der Kunstdichtung. Modern Philology* 3:61-8, June, 1905. An essay on the Wandering Jew in English was written in 1881 by the late Mr. M. D. Conway, the well-known daemonologist.

Of especial interest is Herodias, the Wandering Jewess, the counterpart and companion of the Wandering Jew in Christian mythology. She is not the wife of Herod Antipas and the mother of Salome, as is generally assumed. Nor has she been laden with the curse of eternal wandering for her sinful love for the Baptist. This motif apparently is of Heine's own invention (*vide Atta Troll, Kaput* XIX). She is Mariamne, the wife of Herod the Great, and she has brought down upon herself the divine wrath for her contemptous treatment of the Magi, when they passed Jerusalem on their way to the manger of Christ. It is said that she refused to go to the window to see them, pretending that she was busy sweeping the room. Legend thus links her with Epiphany day, and in Italy she bears the name "Befana," which has also been given to the day preceding Epiphany. In Germany this day is called "Berchtentag," which points to an identification of the Germanic goddess with the Judean queen. On this day, which is not very much different from Shrove-Tuesday, Herodias-Befana-Berchta is led in procession through the streets, riding on a broom-stick. She has inherited the fate of the northern goddess, and has been turned into a wandering spirit engaged in an eternal wild chase. "She must dance eternally," has been her sad verdict.

Within the period the discussion covers, Dr. Scarborough tries to compare the supernatural elements of present-day fiction with those of earlier days. The differences, which she believes she has found, are, however, not so much in kind, as in degree. It is not only in modern fiction that the superhuman beings are human. They have been human from their very inception. It was Voltaire, I believe, who said: "God created man in his own image, and man returned the compliment." Angels and devils are human projections in both directions and are bound to partake in the progress of human thought. Says Mephistopheles:

> Culture which the whole world licks
> Also unto the Devil sticks.

The superhuman personages have benefitted by the modern levelling tendency in the characterisation of their human creators. In modern literature they, too, are no longer painted either wholly white or wholly black, but in the various shades of gray.

Dr. Scarborough has brought together between the covers of her book a vast mass of interesting material, but has not presented it in an orderly and systematic manner. The reader gets the impression that a book on the supernatural must disregard all the natural rules of composition. The chapters of the book under review are neither parallel nor uniform. The treatment of the Gothic romance is alien to a book on modern English fiction. This first chapter with its own conclusion bears all the ear-marks of a seminar-paper, which has been prepared independently of the book itself. The discussion of the Gothic novel belongs at best in the

Introduction. The Conclusion does not in analogy to the Introduction stand after the body of the book, but forms its last chapter. Neither does the Introduction introduce the discussion, nor does the Conclusion conclude it. The arguments for the supernatural in literature are not limited to the Introduction, but are repeated throughout the book to a degree which puts the patience of the reader to a trying test. The summary of the discussion is not reserved for the Conclusion, but is given in homoeopathic doses at frequent intervals in the body of the book. The Conclusion has all the appearance of an additional layer of material, which is only loosely connected with the book. Repetition of phrases as well as of ideas occur in the book. The assurance that the treatment in the book is meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive is given in literal identity at the end of the Introduction and of the Conclusion. Contradictions are also not lacking in the book. In one place (p. 143) Dr. Scarborough speaks of the devil in *Countess Cathleen* as his only recent appearance on the English stage, but farther on (p. 217) she discusses at length the devil in *Man and Superman*. The author has, of course, no knowledge of Henry Arthur Jones's four-act tragedy *The Tempter*.

The bibliography has been crowded out, and from the book it is very difficult to tell what critical literature has been used in its preparation. The essay *The Supernatural in Nineteenth Century Fiction* in *The Edinburgh Review* 197: 395-418, April 1903, still remains the most critical treatment of the subject.[6] Of a more popular nature is Edmund Gosse's article *The Abuse of the Supernatural in Fiction* in *The Bookman* 6: 297-300, December 1897.

A complimentary word should be said before closing about the subterranean stream of humor, which runs throughout the book. It flashes up in the most unexpected places and sends its radiant light into the gloomiest corners of this chamber of horrors. But for the author's sense of humor the reader's hair would be on end from the first to the last page of the book. It must be acknowledged, however, that in a few instances the reader will wish that one of those cruel ghosts, about whom the author tells, might have visited her also to drive away her sense of humor.

The book under review bears testimony to the wide reading and ripe thinking of the author and deserves abundant praise as a collection and classification of the various types and manifestations of the supernatural, in modern English fiction—and that is all that it is meant to be—, and it is to be deeply regretted that it is marred by technical faults, which are easily explained by the pressing duties and tasks of a teacher. The world of ghosts and demons, which the author opens to us, offers at any rate in these bitter days a very pleasant refuge from our own planet.

[6] This article may be more accessible in this country in the weekly *Living Age* 238:257-73, August 1, 1903.

The dread of lifting the veil has long prevented investigation in supernatural literature. It has only been within recent years that the literary status of supernatural personages has been made a subject of serious inquiry. The harvest is great, and the laborers are few. Dr. Scarborough's wish that her book may lead others to pursue similar investigations will be endorsed by the men who have preceded her in this interesting field of work.

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ENGLISH DOMESTIC RELATIONS 1487-1653. A Study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as Revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the Period. A Dissertation by Chilton Latham Powell. New York. Columbia University Press. 1917. 8vo, pp. xii, 274.

An investigation and exposition of English domestic relations from 1487, the date of "the first appearance of the subject in English writing" in Caxton's *Boke of Good Manners*, translated from the French of Jaques LeGrand, "up to its first great crisis, a height of clear thinking and vigorous expression on which Milton and Cromwell stand alone," or until Cromwell established civil marriage by law in 1653, is a task of no mean dimensions or slight importance, especially when the investigation within the limits of time and place is made "as all-inclusive as possible," drawing from "all possible sources of information—history, law, literature, and actual practice." The value of such research, if thoroughly, accurately, and lucidly executed, is obviously great. An intelligent interpretation of literature contemporary with the period under investigation, and an enlightened understanding of the moral, religious, and civic origin or basis of modern society are highly desirable and of the utmost importance. Any light in this age of social unrest, which will help dispel the vagaries, superstition, and ignorance inherited from a remote past, but still operative in retarding progress, is welcome. Only by such aids to an understanding of the past, as the work before us purports to be, can the serious danger of interpreting literature in the light of modern thought, custom, and practices be obviated.

The period under investigation is very definitely limited, as is also the scope of the subject, but the class of readers whom the work is designed to benefit is not specified. The information in the book is apparently for anyone who can use it. The historian and especially the student of law, who have already done much in the field for themselves, will have less need of the work than will the student of literature. "That the actual conditions of the period may be set forth and the contemporary literature on the

subject properly understood" is the professed purpose of the author. "The proper understanding of contemporary literature on the subject," for the most part obscure tracts, popularizations, treatises, etc., by equally obscure agitators, reformers, and visionaries, can hardly be an end in itself worth while, but rather a very important aid in a fuller understanding of a greater or true literature and of authors only remotely and incidentally connected with the subject.

The first chapter contains a discussion of the laws, practice, and customs of marriage in the fifteenth century. The forms of spousals, their significance and consumation, the legal age of marriage, the impediments prohibiting and annulling it, the beneficial influence of Luther, child marriages and the reasons for them, clandestine marriages, spousal and marriage ceremonies, and the festal celebrations following marriages are some of the more specific topics elaborated.

The second chapter is occupied with the controversy between church and state during the Reformation, for the supreme right to perform marriage. In this controversy "the Puritans, while not condemning marriage by magistrates as unlawful, considered it 'lawful, more convenient and comfortable,' that it should be solemnized by the church." The influence and practice of the Independents, also the practice in Holland, Scotland, and New England, were in favor of the state and gradually prepared for the act of 1653 establishing civil marriage by law. The church, however, might continue to solemnize the marriage either before or after the magistrate's affirmation.

The attempted reform of divorce is the subject of the third chapter, with special reference, first, to the legal situation, which amounted to a survival of the laws of Catholicism, never superseded in England by any code of the Protestant church; secondly, the Puritan-Anglican controversy on divorce, in which the Puritans rather sought to deprive the church of its power in divorce than to remedy the evils growing out of the old impediments and narrowness in administering divorce; and thirdly, the final deadlock not broken until Cromwell steered a middle course between the extreme liberalism of Milton and the narrowness of the church and put the matter in the hands of civil magistrates.

The domestic conduct book is the subject of the fourth chapter. The type and its origin, Puritan and Romish attitudes towards marriage as revealed in these books, and the domestic book as literature are the main topics under consideration. The chapter shows an improvement over the preceding chapters in logical and chronological arrangement, is more original, and contains much suggestive bibliographical material.

The fifth chapter reveals the highly unfavorable contemporary attitudes toward woman shared by the church, writers of domestic books, and a certain class of satirists, a view offset by the extreme

flattering praise of the courtier under the influence of the Italian Renaissance, and of certain authors of books of commendation. All of these views are largely assumed and untrustworthy, according to the author, and must be taken with a large grain of salt. By resort to the historical and general views on the subject he concludes that the lot of woman in those days was not so bad or so good as the extremists depicted, although "the Elizabethan ideal of womanhood was considerably lower than that of to-day, especially that of America."

The sixth and last chapter, which in subject matter would seem more logically to follow Chapter IV, discusses wider ranges of domestic literature, with special reference to more general conduct books, such as the book of honor or nobility and moral allegory, and the domestic drama or domestic problem plays.

The book also contains four appendices: 1) English writing on the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine, really a descriptive bibliography of the controversy; 2) the date and occasion of Milton's first divorce tract, a conclusive demonstration, as the author thinks, that *Doctrine and Discipline* had no connection with Milton's own domestic life; 3) directions for matrimony from William Harrington's book; 4) contents of typical domestic books. In addition there is a bibliography of 265 items.

Such in brief is the information, a large part of which is not new, collected from authorities and sources, abridged, and more or less conveniently arranged in this book. It will, no doubt, be of service to the student of literature and to others; but unless absurd and false conclusions are to result, such information must be used circumspectly. Some of the author's illustrations from Shakespeare will indicate the danger of becoming too zealous in the application of pet theories and knowledge gathered from out-of-the-way places—of seeing what one wishes to see. "Shakespeare, he explains, "evidently wished to emphasize the child-parent contention in *Romeo and Juliet*, since he altered the original story to make Juliet under the legal age for marriage and in addition shifted the contract made for her by her parents from the middle [of the story] to the beginning of the play." In a note he reminds us that Juliet "is just under fourteen" (although he has previously stated (p. 6) that she is 'only thirteen'), and that thus in contracting herself to Romeo, Juliet consciously defies her parents' wishes." Shakespeare was undoubtedly thinking of English customs in this play, but there is grave doubt about his wishing to emphasize the "child-parent contention." Dr. Powell informs us (pp. 5-6) that "the legal age for marriage, . . . was fourteen for males and twelve for females. But the church performed marriages upon infants in arms, their parents consenting, and recognized the age of seven as that when parental consent was no longer absolutely necessary." In the light of this information Juliet was fast approaching spinsterhood rather than being "under

the legal age for marriage." In this connection we should recall that Lady Capulet reminds her daughter that

> "younger than you
> Here in Verona, ladies of esteem,
> Are made already mothers. By my count,
> I was your mother much upon these years
> That you are now a maid."

In the words of Lady Capulet Shakespeare thus states the practice of the times, a practice of which there is abundant evidence in Elizabethan drama. That he shifted the attempt to contract Juliet to Paris to the beginning of the play to meet the exigency of the plot is evident; and no one, we believe, has ever doubted that Juliet in marrying Romeo "consciously defies her parents' wishes" in more ways than in upsetting their plans for a marriage with Paris. In this case Dr. Powell tries to prove too much. In the case of Juliet we are content with knowing that in Shakespeare's time a girl of twelve was of marriageable age.

Again the author is in error in finding a good example of public spousal in *The Taming of the Shrew*, III, 2. Certainly the marital ceremony in this scene is marriage. We agree with Gremio that "Such a mad marriage never was before." Immediately after the rites are performed Petruchio proceeds to carry away his "virtuous wife" to such bed and board as few brides encounter in the early stages of their honeymoon. Had Dr. Powell found an example of private spousal in II, 1 of this play, we should agree, but hardly think it worthy of mention for the purpose. In this scene, after a few brief moments of exciting wooing, Petruchio emerges from the encounter with high praise of Kate, announces Sunday as his wedding day, calls Baptista father and Kate wife, states his intention of going to Venice to purchase his wedding apparel, and departs with the words: "Kate, we will be married o' Sunday." He returns on the "'pointed day" in III, 2, which is a wedding day and not a time of spousal.

The author's example of a public spousal in *Twelfth Night*, V, 1, prepared for in IV, 3, is good; but the same cannot be said of the example in the following statement: "In Shakespeare, the exchange of rings is a fairly good guide to a modern audience that a spousal is taking place, *e.g.*, *Merchant of Venice*, III, 2." It should be noted that in the spousal between Bassanio and Portia, brought about by most unusual circumstances, and in that between Gratiano and Nerissa, rings are not *exchanged*, the exigency of the plot demanding that only the men should receive rings, and making it highly undesirable that the women should receive or wear them. A better example of private spousal and exchange of rings is to be found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, 2:

> *Jul.* Keep this remembrance for thy Julia's sake.
> [*Gives him a ring.*]
> *Pro.* Why, then, we'll make exchange: here, take you this.
> [*Gives her another.*]
> *Jul.* And seal the bargain with a holy kiss.

Although the author courageously sets out to seek information on his subject "by using all available sources and combining the results thus gained," he evidently was too ambitious both in this statement and in his subtitle; and is repeatedly obliged to turn aside from vast fields and rich sources of information pertaining to his subject, especially in the drama, and with only a hurried glance take a short cut home. We regret that he was not in a position to make an exhaustive study of a subject for which he seems well fitted, or at least to exhaust one source of information. In the last chapter he is more intent on finding problem plays similar in purpose to the domestic conduct books of the time than in gathering material on his chosen subject wherever he can find it. Many dramas not designed as domestic problem plays contain in brief flashes of local color and realism much information regarding domestic relations. It is, for instance, difficult to understand why in the discussion on page 9 of "the impediments which forbade marriage and annulled it completely if already contracted," the author should make no mention of Ben Jonson's use of these same impediments, for the most part in identically the same Latin in *The Silent Woman*, V, 1, the longest and probably most pertinent passage on the subject in Elizabethan drama. The first chapter is particularly rich in results, but vague in reference to time and historical development of the subject. The method of research here is rather more deductive than inductive. In the second and third chapters the case is the reverse; here there is too much of history which should be fairly familiar to most readers of the book, and too few results to justify the weighty and somewhat tedious historical discussion. The last three chapters are more to the point.

The book will prove stimulating and profitable to many readers in many ways. The author displays much industry in making at least a speaking acquaintance with a large number of books, little or not known and difficult of access. In bringing to light these books he has performed his most distinctive service to scholarship. Though by no means exhaustive, his classified bibliography will prove of value to those wishing to follow the subject further. The book is a beginning in the right direction.

The following errors have escaped the proofreader: p. 87, l. 11, *for Thori read Thoro*; p. 96, l. 9, *for* iooting *read* footing; p. 98, l. 2, *for* Pariiament *read* Parliament; p. 115, l. 20 *for* cxess *read* excess; p. 122, l. 16, *for* viginity *read* virginity; p. 129, l. 30, *for* Boaistuau's *read* Bouaistuau's; p. 169, note, *for* Decker's *Gulls Hornbook read* Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*; p. 187, ll. 8-10, *for* The companion piece to the *English Gentleman*, entitled *The English Gentlewoman*, published in 1631, does for woman what *Gentleman* work does for man *read* The companion piece to this work, enentitled *The English Gentlewoman*, published in 1631, does for

woman what *The English Gentleman* does for man; p. 189, note, *for* synomym *read* synonym; p. 193, l. 7, *for* dicuss *read* discuss; p. 243, note, *for* sueggstive *read* suggestive; p. 264, index, for *Guls Hornbook* read *Gull's Hornbook*.

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TSIMSHIAN MYTHOLOGY. Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, 1909-1910. By Franz Boas. Washington, 1916.

Important to students of mediaeval literature who are interested in comparing their conclusions with the findings of modern ethnologists is this monograph on Tsimshian mythology, in which Dr. Franz Boas establishes certain principles for the diffusion of story material, by observing what actually happens among a distinct group of North American Indian tribes whose mythology has assumed marked individuality.[1]

Among the Tsimshian Indians, together with the neighboring Tlingit and Haida tribes, Northwest Indian culture appears in its most highly developed form. Their material culture centers about the products of sea and stream, about the wild goat on the mountain, and the growth of the red and yellow cedar. The men fish for salmon, olachen, and the killerwhale, or hunt the bear and the mountain-goat; the women gather shellfish or pick berries to dry for the winter food supply. They live in square houses of cedar planks, set facing the sea, in front of which stand carved totem poles, painted in brilliant colors, to represent the animals which appear in their myths. They paint the same animals upon the front doors of their houses, upon dance aprons and skin blankets, or they carve them upon cedar chests and wooden utensils in the elaborate and peculiar style of the Northwest. They also weave mats of cedar-bark and blankets of goats-hair. And to all these objects attaches a ceremonial interest which gives to social life an elaboration constantly reflected in the development of myth.

Among the large number of Tsimshian myths which Dr. Boas records as they are still told within the tribe, many are both interesting in themselves as products of native art, and useful for comparison with primitive ideas reflected in European folklore.

The Raven myth tells of the shaping of the world by a half animal being called "Giant," who flies in a raven mask, and, during his progress about Tsimshian territory, arranges things as they are. He secures daylight from the upper world. He gives short life to man. He makes the little tomtit lord over the animals.

[1] A critical review, by C. M. Barbeau, appeared in the *American Anthropologist*, 1917, p. 548.

He causes the tides. He secures different food-fish for man by contests with various supernatural beings. But in spite of these services to mankind, nowhere do we get the idea of a beneficent culture-hero venerated by his race. He is an example of the Indian trickster, hero of a long series of disconnected adventures in some of which he is ignominiously worsted, in others of which his own ruse deceives a powerful and opulent antagonist whose food-supply he accordingly obtains, but to the last a hero still, about whose person hangs a mysterious charm. "Three years after the white men came into this country," a certain rich man finds his house visited at night by an inquisitive giant, who, in spite of bullets shot into his breast, goes on quietly examining the workmanship of the house. Some days later, a young brave, wandering in the mountains desperate for want of food, follows a trail which comes out upon a deep valley and leads finally to a hut. Within lies "Giant" with his back to the fire, wounded in the chest, but fed upon fat mountain sheep which his pups herd for him in the hills. When the wanderer leaves the valley, happy in the possession of a magic food-producing staff, the hills close about it, and no eye has ever looked upon the valley since.

Similar to the Raven myth in their explanatory character, are a number of animal stories which refer special features of Indian life to mythical beings who are themselves in animal form or are associated with beast helpers. In the "Feast of the Mountain Goats," people are taught kindness to animals and how to treat their bones with proper respect. A goat-song is interpolated, with some delightful transformation magic, all watched by little "Truly black" from his seat behind the tentpost at the dance. Finding himself miraculously transported to a spruce-tree on the summit of a mountain, he escapes by wrapping himself in a goat-skin and pronouncing the magic formulas "On the thumb," and "On the sand," as he leaps from rock to rock down the descent. "The Hunter's Wife who became a Beaver" ascribes the origin of the beaver to the transformation of a woman who finds her husband too engrossed in trapping. "You are no better than a raccoon!" he answers angrily to her reproaches. The taunt strikes home; she dives into the water and, in spite of the man's repentance, little by little assumes animal features and becomes "no better than a racoon." Another transformation story is the Tsimshian deluge myth. In a magic pool called "Lake of the Beginning" appears a whale, who causes the water to overflow. Two brothers are on the bank: one is destroyed by a weasel, the other dives to the bottom of the pool, where he enters a house, while thunder, lightning and hail play without. Animals enter; Thunder-bird, Cuttle-fish, and Living-eyes, who are the elements, transform themselves into a drum, painted with red ochre, and a baton, and are put away in the back of Grizzly-bear, who is changed into a box for the purpose. Provided with these magic

gifts, the boy returns to his brother, whom he restores to life, and who, provided with "a vessel of blood to be his supernatural power," ultimately becomes the food-producing *shaman* for his tribe.

Certain arts, such as gambling or net-making, the Tsimshian ascribe to marriage of a man or a woman with an animal who takes on human form. The animal marriage is in fact the theme of a great many Tsimshian tales. Some of these tales do not vary in plot from those found in other tribes, but they often excel in the grace and vividness of the detail. The brothers who go upon the trail of their sister who has married the bear discover her through her finger prints upon a snowball which she tosses to them from the cliff where she is hidden. The bear-children of the rescued woman, when they see little clouds resting on the hills, cry "There is the smoke of our bear-grandfather!" and the hunters go bear-killing. Others have an ethical motive, like that of the haughty maiden who thinks herself too good to marry. "Wouldn't you like to marry me?" she cries to the snail as she kicks him with her foot; and she weds a handsome young man with skin as smooth as glass, only to find that his parents are the despised snail people and not too friendly to their proud daughter-in-law. So in "The Princess who rejected her Cousin," retributive justice turns the tables upon an arrogant flirt, who is forced herself to become the disconsolate wooer. Again, a man marries two maidens—Robin and the Sawbill Duck. Robin is beloved and Duck despised. In time of famine each brings a present of food from her own family. Robin's heap of berries is received with honor, Duck's canoe-load is ignominiously dumped into the sea, only to reveal too late the rich sea-food with which it was loaded. In another tale, Waux, who can control the shaking mountains by forming an outlet with his spear, once forgets to take with him the magic weapon and in his extremity calls upon his wife to sacrifice to the gods. So strong, however, is her desire to eat the savoury fat of the sacrifice herself that she fails to understand her husband's words; she "repeated her own wish," says the story, and with results disastrous to both.

Many of these stories contain motives familiar to European folk-tale. "Very Dirty" is a hero of the "male-Cinderella" type, who, like Atlas or the Tongan Maui, finally dives under the earth to act as its support. "As soon as Dirty dies the world will come to an end," says the myth. The story of Nalq and the five children miraculously shaped out of mucous, a bit of grindstone, a branch of crabapple, a feather and a shell, is the Indian equivalent of "Hop-o'-my-thumb." The children visit an ogress who keeps her supernatural power in a frog, pass through a crushing cave, and visit the "City in the Air," all by the aid of a magic feather, which, after the rest have perished, one child always survives to wave over the carefully-preserved bones of his brothers and

thus restore them for the next adventure. In "The Hunters," again, nine brothers are killed in an attempted adventure, in which the last succeeds through the interposition of a lady who instructs him how to proceed, and furnishes him with magical objects. In still another tale, "Shining-one of Heaven" courts a proud princess. She mistakes his slave for the true prince, and Shining-One weds her deformed sister. The slave and his wife are transformed into the red and the blue cod for their misconduct; but when the first child is born, Shining-one says, "This is my sister-in-law come back again through my wife," and the mother is comforted for the daughter whom she has lost. The idea of rebirth also occurs in the story of Raven's trick to secure the sun. He assumes the form of a cedar-leaf, is swallowed by the chief's daughter, and being born as her child, makes off with the treasured box which contains the *ma'* or daylight. In the tale of the boy who sets out to seek the "living arrow," the incident is developed by means of a ballad-like repetition. The boy as he travels asks one old man after another the road and each sends him forward with the assurance, "O supernatural one, supernatural one! the country that you want to reach is very far away!" As he approaches the village, each informant tells off the actual number of miles. At last he reaches his destination and bears thence in triumph the "living arrow." Next he must learn how to handle it, but one counsellor after another is summoned in vain. One offers to teach him the ways of love, another boasts of the number of his lady-loves; only one old blind man understands the boy's wish, and can teach him how to hold the weapon. His purpose is to avenge his mother against his father's clan, who have abused her. But once started upon his work of vengeance, he becomes insatiable; unless he is slain, he will never himself leave off slaying until he has made an end of the tribe. Again it is only the old blind instructor whose arrow can touch him. They place a weapon in his hand and guide its aim. "Ah! ah! I killed him! I hit his eye!" cries the blind man. As for the arrow, "it went off howling and flew to its home (in the west) saying while it was flying—'Guldana!' "

Still another familiar theme is to be found in a Tsimshian "fairy-mistress" tale. Chief Peace dwells on an island, far out to sea, with a beautiful daughter named Peace-woman. Many young men have sought to marry her, but all have perished in the attempt to find the way thither, save the one youth whose story is here related. This handsome young chief, having gambled away all his property, is insulted by his wife. "You ought to eat the salmon of the daughter of Chief Peace!" she cries angrily. Stung by her taunt, he paddles away to the island, marries the daugher, and brings her home in four living canoes into which food is magically compressed. From this time on, the fairy-woman furnishes the food-supply for the village. She has a magic plume and cup by which she tests her husband's fidelity. He is

at length no longer able to escape the jealousy of his fomer wife, the water at once runs muddy from the plume, and the fairy woman walks out to sea, followed by her despairing husband, who, in spite of her warning, compels her to look back at him, thus causing his death. He is supernaturally restored to life, and dwells ever after with his fairy wife in the village of Chief Peace.

To these mythical tales are added three legendary accounts of feuds arising in more recent times between rival chiefs or rival tribes. Here the revenge-theme develops without the interposition of magic, but the Indian psychology is, in some incidents, unmistakable. "Good weather is following a hard frost, heavy rains and storm," sings, for her dance-song, the sister of the victorious chief who has slain three brothers in the course of a feud. The mother takes this to promise peace to her only remaining son; when he, too, is treacherously slain, she laments, "My son, the only son left to me, made a mistake, for they said in their song that good weather would follow the dark storm-clouds!"

Throughout these Tsimshian tales, theme and workmanship alike are in keeping with the communal interests out of which, for example, our own balladry developed. The strongest ethical motive appeals, not so much to the moral sense, as to that of retributive justice for the despised, ignored, or insulted—an essentially popular theme, which requires no esoteric teaching for its promulgation. The test of wit is far more dominant than that of character, although this also appears in tragic motives as in the story of Waux, and the tale of the boy who secured the living arrow. It is the objective character of the tales, the charm which lies in the concrete handling of certain incidents, and their closeness, in spite of the world of marvels through which they lead, to such thoughts and feelings as govern real people in the common events of everyday life, which has made these stories live in the imagination of the people among whom they are told.

Of even greater interest than the stories themselves, are those sections of the volume in which are set forth in detail the data upon which Dr. Boas bases his conclusions in regard to the shaping and the transmission of Tsimshian myth. Details of social custom as they occur in the myths are compared with the testimony of trustworthy observers, in order to judge exactly how far the story-teller absorbs the tale into his own back ground. A close comparison is made with corresponding tales over the whole culture-area of the Northwest coast, in order to see what actually happens to plots and incidents in transmission. To the whole is added an appendix, containing some hitherto unpublished Nootka tales, a summary of comparative data for folklore incidents from all available Indian sources, a list of proper and place-names, and a glossary and index to references. It is to the conclusions based upon these comparisons that the reader will turn with special interest.

The first striking thing about Indian tales is the large part played by animals, and the human capacities attributed to them—those phenomena, in short, which we are accustomed to explain under the general name of totemism without implying in the term anything more specific than a kind of relation felt by primitive people to exist between men and animals or plants. Of special significance for ethnologists, but also interesting to students of literary history, is Dr. Boas's view of the hotly debated questions "What constitutes totemism?" and "What is its origin?"[2] While accepting the able contributions of Dr. Goldenweiser to the conception of totemism as regards the composite and various character of the "totemic complex," the influence of convergence, as conditioned by the limited possiblities of variation, in bringing about similar totemic phenomena, and the "pattern" theory of their development within the group,[2] Dr. Boas denies the psychological unity of the phenomena called totemism. Totemic activities such as taboo, naming crests, dances, legends, and ceremonial, have no genetic relation with each other, hence totemism appears as "an artificial unit, not a natural one."

Totemism is merely the picture of society classified into similar social groups, generally kinship groups, by means of similar social customs, generally relating to animals and plants. This classification is common in primitive society, and not unknown in our own. Common to primitive society, however, is the clan grouping, which, in its nature, invites concrete characterization as a mnemonic device. Indian myth would doubtless play with the idea of animals acting like human beings, even if the clan system never existed; since it does exist, the play goes on associating animal ceremonial with the human group division, and so we have the social complex called totemism.[3]

In the same way, Dr. Boas clears our conception of what really constitutes mythology, by going to the myth-makers themselves for their terms of thought. From this standpoint, a "myth" is merely a story which refers to a time long past, when the world was not as it is now—to the "once upon a time" of the race. Only, in the minds of primitive people, this period is more clearly defined than in our own fairy-tales. The Tsimshian date most of their myths from the time "after the great deluge," when the

[2] Dr. Boas discusses these questions more fully in an article, "The Origin of Totemism," *American Anthropologist*, 1917.

[3] These theories Dr. Goldenweiser has defined in a series of articles as follows:

"Totemism: an analytical study"—*Journal of American Folklore*, 1910.

"Exogamy and Totemism Defined."—*American Anthropologist*, Vol. XIII. 1911.

"Origin of Totemism"—*American Anthropologist*, Vol. XIV. 1912.

"Principle of Limited Possibilities in the Development of Culture"—*Journal of American Folklore*, 1913.

people had villages at Metlakhatla, whence "all the villages of all the tribes took their beginning." In these days, say the old stories, "human beings made wonderful marriages"; they "used to marry animals, birds, frogs, snails, mice, and so on." Even more marvelous are those tales which relate to the time before the deluge, "when the Tsimshian lived on the upper Skeena river, in Prairie Town." Dr. Boas says: "It should be remembered that in the mind of the Indian it is not the religious, ritualisic, or explanatory character of a tale that makes it a myth, but the fact that it pertains to a period when the world was different from what it is now." Whether it shall be a teleological tale, an allegory, a moral tale, a ghost story, a piece of buffoonery or play of wit, a story of monstrous adventure or a naturalistic account of some local incident, depends upon what particular kind of story happens to please the people who listen. Whatever is of emotional interest to that particular locality will be repeated again and again by successful story-tellers; fresh themes will be run through the same mould, which thus becomes characteristic for that group. That all groups are not pleased by exactly the same kind of thing, brings about an individual art among different peoples, a difference far more strongly marked on the American continent than among Europeans, where the culture is much more uniform, and the mythology, accordingly, approaches more nearly the same pattern.

It is for this reason that the comparatively small area of the Northwest coast yields such important evidence as to the actual manner in which myths are composed. A comparison of the tales found in this area reveals a number of plots based on simple social experiences, and a number of detached incidents by means of which these plots may be elaborated according to the style most popular in any particular area. In one section, for example, the story of the marriage with a supernatural being will develop about the motive of the offended animal, in another, of the helpful animal. The same thing is true of incident. The place of the eating canoe in Tsimshian story is, in the south, taken by a self-moving canoe. The northern story-teller gives the canoe the head of a grizzly bear, or of the supernatural monster called *Was*; the southern, that of a double-headed serpent. The most striking example of such incidental differences occurs in the so-called "Test-theme." Particular tests develop in special areas; parts of the story become elaborated or obscured, as, for example, the revenge taken upon the father-in-law through the very means he has provided for the destruction of the son-in-law, a motive fully developed in the south.

This elaboration of incident is particularly noticeable, says Dr. Boas, in the introduction to a tale, where it is especially necessary to excite enough interest in the hero to carry him through the long series of adventures, generally unrelated, which form the story-complex, and which depend for their number and elaboration

upon the interest thus aroused. Hence the development of a number of stories of supernatural birth, which are handed about from story to story and gain embellishments in the telling. Readers of European romance are immediately reminded of such birth-stories as the child afloat on the sea, or the boy brought up in ignorance of courts in the forest, over whose origins scholars have puzzled themselves in vain. Now Dr. Boas tells us that, among the Indians of the Northwest, such a story is a free incident, part of the common stock, and attachable, with whatever embellishments conform to the feeling for art within the group, to any hero and to any complex of adventures at the discretion of the composer. In other words, although a complex story that has made its way into popular favor is always told in the same order, and with little variation of incident within the same area, it is seldom borrowed as a whole by a different group, but incidents are used in different combinations, and parts may be attached to quite different story-complexes. Even within the same area, the same incident may occur again and again in quite different tales, which develop independently of each other.

This first-hand information about the way in which myth works out among actual primitive people may lay some of the ghosts of recurrent incident which haunt the pages of European epic tale and romance. It is true that the area studied is a highly specialized one. The whole culture of the Northwest coast is individualistic. It is possible that a different culture might exhibit a tendency to borrow a series of incidents more automatically. Another might show more inventiveness than Dr. Boas is inclined to ascribe to the Indian story-teller. We must somehow provide in our reconstruction of the primitive workshop of myth, for the "far-traveled tale" and the after all considerable number of imaginative incidents which serve as primary colors for the shifting spectrum of fancy. But certainly nothing so helpful as this exposition of the way stories arise has been offered for a long time to clear the ground and start the folklorist on the right road towards a critical analysis of his particular problem.

Suggestive also is Dr. Boas's finding that in this Northwest area a marvelous tale tends to sink to a more naturalistic level outside of its own habitat. This fact he substantiates by a large number of instances drawn from the comparative material before him in which, on the borders of the area over which a myth extends, supernatural details are suppressed or given a naturalistic explanation. The borrower dares less than the inventor. The imagination works most freely with native material. What is borrowed passes through the alembic of criticism, is tested by foreign standards of the credible, interpretation being added to fancy. This principle has long been accepted for the retelling of myth under the influence of a superimposed culture, as happened, for example, in Greek or Scandinavian efforts to euhemerize their gods; could

it be employed as here set forth, it might do good service in solving some vexed problems of the probable routes of travel for certain north European myths. At least, it affords us a clearer idea of what must have been taking place in the north during the days of the old sea-rovers.

The final point Dr. Boas emphasizes, as a result of his investigation of Tsimshian myth, is the dependence of the Northwest upon observation of human life rather than upon the interpretation of natural phenomena for the suggestion of its story-plot. It was with Dr. Lowie's admirable study of the so-called Test-theme among North American Indians[4] that the American School first crossed lances with German ethnologists, who insisted that primitive story-telling was to be interpreted as speculation about the course of nature, especially about the changes of sun and moon, of summer and winter. By a quantitative comparison whose results were beyond dispute, Dr. Lowie proved that only in a few cases was the testing episode coupled with the sun visit; that the two incidents occurred independently in different complex tales; that one bore no internal relation to the other, and hence that the test-theme was not a worn-down allegory interpreting natural phenomena, but a free element attracted, in certain areas where anthropomorphic views of the sun were popular, to the theme of the sun-visit.

Dr. Boas now asserts that "the attempt to interpret mythology as a direct reflex of the contemplation of nature is not sustained by the facts." He finds the primitive mind little imaginative, inclined to play with material at hand and arrange fresh combinations rather than to invent new material. He believes myth dealing with physical phenomena to be the result of applying this material to the phenomena in question, not conditioned by it. The tale has no inherent relation to the explanation offered, but is merely used for elaboration, or the explanation is itself an elaboration of some stock incident. This is proved by the Indian habit of employing for the explanation of an animal-marking a story which in another connection in the same area is told for a quite different purpose, and which has in fact in itself no reason for the teleological application. Explanation of nature through allegory, then, becomes a special style, developed under special conditions until it forms a stimulus for the invention of incident to fit the case, but by no means a universal or even general process of the human mind.

That Dr. Boas is right we are likely to conclude, not only because of the proof from primitive myth, but from the testimony of the great allegories of our own literature, which apply the fresh organic principle of philosophic speculation to old material, relying little, and that less successfully, upon the creation of fresh

[4] *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 97.

incident. There is every reason to suppose that Spenser, Milton and Dante were in this following the road marked out for them by the human race, and were not merely less "original" than the first speculators who contemplated the heavens and the earth.

The difference lies, not in the method, but in the consistency of the philosophic speculation on the basis of which is elaborated the vast amount of heterogeneous material worked into the allegory—in the fact even that men allegorized at all. For in a primitive epoch there is no reason for supposing that the existence of so called "mythical" elements means that the story as a whole had a speculative significance. Early story-tellers were not so consistent. Even so good a critic as Miss Hull,[5] detecting in the Cuchullin epic traits attached to the hero which belong specifically to the concept of the sun-god, and details of a bull-fight which are identical with an old Hindu sun-myth (certainly incidents in themselves beyond credit on any naturalistic basis), decides to explain the whole story of the heroic struggle between Ulstermen and men of Connaught over the possession of a brown bull as a contest of the forces of nature. Once committed to the allegoric theory, Miss Hull states her preference, since she must choose, for the contest between summer and winter, although admiting that day and night would serve equally well as protagonists. But if we accept Dr. Boas's testimony, we may conclude that the human plot started the tale, which "rolled up like a snowball," gathering to itself sun-elements among other embellishments, not because a sun-myth started the plot, but because such a view of the story had become a literary convention and was sure of applause. One can imagine the story-teller coming a little jaded to the last scene of the bull-fight. He sees it must be done with spirit, but fails to "see his object as in itself it really is." What more natural than to conclude with an incident whose effective power is well attested by classical example, tremendous enough, too, to furnish a crashing climax, without considering the perturbation created among future critics who are bound to gather those bits of the fallen bull scattered all over Ulster county, and piece them into the perfect image of truth here allegorized in the tale of the Cattle-raid of Cuailgne.

After all, early story-telling does not differ very much from our own. The marvellous happenings of folktale, says Dr. Boas, either express an exaggeration of what is or of what is believed to exist, or a wish of what might be. Would not a careful analysis of the fiction turned out in any one period of our own civilization display more of the traits here attributed to primitive myth-making than we might at first be willing to admit? We should find simple human plots, a hero and a stock of incidents used over and over in fresh combinations to furnish an effect of novelty—

[5] *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature.* By Eleanor Hull. London, 1898.

humanized in telling afresh the tale of Troy or of Brunhilde, extravagantly fantastic in guessing at those supernatural things hinted at by modern science; and, though often symbolic, yet constructed, not from matter originating in the idea to be symbolized, but out of the old stock of incident, revivified by the aesthetic process of idealization.

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SELECTIONS FROM THE OLD ENGLISH BEDE, WITH TEXT AND VOCABULARY ON AN EARLY WEST SAXON BASIS, AND A SKELETON OUTLINE OF OLD ENGLISH ACCIDENCE. By W. J. Sedgefield, Litt.D, Manchester, at the University Press. Longmans, Green & Co. London, New York, Bombay, etc. 1917. Pp. 109.

Professor Sedgefield, of the University of Manchester, already well known for his editions of *Beowulf* and the Old English version of *Boethius*, now offers us a charming little book of selections from the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England.* In view of the attractive form and intrinsic importance of Bede's work it seems strange that hitherto, except for two or three well-worn passages in current readers, the Old English version of the *Ecclesiastical History* has been largely ignored in books intended for college classes. Miller's edition has been at the disposal of scholars for more than a score of years and Schipper's for nearly a decade, but obviously neither edition is adapted to the needs of the beginner, at least in American colleges. The notable fact is, then, that the material in the present book is made accessible to what we may call the general reader of Old English more than a thousand years after the version was first made, and at a time when England once more is fighting for her life. In passing we may remark that this little book is one of a number of notable publications brought out since the beginning of the Great War, showing that although the British Empire is passing through the most trying time in its history scholars have not lost interest in matters of higher culture.

At this time, therefore, we are peculiarly indebted to the editor and the publishers for the book before us, and where we are so grateful we hesitate to find fault. But few books are so good that they cannot be improved, and such is the case in some features of the little volume before us.

The book is of very modest proportions, containing seventy pages of text, a vocabulary of twenty-three pages, and a skeleton outline of Old English accidence in sixteen pages. Doubtless as a result of the stress of the war, the quality of the paper is very poor. It is coarse and will inevitably show the finger marks of the diligent student. Any one attempting an erasure of a word written in

pencil will soon discover that he has permanently soiled the page. Probably the quality of the paper will be improved as soon as the war permits.

And now for the contents of the book. We note that the various selections are printed with mere descriptive headings but with no indication of book or chapter to show how widely they are separated in the original. An unwary beginner may even imagine—particularly in the first half of the selections—that he is reading a continuous narrative, although the passages are taken from the five books of the Old English version. And even although he may realize that he has to do with selections not closely connected, he may, if somewhat unfamiliar with Bede, spend several hours in determining exactly where they belong in their original setting. Perhaps the editor hesitated to mar the appearance of his pages by adding references, but surely a single page in the table of contents would suffice to point out the book and chapter of the History from which each of the thirty selections comes and thus to aid the hurried reader to find at a glance the passage he desires. Two pages are now spent on the five lines of the table of contents.

The selections are in general well chosen, and most teachers will regret that there are not more of them. For classroom use time would be saved if the lines were numbered at the side of the page.

As for the text itself the editor remarks in his Prefatory Note: "Except for a few omissions the text has been very little tampered with." For the sake of the beginner, however, the dialectal characteristics of the manuscripts have been eliminated and the text normalized on an Early West-Saxon basis. Needless to say, there is no attempt to make a definitive critical text; the aim is rather to work out a group of translation exercises for pedagogical purposes. This has been done with considerable care, though there is occasional ground to question the choice of a word or a form. Comparison with Miller's text, which closely follows the manuscripts, shows more than two hundred changes in four pages taken at random, or over fifty to the page. A large proportion of the changes are very slight, chiefly involving the substitution of W. S. *ie* for *y* or *ea* or *eo*. Other alterations are of more importance. The editor does not hesitate to omit whatever fails to serve his purpose. On page 2 he excludes *and* from line 28 and *unrim* from line 31. From the end of page 3 he drops out five and a half lines of the original, besides five words from line 13 and one from line 29. From page 5 he omits "*Eac neah þan*" from line 1; *on* from line 27; and substitutes *yfla* for *œwyrdleana* in line 32. To the beginner most of these changes and omissions are no detriment, since the book is a mere bridge to the acquisition of the language. But the scholar is precluded from quoting any part of the text without verification, since he may find that the passage he is tempted to quote has been shaped to meet the needs of immature pupils.

A typical example of the editor's work is the opening of the familiar story of the conversion of King Eadwine:

Selections, p. 18.	Miller's *Bede* II, 10 (p. 134).
þā cwæþ Eadwine cyning Norðanhymbra þæt hē æghwæðer ge wolde ge scolde þœm crīstnan gelēafan onfōn.	þa se cyning þa þas word gehyrde, þa *and*swarode he hi*m and* cwæð, *þæt* he æghwæþer ge wolde ge sceolde þam geleafan onfon þe he lærde.

Turning to the vocabulary we get some idea of the variety of words required to translate Bede's picturesque Latin, for this simple word-list, with definitions reduced to the lowest terms, occupies a full fifth of the book and contains over two thousand separate entries, or an average of over thirty words to each page of text. Nouns are marked as strong or weak; strong verbs are referred to the usual six classes, while weak and reduplicated verbs are merely designated as such. No specific references are given to passages in the text, though such references, at least for the proper names, would be welcome. Most teachers and pupils, we imagine, will regret that the vocabulary is sandwiched between the text and the grammatical outline, for one instinctively turns to the end of a book for an index of any sort.

As for the grammar, it is a very modest affair and professes to be no more than a mere outline of Old English accidence. The phonology is crowded into fifteen lines and discusses nothing besides umlaut and breaking, the order of treatment of which might preferably be reversed. But most Old English phonetic changes will remain a mystery to the puzzle-headed beginner even after a far more elaborate treatment than appears here.

I have noted only one serious misprint—"Varner's law," page 101, for Verner's.

This brief survey brings us to the end of the book and perhaps properly to the end of this review. But many teachers will be likely to note two important omissions. There are no bibliographical references of any sort, either to the two complete editions of the Old English Bede or to Plummer's edition of the Latin text or to the discussions concerning the translator or to the chief accounts of Old English literature. Yet the main value of a book of selections should be that it leads one to study complete works and to a comprehensive view of the entire field. Perhaps more regrettable is the entire lack of notes. It is safe to say that any teacher who has carried students in Old English through passages from the *Ecclesiastical History* has found them much in need of help. Particularly is such help required in a book obviously intended as a first approach to the language. The addition of at least ten pages of notes would materially add to the value of the book and little or nothing to the cost.

These criticisms and suggestions are not made in a captious spirit. The book is a good one and very welcome as it is, but with little effort it might be made even better.

Wesleyan University. William Edward Mead.

SHAKESPEAREAN PLAYHOUSES. With 48 maps, plans, views of theatres and other illustrations. By Joseph Quincy Adams, Ph.D. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 473.

Professor Joseph Quincy Adams' book on the genesis and history of the Pre-Restoration playhouses is an immeasurable advance on anything yet written on the subject. Not only does it present with unwonted lucidity and grasp an admirable synthesis of all previously ascertained data but it also comprises many new and vital details which are trumpet-tongued in their testimony to the penetrative research and fine deductive powers of its author. Such, indeed, is the general accuracy and completeness of the work that as a handy work of reference it is not likely to be superseded. If only because of its masterly elucidation of the relative sites of the first and second Blackfriars, a point rendered clear by Professor Adams' well-conceived ground-plans of the old monastic buildings, it merits a place in every Shakespeare library. But the books has divers other sterling qualities. For the first time since Malone established a longevous, slavishly-followed precedent by inexpert handling of the tangled skein of early theatrical finance, the important question of the division and allocation of playhouse receipts receives clarifying and convincing (if not perhaps thoroughly exhaustive) treatment. For the first time also the map-views of old London are given thoroughly scientific examination, with the startling result that most of the conclusions of previous investigators have been rendered nugatory. By dint of demonstrating that no map-view of the first half of the seventeenth century can be taken as evidence for the precise period when it was issued, practically every such view having been executed from much earlier surveys, Professor Adams has succeeded in showing that the view which has hitherto been taken to represent Shakespeare's Globe in reality depicts the Rose. Great, however, as is his skill, it has not enabled him to explain away certain contradictory items of evidence. Once, indeed, in trying a fall with a formidable crux, he himself becomes contradictory. Over Hollar's *View of London* (1647) he first blows hot and then cold. After remarking that Hollar's sketch of the second Globe is unsatisfactory, (p. 259) he adds "it should be noted that the artist was in banishment from 1643 (at which time the Globe was still standing) until 1652, and hence, in drawing certain buildings, especially those not reproduced in earlier views of London, he may have had to rely upon his memory. This would explain the general vagueness (?) of his representation of the Globe."

Contrast this with what he says on p. 329 about Hollar's sketch of the "Beare bayting," which he champions sturdily against all comers as an accurate view of the Hope. Here he characterises Hollar's *View* as "splendid" and proceeds: "It is hard to believe

that an artist who so carefully represented the famous edifices of the city should have greatly erred in drawing the 'Bear Baiting House'—a structure more curious than they and quite as famous."

But surely the "fame" of the Bear Garden cannot compare with the fame of the Globe—even of the second Globe. Professor Adams cannot have it both ways.

In reproducing Faithorne's view of the "Beare garden' in 1658 and identifying it with the Hope, Professor Adams omits to note that its details are seriously at variance with Hollar's, a discrepancy which can only be accounted for by accepting the hypothesis that Faithorne had the audacity to base on a survey almost half a century old. This hypothesis receives some bolstering from the fact that Faithorne's Bear Garden disagrees with all previous seventeenth-century views of buildings so called but confirms the details given in Norden. Even then we cannot be assured of Hollar's accuracy. How little dependence is to be placed in him is shewn by the circumstance that he places the Globe immediately opposite Blackfriars wharf, a position really occupied, when the theatre existed, by the Swan.

Professor Adams occasionally irritates by arriving at conclusions without stating his evidence, a defect no doubt attributable to his serious limitations of space. Less pardonable is his adoption of Fleay's reprehensible trick of stating conjecture in terms of pure fact. In discussing Burbage's intention on proceeding to build the second Blackfriars—a matter on which we know absolutely nothing—he writes (p. 185):—"The open-air structure which he had designed in 1576, and which had since been copied in all public theatres, had serious disadvantages in that it offered no protection from the weather. Burbage now resolved to provide a large 'public' playhouse, fully roofed in with the entire audience and the actors protected against the inclemency of the sky and the cold of winter. In short, his dream was of a theatre centrally located, comfortably heated, and, for its age, luxuriously appointed."

If this was his dream and he was so convinced of the disabilities of the type of public theatre which he had initiated, it is curious that his sons did not share his views, and that when they came to build the Globe in succession to the Theater they persisted in following the old, open-air model.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, conjecture again appears in the guise of hard fact on p. 217, where we are told that Kirkham, in 1604, was punished for not getting "the Lord Chamberlain's allowance" to act *Eastward Hoe*. Proof of this statement is imperatively demanded. It has never yet been demonstrated that the Lord Chamberlain had any authority over the theatres so early as 1604.

At pp. 196-7, note 2, our author traverses Professor C. W. Wallace's contention that the second Blackfriars had three galleries

(i.e., a row of boxes and a middle and upper gallery), but here for once Wallace is right. Professor Adams cannot maintain his point unless he can prove that some serious structural alteration of the Blackfriars afterwards took place. We have clear evidence in 1623 that the house had a pit, boxes and two galleries.

Malone's unsupported statement that the motto, "Totus mundus agit histrionem" was placed over the sign of the Globe has been cheerfully taken as gospel by a long line of more or less unthinking commentators, but this affords no reason why so cautious an investigator as Professor Adams should accept it (p. 248). The motto was placed over the proscenium of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, early in the seventeenth century, but there is no evidence to show that it had been utilised inside or outside by any earlier theatre.

One cannot see on what grounds Professor Adams accepts the old Quarterly Reviewer's assignment to the Fortune of Orazio Busino's visit in 1617 to a described but un-named theatre (p. 280). It is impossible to reconcile Busino's reference to the "crowd of nobility so very well arrayed that they looked like so many princes, listening as silently and soberly as possible," with other characterisations of the Fortune's audience and particularly with Wright's assertion (p. 303) that the Red Bull and the Fortune were "mostly frequented by citizens and the meaner sort of people." Surely the visit must have been paid to the Blackfriars!

No section of Professor Adams' engrossing book presents so many vital new details or is half so interesting as the chapter in which he deals exclusively with court theatricals. Having had occasion to traverse the same ground some months before these details were given to the world, I have no hesitation in saying that Professor Adams' identification of Inigo Jones's recently discovered designs with the altered Cockpit in court is conclusive. But in making this pronouncement I know full well there will remain some sceptics for whom it will be necessary to explain away some apparently rebutting evidence. Despite the fact that Fisher's Survey, taken in conjunction with Inigo Jones's ground-plan, clearly demonstrates that Inigo altered and enlarged the existing royal Cockpit, by building around it, thus (without removing the original walls) transforming an octagon into a square, Faithorne's view of the Cockpit in court in 1658, (p. 390) published a quarter of a century after the alteration, shows the building in its original octagonal form. But it will doubtless be pointed out by Professor Adams when his book reaches a second edition that Faithorne's general depiction of Whitehall so far tallies with Agas' that it cannot possibly have been made from a contemporary survey. Another objection, however, he will find it more difficult to answer. Agas and Faithorne coincide in placing the royal Cockpit hard by Holbein Gate, but Fisher, in 1665, who was undoubtedly accurate for his period, shows the altered Cockpit in a less confined

position and nearer to St. James's Park. How are we to account for this discrepancy? Does it not appear as if Henry VII's old cockpit—the building depicted by Agas and Faithorne—had been pulled down considerably before 1632, and a new cockpit erected on an adjacent site? One has either to accept this hypothesis or arrive at the conclusion that in Agas and Faithorne the Whitehall Cockpit has been inaccurately placed. Furthermore, notice will have to be taken of Mr. W. Grant Keith's contention that the Cockpit design was not the handiwork of Inigo Jones but of his pupil and (in some respects) successor, John Webb. Unless this can be refuted the design will have to be dated considerably later than 1632.

When Professor Adams is revising the valuable chapter under discussion he should take care to eliminate the entries of 1667 and 1674 cited on pp. 407-8. These do not refer to the Cockpit-in-court, as he asserts, but to a larger court theatre erected in 1665, as Pepys' note of its opening shows, in Whitehall noonhall. One speaks volumes for the accuracy of our author's work when one says that these are the only mistakes of moment in the book.

Finally it may be pointed out that, interesting as is Professor Adams' account of "The Projected Amphitheatre," it fails to advance all the available evidence on the subject. An important document giving details of the various kinds of entertainments it was in contemplation to give at the Amphitheatre was discovered a few years ago by Mr. G. E. P. Arkwright, the well-known musical antiquary, and published in an article contributed over his initials to two successive issues of *Notes and Queries* in December 1914.

W. J. Lawrence.

LE MORTE D'ARTHUR OF SIR THOMAS MALORY AND ITS SOURCES. By Vida D. Scudder. Pp. XII+430. New York and London, 1917.

To most students acquainted with Miss Scudder's previous work the present volume will come as a surprise, for they have not been accustomed to count her among the medievalists. Her reputation rests mainly upon various admirable studies in modern literature and the discussion of questions relating to social welfare. But it is not a regrettable thing to have a book like *Le Morte D'Arthur*, strange and mystical as it is, studied by one in close sympathy with the spiritual problems of our day.

Miss Scudder's book is divided into three parts. The first deals mainly with Malory's predecessors in Arthurian romance, both French and English; the second part is devoted to a brief sketch of Malory and his book; the third part considers Malory and his sources. This program is surely broad enough to include everything worth saying, and I hasten to add that the book is written

with enthusiasm and real insight. But to judge the book fairly we must realize that it is addressed mainly to the general reader. The method of approach is literary and personal rather than rigidly scholarly and critical, in so far as the terms scholarly and critical relate to questions of origins. The strong side of the book is the keen appreciation of the literary quality of Malory's work—quite apart from its provenance. Many of the remarks on the real meaning of the Middle Ages display admirable critical insight and sympathy. Some chapters such as those on the French verse romances and the Middle English romances devoted to the Arthurian cycle present a popular and yet, in the main, adequate account of the material. The author is at her best in her generalizations; in her rapid sketches of the leading traits of the literature of the Middle Ages; in her analysis of the peculiar charm of Malory's book; in her attempt to follow Malory's plan in creating a unified artistic whole.

When she takes up controverted questions her work is less convincing. The scholar finds himself entertained and often stimulated by suggestive criticism, but nevertheless not much nearer the solution of his special problems. Of a book so finely conceived in plan, so suggestive, and written with such finish and, at times, even brilliancy of style, one regrets to say that it is seriously defective in matters of scholarly detail. One has an uneasy feeling that many of the problems of Arthurian romance are somewhat new to the author and that she has hardly attempted seriously to grapple with them. She herself frankly says of her book: "It makes no attempt to explore new territory, but it hopes to fill the modest function of guide," etc. (p. ix). And again: "In the revival of mediæval studies, three phases may be distinguished: there is a sentimental approach, there is a scholarly approach, and there is an interpretive approach made possible by the other two" (p. vi). And still again: "With this rich material now generally available, and with the many accessions to definite knowledge about the whole romance development, it would seem that the time is ripe for interpretive study" (p. viii).

From these and other passages it is clear that the discussion of sources as indicated in the title is mainly limited to a summary of generally received opinions. Debatable problems of Celtic or Latin or French mediæval literature find little or no place in these pages. In short, practically all the difficult questions relating to the ultimate sources of Arthurian romance, the relation of the elements of possible continental origin to those of insular origin, the provenance of the Grail legend, the sources of the Tristram story, the relation of Malory to his sources in the story of Lancelot and Elaine—these, cited at random, indicate clearly that the sort of work required to bring one to a first-hand opinion on these matters is irksome to the author, who aims to do no more than popularize the results won by original investigators. For this no apology is

required. Arthurian problems are confessedly among the most baffling and elusive in the entire range of literary inquiry and call for an equipment in linguistics, folklore, medieval history, and comparative literature such as is possessed by few living scholars. And it is too much to expect one whose chief attention has hitherto been given to modern English literature to handle questions of sources with the sure touch of a specialist. The problems of Arthurian romance are at all events not to be solved by mere excogitation. They must be solved, if at all, by the most patient comparison and weighing of all the evidence. And this sort of thing does not easily lend itself to brilliant literary treatment.

Perhaps all this is obvious enough, but it is necessary in order to warn the investigator of Arthurian origins not to approach this book with unwarranted expectations. At the very outset it is evident that the author feels hampered by questions of critical scholarship and longs to arrive in the region of sympathetic appreciation. "Knowledge of origins and connections is indeed a help to romantic emotion, always quickened by 'old forgotten things'; but scholastic detail, once assimilated, would better be ignored by the seeker for beauty." (p. 7.) Notwithstanding these disavowals, the author is compelled by her plan to arrive at conclusions and to make pronouncements on various questions relating to the development of Arthurian romance. And in these matters, the student of origins and connections is likely to feel most doubt.

Our examination can touch only a few matters here and there. In the account of Geoffrey of Mommouth (pp. 18 ff.) the unwary beginner is likely to miss altogether the vital dependence of Geoffrey's History upon the work of Nennius. To say that "Geoffrey's book is the starting point of Arthurian literature," though measurably true of some of the prose romances, notably the Vulgate Merlin is at least open to question when stated so flatly. Gaston Paris even goes so far as to say: "It is not true that Geoffrey's book is the source of our romances. Very few of them, and those among the least ancient, made use of it." And on the same page he remarks: "Geoffrey did not invent the glory of Arthur: before him he had already become the center of tales and British songs; before him (i.e., Geoffrey) the Britons of Wales and Armorica persisted in expecting his victorious return."[1] One is puzzled, too, to know what the author can mean, after characterizing deBorron's "trilogy—*Joseph of Arimathea*, *Merlin*, *Perceval*" (p. 59) as "a bold attempt to follow a consecutive scheme," etc. by saying that "only a little over five hundred lines of deBorron's work survive." But *Joseph d'Arimathie* alone has 3514 lines and the *Merlin* fragment 504 lines. Has the author never seen F. Michel's edition of 1841? What she says can of course apply only to the *Merlin* fragment preserved in the Paris MS. (Bibl. Nat., Mss. fr. 20.047.)

[1] *La Littérature française au Moyen Age.* p. 89.

At various points more caution in making sweeping statements would be at least safer. In reference to the sources used by Malory we are told (p. 78) that "acquaintance with the romances published by Dr. Sommer can satisfy all these needs." The truth is, that the romances published by Sommer, though priceless, by no means suffice for the needs of the conscientious student of Malory's sources. The Huth *Merlin* is not in Sommer's collection, and yet it alone, as Miss Scudder herself shows, (p. 103) presents the source of some of Malory's most notable work. In general, there is little or no attempt to push the investigation of sources into remote corners, though there is an occasional glance at speculative efforts to give some characters a mythological significance. A typical instance of Miss Scudder's method is found in her account of the Gawain romances, where, among other things, after discussing *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* she concludes: "The exact source and relation of the different elements of the tale are open to discussion still. But the plain reader, caring for none of these things, can delight in the poem. It deserves its reputation as the finest work in romance literature before Malory." (p. 172.)

This haste to be done with troublesome questions of mere origin and relation of sources and to take up the real business of literary appreciation pervades the entire book; and one may frankly admit that the author's literary appreciation is keen and sound. But in some cases the reader could, with no essential sacrifice of the literary quality of the discussion, be plainly informed, at least in a footnote, just what the facts are. To cite one instance; we would gladly exchange a few pages of the long discussion of the Holy Grail for even a brief paragraph stating in clear and unmistakable terms not merely the source of Malory's Grail story, but the relation of the Quest to the tangle of other Grail literature. As it is, the beginner is finally left in a puzzle.

As already remarked, the author fills a large portion of the book with an analysis and interpretation of the *Morte D'Arthur* and at the outset clearly indicates her attitude: "At a first reading Malory's book seems to share the amorphous and incoherent character of most mediæval prose romances. . . . But first impressions are misleading, and the longer one studies Malory the clearer grows the conviction that his book is a coherent work of art." (p. 182.) But many reasons that cannot be here developed make one hesitate to conclude that Malory's artistic touch was unerring. Even Miss Scudder cannot claim so much. We know too little about his opportunities for securing the best versions to judge him harshly for occasional failure to include the best. But, waiving that question, we may do homage to Malory's skill in accomplishing an almost impossible task and nevertheless admit that there are many loose ends that are not knit into the web of the *Morte D'Arthur*. And the natural explanation would appear to be that Malory is occasionally lost in the maze.

In dealing with Malory's amorphous Tristram fragment, an inferior version in which proportion is thrown to the winds, Miss Scudder admits that he "almost drowns the fine old story in irrelevant matter," but she justifies the inordinate protraction of the tale on the ground that Malory "needed to remove his scene a little from the main action, in order to gain the effect he desired." (p. 233.) But on this ground to justify the inclusion of the huge Tristram torso, occupying more than a third of the entire *Morte D'Arthur*, puts a severe strain upon the artistic charity of the thoughtful reader. One without a thesis to sustain will be inclined to think that Malory's material swamps him.

We surely lose little in the long run by frankly admitting that, whether for lack of the best versions, or for lack of time, or for lack of sure artistic touch, Malory now and then fails to secure the best results. Although abounding in exquisite passages the loss of which we should deplore, the huge Tristram fragment—for despite its portentous length it is a fragment—does not represent the story at its best, and even though truncated it is sadly out of proportion with the rest of the work. What part Malory or Caxton or mere accident had to do with the exclusion of the remainder of the Tristram we may never hope to know. At all events we should guard against the tendency to credit Malory with more conscious artistic purpose than perhaps he was himself aware of. He brought into being what, despite many defects, is the noblest romance of the English Middle Ages; and surely this is glory enough.

But it is time to attend to some other matters. Attention has already been incidentally called to the author's impatience of detail. This particularly appears in the references, in the quoted passages, in the bibliography. The book indeed abounds in irritating little inaccuracies that start up unexpectedly and mar the impression made by many pages of unusual suggestiveness and exquisite finish. On page 234, for example, we read: "Ladies are banded about from one to another," where 'banded' is possibly for 'handed.'

Throughout most of the volume the references to the *Morte D'Arthur* are to book and chapter. Then without warning they change (pp. 391, 394, 398) and cite the volume and page of "Every man's" edition. On page 397 is a blend of the two methods: "Everyman's II, p. 61" really stands for "Everyman's II, p. 74," but the *chapter* is 61 (of *Le Morte D'Arthur*, Book X). Moreover, in this passage from X, 61, the word *there* is omitted without warning from line 5: a trifle, to be sure, but—! The quotation (p. 136) from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* has no indication of the edition, the volume, the page, or the line. Misprints are rare, but the punctuation calls for revision on pp. 110, 136, 137, 171, 221, 417.

Many of the quotations—all taken from "Everyman's" edition—are more or less garbled or inaccurately reproduced. For example, Miss Scudder (p. 301) says in discussing the story of the Grail:

"For that land is never again to be blessed even with the veiled Presence of the Holy Grail. 'Them of this land have been turned to evil living,' says the Lord: 'Wherefore I shall disherit them of the honor which I have done them.' " Malory's words are (XVII, 20): "Therefore thou must go hence and bear with thee this holy vessel; for this night it shall depart from the land of Logris, that it shall never be seen more here. And wotest thou wherefore? For he is not served nor worshiped to his right by them of this land, for they be turned to evil living; therefore I shall disherit them of the honour which I have done them."

From the other passage on page 301 quoted from Malory XVII, 20, "now" is omitted. On page 322, the quotation from Malory, XVIII, 20, concludes: "This was all the substance of this letter." The original reads: "This was all the substance in the letter." In the second quotation from Malory, XVIII, 20, "Sir" is omitted before "Lancelot" and "to" substituted for "unto." On page 323 we read: "Therefore like as May month flourisheth and flowereth." Malory, XVIII, 25, has: "Therefore, like as May month flowereth and flourisheth." On page 332, in the quotation from Malory XIX, 20, "Jesus" is printed for "Jesu" and the word "that" inserted. A garbled text appears on page 339. A passage is cited from "Malory, XX, 1." Two indicated omissions are made. Then two other omissions—"no more afore me" and "brother Sir Agravaine, said Sir Gawaine"—are made without notice to the reader. The "also." of Malory is changed to "Alas!" In the account of the end of Merlin (p. 109) the Vulgate *Merlin* is summarized thus: "And Merlin laid his head in the damsel's lap, and she began to kiss gently till he fell on sleep." The original says (p. 681): "She began to taste softly," where obviously *taste* means touch, stroke, caress. Doubtless all these quotations as thus printed measurably represent the original, but they preclude the student from relying without verification upon any quotation in the entire volume.

When we turn to the Bibliography we soon discover that it falls below the high level of the rest of the book. The note prefacing the bibliography remarks: "The following simple lists and tables suggest only works easily accessible to the English reader who has no desire to become a specialist." Such a limitation is wholly justified, but it is to be remembered that an untrained reader has particular need of exact titles, with indication of the number of volumes, the date, and the place of publication. In all these matters the bibliography throws most of the burden upon the reader. The bibliography is indeed the least satisfactory part of the book, and it should without delay be completely revised. The titles follow no definite formula. Some are given in full or nearly so; some much abbreviated; some with a date and no place of publication; some with the place of publication and no date; some with both; some with neither. And on what scheme are the titles

arranged? In the first group the order is obviously alphabetical. But throughout the subsequent groups the order is neither alphabetical nor chronological.

Some of the references are vague and some titles inaccurate. On page 413, after J. Lewis Jones' King Arthur in History and Legend, we find: "See also chapter in Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Literature," but no indication of the volume or the topic. Who would infer, page 414, that Ward's Catalogue of Romances is limited to those in manuscript? And why are the names of all the other authors or editors on page 414 supplied with initials while Giles is denied them? On page 415 Schoepperle's *Tristan and Isoult* should be *Tristan and Isolt*. "Harry Lovelich" (pp. 81, 103, 143, 148, 367, 416, 427) should be Herry. The reviewer's middle initial is not M., as on page 416. On page 417 we find *Arthour and Merlin* printed *Arthoure and Merlin*;' '*Sir Tristrem*, Ed. Scott, 1884," for *1804; "Libeaus Desconnus"* for Desconus; "Sir Launfal, Ed. Ritson, reprinted 1891," but by whom and where we do not learn; "*Sir Percevelles of Galles*. Ed. Halliwell, Thornton Romances," but with no indication of the date of publication in 1844. Elsewhere (pp. 144, 153) the title appear as "*Sir Percyvelle de Galles*. Halliwell's actual form for the title is *Sir Perceval of Galles*; though at the beginning he quotes: [p. 161] "Here bygynnes the Romance off Syr Perecyvelle of Gales."

Why on page 418 do we find "Chief editions of the *Morte Arthur*" when throughout the book Malory's work is regularly referred to as the *Morte D'Arthur*? How is the beginner to distinguish, here and elsewhere, Malory's great romance from the fourteenth century alliterative poem and the late Harleian romance in stanzas, if the three are leveled under one title—*Morte Arthur*? By the way, the Harleian romance is found in the index (p. 428) under the title *Morte D'Arthur!* Now we may admit thata ll these slips are trifles, yet they combine to mar the effect of a singularly attractive book. Fortunately, they are for the most part easily remediable and doubtless will be attended to in due time. Meanwhile, their importance should not be so magnified as to obscure the fact that Miss Scudder's book is a notable contribution to the understanding of Malory's immortal romance.

William Edward Mead.

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A CORRECTION

In my recent review of Professor Baugh's edition of William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, I described the volume as consisting of 224 pages, complained that the notes were inadequate for so perplexing a play, and suggested that an index should have been added. Professor Baugh writes me: "I am somewhat at a loss to explain your last two paragraphs. I wonder if by chance the copy which you received from *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* was imperfect at the end." Exactly this I find to have been the case. The binders in assembling the sheets of this particular copy inadvertently dropped out the last printer's gathering, consisting of twelve pages. There was nothing whatever to arouse my suspicion, and the loss of the concluding part of the book passed unnoticed. With a perfect copy before me I should have written that the volume consisted of 236 pages, that it contained adequate notes, and that it was furnished with an excellent index. I regret very much that Professor Baugh has been the victim of this curious mishap.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS.

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NOTES ON THE B-TEXT MSS. OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*

Introduction

The existence of more than one form of *Piers Plowman* has been recognised for a long time. In the 16th century Crowley,[1] who printed a B-text, discussed some differences that he observed between his B-text MS. and a C-text MS. with which he was acquainted; possibly, he knew also of an A-text MS., but this is by no means certain. Ritson,[2] in the early 19th century, distinguished the B- and C-texts, without attempting to place one chronologically before the other. Whitaker,[3] working about the same time, decided that the C-text was written before the B-text, and that both texts were the work of one man. To Price[4] must be given the honour of the discovery of the A-text; he thought that the A-text represented the earliest draft of the poem, the B-text the second, the C-text the third and last. That one man was the author of the three versions is implicit in his discussion of them, though he does not categorically say so. Thomas Wright,[5] the first modern editor of the B-text, thought it was written earlier than the C-text; curiously enough, though he gives occasional collations from an A-MS., he does not mention the A-text. He doubted whether the author of the B-text was identical with the author of the C-text. A few years later, Marsh[6] discussed important variations in different classes of *Piers Plowman* MSS. It was his opinion that the original poem might have been revised by the author, or, more probably, that it had been "edited" by various persons into whose hands it had come. He did not differentiate the A-, B- and

[1] "The Vision of Pierce Plowman; now fyrste imprynted by Roberte Crowley, dwellyng in Ely rentes in Holburne. Anno Domini 1505." Second and third editions appeared in the same year. (1505 is an obvious error for 1550.) See Crowley's Introduction, note to VI. 328 and, in the second and third editions, to Prologue 215-221.

[2] "Bibliographia Poetica." London, 1802, pp. 29, 30.

[3] "Visio Willi de Petro Plouhman, item Visiones ejusdem de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest." T. D. Whitaker. London, 1813., p. xxxiii.

[4] "The History of English Poetry, by Thomas Warton, from the edition of 1824, superintended by the late Richard Price, Esq." 1840 Vol. II, p. 63.

[5] "The Vision and the Creed of Piers Plowman." Thomas Wright, London, 1842. Vol. I, pp. xli, xlii.

[6] "The Origin and History of the English Language." George P. Marsh. London, 1862, p. 297.

C-texts. From Professor Skeat's great work[7] on *Piers Plowman* the following points are of interest here: he christened the three versions the A-, B- and C-texts; he published the first A-version and was the first (and so far the only) editor of all three versions; he thought the A-text was written before the B-text, the B-text before the C-text, and that they were the work of one man. After the appearance of Prof. Skeat's editions the view was widely held that no further elucidation of the text, or of the personality of the author was to be expected, unless some hitherto unknown MSS. should be discovered. Most of the editions and adaptations of *Piers Plowman* which have appeared since the completion of Professor Skeat's work are founded on his texts.

To Professor Manly[8] is due "the credit of having initiated a new stage in the progress of Langland criticism."[9] He maintains that *Piers Plowman* was written not by one man, but by five, viz:-

The first author wrote A-text, Prol. —Pass. VIII; possibly breaking off his work at VIII. 131.

The second author wrote A-text, Pass. IX–XII. 56.

[7] Edition prepared for the Early English Text Society comprising:—

(a) "Parallel Extracts from 29 MSS. of Piers the Plowman." E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 17. 1865.

(b) "The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman." The Vernon Text. E.E.T.S., O.S., No. 28. 1867. (A-text [Vernon], Prof. Skeat's A-text).

(c) "The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman." The Crowley Text. E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 38. 1869. (B-text [Laud], Prof. Skeat's B-text, the accepted B-text).

(d) "The Visions of William concerning Piers the Plowman; Richard the Redeless and The Crowned King." The Whitaker Text. E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 54. 1873. (C-text [Phillips], Prof. Skeat's C-text, the accepted C-text.)

(e) "Notes on Piers Plowman." E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 67. 1877.

(f) "Piers Plowman: Notes, Glossary etc. completing the work." E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 81, 1884.

(g) "Parallel Extracts from 45 MSS. of Piers Plowman," (Second edition of (a) with alterations and additions) 1885.

[8] (a) "The Lost Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman.' " John Matthews Manly. *Modern Philology*. January, 1906.

(b) "Piers the Plowman and its Sequence." John Matthews Manly. *Cambridge History of English Literature*. Vol. II.

[9] "The Misplaced Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman.' " Dr. H. Bradley's letter in the *Athenæum*, April 21, 1906.

The third author (Johan But) wrote A-text, Pass. XII. 57-117.
The fourth author wrote the B-text.
The fifth author wrote the C-text.[10]

The third author, Johan But, may be ignored here; his additional lines (there is some discussion about the number of them) raise many interesting problems, but these belong rather to the A-text.

Professor Manly argued that the differences in ideals and technique found in the three versions were incompatible with their being the work of one man and pointed out certain places where he considered that the authors of the B- and C-texts had misunderstood the text from which they were writing, to a degree which would have been possible only if they were dealing with the work of another. M. Jusserand, the chief opponent of this theory, using the same passages as Professor Manly, found they were in favour of single authorship.[11]

A new turn was given to the discussion by Dr. R. W. Chambers and Mr. J. H. G. Grattan.[12] They pointed out that the MS. of the accepted A-text (the Vernon MS.) is, in the earlier Passus at least, in many respects inferior to the Trinity MS., and that an examination of the A-text MSS. would lead to the reconstruction of an A-version much nearer the B-version than is usually sup-

[10] Theophilus D. Hall, about the same time, arrived independently at the conclusion that the author of the B-text was not the author of the C-text. See his article "Was 'Langland' the Author of the C-text of 'The Vision of Piers Plowman?' " *Modern Language Review*. Vol. IV, No. 1.

[11] "Piers Plowman—The Work of One or Five?" J. J. Jusserand. *Modern Philology*, Vol. VI, pp. 271 ff.

"The Authorship of Piers Plowman with a Terminal Note on the Lost Leaf." John Matthews Manly. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, pp. 83 ff.

"Piers Plowman—The Work of One or Five. A Reply." J. J. Jusserand. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, pp. 289 ff.

"The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman.' " R. W. Chambers. *Modern Language Review*, Vol. V, pp. 1 ff.

"The Authorship of 'Piers the Plowman.' " Henry Bradley. *Ibid.* Vol. V, pp. 202 ff.

"Studies in 'Piers the Plowman.' " Samuel Moore. *Modern Philology*, Vol. XI, pp. 177 ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 19 ff.

"An Essay towards the Critical Text of the A-version of 'Piers the Plowman.' " Thomas A. Knott. *Ibid.* Vol. XII, pp. 389 ff.

[12] "The Text of 'Piers Plowman.' " R. W. Chambers, J. H. G. Grattan. *Modern Language Review*. Vol. IV, pp. 357 ff.

posed.[13] At the same time they showed that detailed examination of the A-, B- and C-texts would be useful in the *Piers Plowman* controversy. The A-text has already been carefully examined by Messrs. Chambers and Grattan, but for the purpose of comparison it is now necessary to fix the text not only of the A- but also of the B-version, and to investigate the authority of the hitherto recognised B-text.

This paper deals with the last of these points.

Professor Skeat's B-text,[14] based on MS. Laud Misc. 581 (*L*) is the accepted B-text. Professor Skeat claimed that *L* most probably represented the autograph of the poet. He was led to this decision by the excellent text of *L* and by certain marks which occur:

(a) where the MS. needs correction,

(b) against certain passages which are altered in the C-text.[15]

Professor Skeat ranked *L* extremely high and wrote of it:

> There are probably more doubtful points in a single Canterbury Tale or in a single Act in some of Shakespeare's plays than in the whole of the B-text of Piers the Plowman. . . . I wish especially to draw the reader's attention to this, that he may remember, once for all, that any 'conjectural emendations' are, in general, entirely out of the question.[16]

This authoritative statement was almost universally accepted; Dr. Kron,[17] discussing the relationship of the MSS. of the three versions in great detail, gives an unqualified assent to it. He maintains that *L* is free from the various faults which disfigure the other B-text MSS. and that its excellent readings require no correction from the C-text.

A little investigation of Kron's work discloses that he had not made any real study of the B-text MSS., contenting himself

[13] Messrs. Chambers and Grattan kindly provided me with proof sheets (Pro:–Pass:IV) of the provisional draft of the revised A-text which they are editing on the basis of MS. R.3.14. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, collated with all the A-text MSS. In this paper A-text quotations Pro:–Pass: IV are from the A-text of Messrs. Chambers and Grattan; A-text quotations Pass. V-XII are from Professor Skeat's A-text, E.E.T.S. edition.

[14] All references to *Piers Plowman* (unless otherwise stated) are to the B-text of Professor Skeat. E.E.T.S. Edition.

[15] B-text, pp. viii-x.

[16] B-text, p. xxxix.

[17] "William Langley's Buch von Peter dem Pflüger." Dr. R. Kron. Erlangen, 1885, p. 52.

with the readings given in the footnotes of the accepted B-text, and that much of this part of his book is translated from Professor Skeat. Teichmann,[18] on the other hand, believes *L* to be the best of the 45 extant MSS. of *Piers Plowman*, but sees no reason for believing that it was written by the poet's own hand.

In view of the numerous and serious faults that it contains, scholars now no longer hold that *L* represents the autograph of the poet; Professor Skeat himself had given up this theory by 1910.[19] His editions are the only texts of *Piers Plowman* used at all largely by students, and since this theory has not been corrected in the latest reprints, it follows that *L* is still frequently considered to be the autograph of the poet.

The accepted B-text is not an exact reproduction of *L*. Prof. Skeat emended his MS. occasionally, but in pursuance of his plan of printing a MS. with as few alterations as possible, he allowed several errors to remain in the text while mentioning them in the Critical Notes. Teichmann would emend the text in these instances, and criticizes Professor Skeat for permitting an erroneous reading to stand in the text while altering it in the notes.[20]

Dr. Chambers[21] goes further and points out two or three striking errors in the accepted B-text; he argues that even where all the B-MSS. support a certain reading, if the evidence of the A- and C-texts[22] is alike and against that reading, then the B-text reading is, in all probability, a corruption:

[18] "Zur Stabreimzeile in William Langland's Buch von Peter dem Pflüger." E. Teichmann. *Anglia*, XIII, pp. 140 ff. See also the article by the same writer: "Die Verbalflexion in William Langley's 'Buch von Peter dem Pflüger.' " Programm der Realschule zu Aachen, 1887.

[19] "Piers Plowman—The Work of One or Five. A Reply." J. J. Jusserand. *Modern Philology*, VII, p. 312. I am unable to trace Professor Skeat's change of opinion in his published works.

[20] "Zum Texte von William Langland's Vision." E. Teichmann. *Anglia*, XV, pp. 224, 228.

[21] "The Authorship of 'Piers the Plowman.' " R. W. Chambers. *Modern Language Review*, V, pp. 26, 27.

[22] It is just possible that the accepted C-text has some contamination from an A-text. This is, however, unlikely as it contains no characteristic A-text lines or passages. An examination of certain selected passages in all the extant C-MSS. has not revealed any important errors in the accepted C-text, though in the later Passus at least innovations which must be due to the scribe are not infrequent. It has been assumed that Professor Skeat's C-text (based on the Phillips MS.) approximates to the original C-text with suffi-

For no B-MS., not even the famous and excellent Laud 581, can be regarded as representing the original B-text with anything like complete accuracy. . . . Numerous and good as the B-MSS. are, their close agreement may be due to their being accurate transcripts of one, not always quite accurate, archetype. To arrive at the original B we must supplement the evidence of the extant MSS. by the evidence derived from C. For C, whether or not he was identical with B, must have had before him an exceedingly early MS. of B.

One instance will serve to show how necessary caution is in arguing as to B's corruption of A . . . In A Pro. 41, some A-MSS. speak of beggars with bags *bretful* or *bredful ycrammed*, another of beggars whose bags *with bred ful be cromed*. The old rule, that the harder reading is to be preferred, would lead us to suppose *bretful* (*bredful*) right; for this would easily be corrupted into *of bred full*, whilst the reverse process is hardly credible. A, then, almost certainly wrote *bretful* (*bredful*). The B-MSS. are unanimously in favour of *of bred full*.[23] It might be argued that the 'B reviser' had before him a MS. of A with this reading, and took it over into his revised text. But when we come to the C-text we find the original reading *bretful* reappearing there. The advocates of separate authorship will have to admit that there *was* a B-MS. (viz. that used by C as a basis) which had the reading *bretful*; for the same line of argument which led us in the first place to decide that *bretful* in A could not be corrupted from *of bred full* again applies here. *Of bred full* is not, then, a genuine B-reading at all, but a very early B corruption, inherited by all extant B-MSS. but not belonging to the original B.

Although *L* is now no longer considered by scholars to be the autograph of the poet, on Professor Skeat's authority it was assumed to be the best extant MS. of the B-text, and at first this investigation was based upon it; Wright's edition (*W*) and Crowley's texts (*Cr*) were also employed.[24] It soon became clear that there are in *L* (and consequently in the accepted B-text) numerous

cient closeness for the argument which follows, and that the value of the C-text MSS., as Professor Skeat says, is:

E is almost a duplicate of *P*, the basis of the C-text, and of equal authority.
Z is very good after Pass. X.
K is very fair.
M F S G are fair.
I T are of little value.

[23] Dr. Chambers excludes Ashburnham MS. cxxx and Phillips MS. 8252, which were not accessible to him. I have not seen either of these MSS. Some notes on Phillips 8252 are written into a copy of Crowley's third edition now in the Bodleian; according to these notes Phillips 8252 reads *bratful* here.

The scribe of MS. Gg. 4. 31. in the University Library, Cambridge, (*G*) writes two letters of a word beginning with *br* immediately after *bagges*, then over *br* he wrote *off*; so this MS. now agrees with the B-MSS. The scribe may have corrected a simple error here, or he may have had some form of *bratful* in his copy and, not understanding it, have made the obvious alteration.

[24] For the symbols used for the B-MSS. see footnote 32, p. 498.

cases where the reading is inferior to that of the A-text, and where the C-text agrees with the A-text. In some of these cases *W* differs from *L* and agrees with the A- and C-texts, in some *W* agrees with *L*, and there are other cases where *W* has independent readings which are certainly erroneous. The same phenomena are to be observed in *Cr*, except that the text of *Cr* is generally inferior to that of *L* and *W*.

Dr. Chambers' article quoted above shows that when the A- and C-texts agree in a reading differing from that of the accepted B-text, there is a strong probability that the reading of the accepted B-text is a corruption of the true B-text; the discovery that in some of these cases the reading of the B-text MSS. is not unanimous, but that some of them agree wih the reading of the A- and C-texts, confirms Dr. Chambers' theory of the corruption of the accepted B-text and encourages the hope of reconstructing an improved B-text differing considerably from the accepted B-text.

In the hope of obtaining some information about the original B-text all the accessible B-MSS.[25] have been collated, and an attempt has been made to come to some conclusion on the following points:

(1) The relationship of the existing B-MSS.[26]

(2) An estimate of the value of the existing B-MSS. Which B-MS is nearest to the original B-text, and whether we are justified in considering *L* to be the best B-MS, and *L W* and *R* to be 'alone of the first authority.'[27]

(3) The lines on which reconstruction of the B-text will have to be based.

The length of the B-text (about 7,000 lines) makes detailed consideration of the whole difficult. So certain passages have been chosen of sufficient length to afford a substantial basis for this preliminary survey. It is hoped that this will give results which (although provisional) will be helpful toward a final and complete survey.

[25] Two of the extant B-MSS. *As* and *Ph*, have not been available to me.

[26] It is now generally recognised that the relationship of MSS. to each other is much more complicated than was formerly supposed; consequently any 'family tree' of MSS. is useful mainly as a guide to thought and must not be regarded as a dogmatic assertion of facts.

[27] B-text, p. ii.

The following are the portions of the B-text chosen for detailed examination:

(i) Prol. —Pass. II.[28] The author of the B-text working over Manly's A1.

(ii) Pass. VIII and IX. The author of the B-text working over Manly's A2.

(iii) Pass. XII. The author of the B-text at the beginning of his original work.

(iv) Pass. XVIII. The author of the B-text in the middle of his original work.

In addition to these selected Passus, I have also examined various isolated lines and passages which seemed of special interest, such as:

(i) Parallel passages of the A-, B- and C-texts which differ in detail. One instance is given here:

A. IV. 4.

'Nay be god' quaþ consience . 'cunge me raþere:
But resoun rede me þerto . erst wole I deiȝe.'
'And I comaunde þe' quaþ þe king . to consience þanne
'Rape þe to riden . and resoun þat þou fecche:
Comaunde hym þat he come . my counseil to here.
For he shal rewele my reaume . and rede me þe beste
Of mede and of mo oþere . what man shal hire wedde
And counte wiþ consience . —so me crist helpe—
How þou lerist þe peple . þe lerid and þe lewid!'

B. IV. 4.

'Nay, bi criste,' quod conscience . 'congeye me for euere!
But resoun rede me þer-to . rather wil I deye!'
'And I comaunde þe,' quod þe Kynge . to conscience þanne,
'Rape þe to ride . and resoun þow fecche;
Comaunde hym þat he come . my conseille to here.
For he shal reule my rewme . and rede me þe beste,
And acounte with þe, conscience . so me cryst helpe
How þow lernest þe peple . þe lered and þe lewede.'

[28] All references to *Piers Plowman* (unless otherwise stated) are to the B-text of Professor Skeat. E.E.T.S. edition.

C. V. 4.

'Nay, by crist,' quaþ Conscience . 'conge me raþer!
Bote reson rede me þer-to . raþer wol ich deye.'
'And ich comaunde,' quaþ þe kynge . to Conscience þenne,
'Rape þe to ryde . and reson þat þow fecche;
Comaunde hym þat he come . my consail to hure,
For he shal rulye my reame . and rede me þe beste,
Of mede and of oþer mo . and what man shal hure wedde,
And a-counte with þe, consience . so me crist helpe,
How þow ledest my puple . lered and lewede.'

Here the A- and C-texts have one line more than the accepted B-text, and read *raþere* for *for euere* in the first line. Some B-MSS. agree with the A- and C-texts in these readings.[29]

(ii) Passages where the B-text is obscure, or where the B-MSS. have variant readings, cf.

1) . . . in mesure god . alle manere thynges,
And sette (hem) at a certeyne . and at a syker noumbre, . . .
Kynges & knyghtes . þat kepen and defenden,
Han officers vnder hem . and vch of hem certeyne;
And if þei wage men to werre . þei write hem in noumbre,
(Or) wil no tresorere hem paye . trauaille þei neure so sore.[30]
Alle other in bataille . ben yholde bribours,
Pilours and pykehernois . in eche a place ycursed. (XX. 253, 254, 256-261)

This passage was probably corrupt in the archetypal B-MS. from which all the extant B-MSS. derive; the chief difficulty is in the line

(Or) wil no tresorere hem paye . trauaille þei neure so sore (XX. 259)

where the variant readings of the B-MSS. are due to the individual efforts of the scribes.

2) Edmonde and Edwarde . eyther were kynges,
And seyntes ysette . tyl charite hem folwed.[31] (XV. 217, 218)

Edmund and Edward were kings and saints *tyl charite hem folwed* is meaningless. *W* has a good reading *for charite hem folwede*,

[29] C B Y O C2 G1 read *rather*. Y O C2 have the additional line. (See footnote 47, p. 508)

[30] *(Or) wil*] *so in* Cr; Ellis wil F; And þer fore wolen men B; Or þei wil *written in over an erasure* M; *all the other B-MSS. begin the line* Wil. *tresorere*] tresour M; tresore C B; man tresore W. *hem paye*] taken hym wages R; take hem wages F; wages hem paie C2. *so sore*] C *omits*; so long G2. B *and* W *place l. 259 after l. 261.* C2 *has an additional line after l. 259-*

But he kunne rekene ari3t . her names in his rollis.

[31] *tyl*] so R F; *for* W M (*the latter over an erasure*).

but it was probably inserted by the writer of *W* and is therefore of no value. Two other MSS., *R F*, have good readings,[31] but it is doubtful how far these MSS. are to be trusted.

> 3) . . . in riche robes . rathest he (i.e. charity) walketh,
> Ycalled and ycrimiled . and his crowne shaue,
> (And clenlich ycloþed . in cipres & in tartaryne.)
> (XV. 222-224)

The bracketed line occurs in seven B-MSS. only, viz:— *C B J Y O C2 G2.*

Isolated lines and short passages such as these are of less value than long consecutive passages in determining the quality of a MS. or its relationship to other MSS., particularly when, as in this case, they are selected for some special difficulty or obscurity. They can often, however, give useful support to conclusions drawn from the examination of longer passages.

In all about two thousand lines have been collated for the purposes of this article (1714 in the selected Passus, about 400 in isolated passages). The B-text of *Piers Plowman* contains some seven thousand lines, so that rather less than one-third of it has been examined in detail.

The Relationship of the Extant B-text Mss

There are seventeen MSS. and an early printed edition of the B-text in existence.[32] But they are not of equal worth. *BM* and *Cot* are so closely related to *B* that for the purposes of this paper they are unimportant. *J* is a fragment of little value.

[32] 1. *L* MS. Laud Misc. 581. Bodleian Library.
2. *M* MS. Add. 35,287. British Museum. Formerly Ashburnham cxxix.
3. *R* MS. Rawl. Poet. 38. Bodleian Library. MS Lans. 398, British Museum. Missing Pro. 1-124, Pass. I.138-II.39, XVIII. 411-XX. 27.
4. *F* MS. 201. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Formerly in the possession of W. Fulman M. A.
5. *C* MS. Dd. 1.17. University Library, Cambridge. Missing Pass. XVI. 56-91.
6. *B* MS. Bodley 814. Oxford. Missing Pass. XVI. 56-91.
7. *BM* MS. Add. 10,574. British Museum. Missing Pass. XVI. 56-91, XX.352-384.
8. *Cot* MS. Cott. Calig. A.XI. British Museum. Missing Pass. XVI.56-91.

Access could not be obtained to *Ph*, but some extracts from it are written into a copy of *Cr3* in the Bodleian: the text given there is very corrupt, yet there are several good readings; it is impossible, at present, to estimate the accuracy of these extracts, consequently no use can be made of them. *As* is in America, and no information about it could be obtained. *Cr4* is a 16th century reprint of *Cr3*, and *Cr5* is a copy of *Cr4*; these two are accordingly useless. The remaining eleven MSS. and Crowley's versions require separate investigation.

The problem of the B-text MSS. is very simply stated: they are generally good and are all nearly related to each other. Professor Skeat noted the difference between them and the MSS. of the A-text, which often differ widely:

> A glance at the footnotes (i.e., of the B-text) will show that, though more MSS. have been collated than were collated for the A-text, the footnotes occupy less space.[33]

This remarkable likeness in the B-MSS., taken in connection with his theory that *L* was the autograph of the poet, led Professor

9. *J* MS. James 2. Bodleian Library. See footnote 46, p. 506.
10. *Y* MS. Newnham College, Cambridge. Formerly in the possession of H. Yates Thompson.
11. *O* MS. 79. Oriel College, Oxford. Missing Pass. XVII. 96-340, XIX. 276-355.
12. *C2* MS. Ll. 4.14. University Library, Cambridge.
13. *G* MS. Gg. 4.31. University Library, Cambridge.
 G1 stands for *G*, Pro.–Pass. VII.
 G2 stands for *G*, Pass. VIII-XX.
14. *W* MS. B.15.17. Trinity College, Cambridge. This is the MS. edited by Thomas Wright. "The Vision and the Creed of Piers Plowman." 1842. Second edition, 1856.
15. *Cr* Robert Crowley in 1550 issued three editions of *Piers Plowman* (*Cr1*, *Cr2*, *Cr3*), printed from a MS. which has since been lost. *Cr* stands for the three editions unless otherwise stated.
 Cr4 Owen Rogers in 1561 reprinted *Cr3* with the addition of the 'Creed of Pierce Plowman.'
16. *Cr5* MS. 201 Caius College, Cambridge. A transcript of *Cr4*.
17. *As.* MS. Ashburnham cxxx.
18. *Ph.* MS. Phillips 8252.

See B-text pp. vi-xxxix, C-text, p. xix (footnote) for Professor Skeat's description of these MSS.

[33] B-text, p. xxxix.

Skeat to maintain that the text of the B-version of *Piers Plowman* was most satisfactory, and that he did not think it was possible to emend it. But certain corruptions of the text, which are found in all the extant B-MSS.,[34] show that unanimous readings of these MSS. are not necessarily correct readings; and the fact that these corruptions occur in all the extant B-MSS. proves that the latter are descended from a common ancestor, the archetypal β, which was itself faulty in these places.

The differences between the B-text MSS. are often so slight that it is not always easy to group them, but there are certain characteristics which divide them into three groups.

(i) Group λ, containing *L M R F*; within λ, *L M* form one sub-group, *R F* another.

(ii) Group τ, containing *W Cr.*

(iii) Group ω, containing *C B Y O C2 G2*; within ω, *C B* form one sub-group, *O C2* another: *Y* and *G2* are independent.

G1 does not belong to any of these groups.

The value of groups of MSS. in fixing a reading is generally much greater than the value of a single member of the group, and the existence of three groups of good MSS. would seem to promise a simple means of constructing an authentic text; but it will be seen that in two of the groups, λ and τ, we have only one reliable MS.

1. Group λ. *L* (MS. Laud Misc. 581) has been generally accepted as the best B-MS.; it is of an early date, well written and preserved, and contains a very good text. It seems to have been carefully copied and the scribe has not felt obliged to smooth every rough place. Professor Skeat based his B-text on *L*; he reproduced the MS. as exactly as possible, but inserted certain lines characteristic of some B-MSS., which *L* omits.[35] Eventually he thought these should have been excluded.[36]

L, if not the best, is one of the best copies of the B-version, and a MS. related to *L*, from which one could detect its individual errors, would be of the greatest service. *M* (MS. Add. 35,287) might have been such a one, for it is closely connected with *L* (the resemblance extends even to spelling faults) but, unhappily,

[34] See pp. 518-519.

[35] See B-text V. 273, 338, 569. VI. 49. XV. 224.

[36] B-text, p. xii, footnote.

it has been so much corrected and erased by the enthusiasts through whose hands it has passed, that it is now of very little use. Some of the corrections are from the C-text, some are characteristic of *W*, others cannot be traced. Here is an example:

Dame Study complains that there are none to have pity on *the careful* man who *may crye and carpen atte ȝate*, rather do the rich drive him away, for they:

> . . . hoen on hym as an hounde . and hoten hym go þennes.
> (X. 61)

Several scribes were troubled by *hoen* and we find *howlen on* or *hunten* as variants.[37] *M* has *hunten* written in over an erasure.

Where the original reading can be recovered it generally agrees with *L*, but the correctors were conscientious in their work, and *M* has to be largely disregarded. Neither *L* nor *M* is derived from the other, they are descended from a common ancestor "L." Practically, *L* can receive neither criticism nor support from *M*; this is most unfortunate, for, if there were some reliable MS. from which *L* could be corrected, it would furnish a very good idea of the archetypal "L."

Two closely related MSS. *R* (MS. Rawl Poet. 38) and *F* (MS. 201 C. C. C. Oxf.) must be grouped with *L* and *M*. *R* has a somewhat romantic history. When Professor Skeat examined it at Oxford he found that sixteen leaves had been cut out; some time later four of these leaves were discovered in a volume of MSS. in the British Museum; the remaining twelve leaves have not yet been found. Professor Skeat considered *R* to be one of the three best B-MSS., and he made considerable use of it in preparing his B-text. Not only did he correct *L* from it, but he inserted into *L* numerous lines from *R*, which occur also in *R*'s cognate, *F*, but in no other B-MS.[38] *R* seems to be a good MS. for, though it often differs from the other B-MSS. and has original faults, it has on several occasions escaped errors which are found in all the other B-MSS. In these circumstances one could hope to eliminate *R*'s original errors by comparison, and to have a valuable check on *L*. Further investigation did not bear out this expectation. Many of *R*'s variations from the other B-MSS. take the form of

[37] *howen on* O C2; *howlen on* B; *hunten* W.

[38] See XII. 57-59, 118-127, 152, 153; XVIII. 310b-311a etc. Only one of these lines (XII. 59) is essential. See pp. 521-523.

additions and omissions of a remarkable kind, some of them corresponding to the A-text, some of them characteristic of the C-text.

All the variations of *R*, as well as a host of individual errors, are found in *F*, a MS. written about the middle of the fifteenth century and the worst of the B-MSS. It is corrupt and incomplete, and has many spurious lines. The writer of *F* was often puzzled by his copy, but he took care that no one else should suffer in the same way. For example:

In the accepted B-text Witte speaks of the Creator:

> For he was synguler hymself . and seyde *faciamus* . . . (IX. 35)
> þere he seyde, *dixit, & facta sunt* . . . (IX. 41a)
> And in þis manere was man made . þorugh myȝte of god almiȝti. (IX. 43)

F did not understand why God, 'synguler hymself' should use the plural *faciamus*, so he emended the lines to:

> And for he was nowht syngler . he seyde *faciamus* . . .
> Ther god seyde þis sawe . *faciamus* . . .
> And in þis manere man was maad . þoruȝ þre persones oone.

F often alters the text to make four alliterative syllables in a line as:

> Fals or fauel . or feerys of hise felachepe. (II. 193)

F does preserve an occasional good reading and, generally speaking, it has the passages missing from *R*,[39] but its text is, for the most part, so bad that it is useless.

R and *F* are derived from a common ancestor "R." Certain errors of *R*, which do not appear in *F*, show that *F* is not descended from *R*; *R* was written before *F* and therefore cannot be descended from it. "R" joins with "L" to form the group λ.

Professor Skeat notices the remarkable variations and additions in *R* (he did not know of *F*'s connection with *R*) and concluded that *R* represented a first draft of the C-text; i.e., that *R* is a B-MS. which has undergone revision at the hands of the author and is, accordingly, a valuable check on the B-text. The MS. itself gives no help in the matter; it is neatly written throughout, in the same hand, with very few corrections, and in *F*, also, there is nothing to indicate the source of these variations. So the additions, whatever their origin may be, were written into

[39] Pro. 1-124, Pass. I. 138-II. 39, XVIII. 411-XX. 27.

an ancestor of *R F*. They might, on *prima facie* evidence, have been insertions from A- or C-MSS., or they may have been author's revisions; the nature of many of the alterations suggests that the former is the truer theory, and the possibility of A- and C-text contamination in *R* detracts greatly from the value of its readings.

Some of the variations bear the marks of being simply copied from some other MS., as they interfere with the narrative or give an inferior reading. Here is an example:

The Lady Holy Church tells the dreamer of the fall of Lucifer. In the A-text she says:

> Lucifer . . .
> . . . was þe louelokest of siȝt . aftir oure lord
> Til he brak buxumnesse . þoruȝ bost of hym seluen.
> Þanne fil he wiþ his felawis . and fendis bicome (A. I. 109-112)

The B-text omits the description of Lucifer's beauty and the reason of his disobedience, and thus differs from the A-text; it runs:

> Lucifer . . .
> But for he brake buxumnesse . his blisse gan he tyne,
> And fel fro þat felawship . in a fendes liknes. (B. I. 112, 113)[40]

"R," by substituting only *Til* of the A-text for *But for* of the B-text, breaks up and weakens the sense of the passage.

It is now clear that of the four MSS. in group λ, *M* has been rendered almost useless by corrections; *R* and *F* are suspected of A- and C-text contamination and, in addition, *F* is hopelessly corrupt; this leaves *L* as the only reliable MS., with practically no possibility of correcting its individual errors from the other members of the group.

2. Group τ. *W* (MS. 15. 17. Trin. Coll. Camb.), the best MS. of the group τ, is in exactly the same position as *L*, i.e., it is the only reliable MS. in its group. This, the famous Trinity MS., printed by Thomas Wright, is slightly inferior to *L*, though it has been thought to be a serious rival. *W appears* sometimes to have the better text, for in several places where *L* is obscure *W* is simple and clear; but the very clearness of *W* is suspicious.

It is now clear that we have no absolutely reliable B-MS. and that there are certain errors in all the extant B-MSS. which

[40] The prose gloss to these lines in the accepted B-text is erroneous.

must be derived from their common ancestor, the archetypal MS. β. The writer of *W* had before him a good copy of the faulty β. Many of the errors he could not detect; others were obvious, and not having the 'editor's sense of responsibility,' and wishing to turn out a satisfactory article, he altered them as well as he could. So in certain difficult passages of the accepted B-text a comparison of all B-MSS. leaves little doubt that *W*, the only MS. which is not obscure, owes its reading to the scribe.[41]

The only close cognate to *W* is Crowley's printed version.

In 1550 Robert Crowley[42] printed the first edition of his *Piers Plowman* from a MS. of the B-text (*Cr1*), later in the same year he issued two further editions (*Cr2*, *Cr3*). The second edition is more correct than the first, the third is inferior to them both. A false reading of the first edition is often rectified in the second and third editions; a few new errors appear in the second edition, many more in the third.

'Lyer,' in his flight from Westminster, was

> . . . to-lugged of manye.
> He was nawhere welcome . for his manye tales,
> Ouer al yhowted . and yhote trusse (II. 216-218)

until the pardoners had pity on him. *Cr1* misunderstood *to-lugged of manye* and wrote *to be lodged of manye*, but made no further alteration in the passage. So in *Cr1* Liar is given lodgings in many houses, though he is bid pack everywhere! *Cr2* and *Cr3* have *to-lugged* correctly (printed *to-bugged* in some copies of *Cr2*).

Since *Cr2* corrects many errors of *Cr1* and has very few original mistakes, it is reasonable to assume that Crowley corrected his second edition from a MS. But he probably printed his third edition directly, and somewhat carelessly, from the second without having fresh recourse to the MS., for *Cr3* has practically all the characteristics of *Cr2* and, in addition, numerous fresh errors. Yet *Cr3* is not more reliable than *Cr1*—as a matter of fact

[41] This point is dealt with in some detail pp. 524-526.

[42] Professor Skeat says Crowley is responsible for the blunder, which has persisted until now, of identifying Pierce with the dreamer (B-text p. xxxv. note 3), but the heading of *C2* is "The Prophecies of Piers Plowman.' Crowley seems to have been afraid of the 'prophecies'; see his notes—'This is no prophecy but a resonable gathering' (III. 282 *Cr2*, *Cr3*); and—'This is no prophecy but a pronostication' (VI. 325 *Cr3*).

the text of the second edition is somewhat adulterated. Crowley had access to several MSS. One of his MSS. belonged to the C-text[43], and he may have known a MS. of the A-text,[44] but he made practically no use of either. In addition to these he had at least two MSS. of the B-text. The first, from which he printed *Cr1*, was a cognate of *W*; the second belonged to the group ω. *Cr1* is a pure, somewhat inaccurate, text of the *W* type, *Cr2* and *Cr3* are based on the same MS. as *Cr1*, but have important readings belonging to the group ω. It is therefore possible that the correct readings of *Cr2* and *Cr3* are insertions from Crowley's second B-text MS. and were not in the MS. from which *Cr1* was printed. This possibility detracts greatly from the value of *Cr2* and *Cr3* as pure representatives of their group, and consequently as checks upon *W* and *Cr1*. Again, Crowley did not feel obliged to reproduce his MS. exactly, but modified his text to simplify a difficult passage or to suit the prejudices of his age; so readings of *Cr* must be regarded with caution.

W and *Cr* form the group τ. *Cr* is not descended from *W*, and *W*, a fourteenth century MS., is obviously not descended from *Cr*. There is no absolute proof that *W* is not derived from Crowley's MS. or vice versa, but the characteristic errors of *Cr* and *W* practically exclude the possibility. It has been noted already that *W* sometimes differs from the other B-MSS; these variations of *W* may represent a true B-text tradition or may be merely individual errors; here *Cr* would have been valuable as an index of *W*'s faults, but *Cr* has been contaminated. So in group τ we have only one reliable MS., *W*, with no very good check on its original mistakes.

L and *W* are, in each case, the only trustworthy representatives of their groups, practically they can receive neither criticism nor support from their cognates. Where *L* and *W* agree there is a fairly strong presumption that they are right; where they differ it is sometimes impossible to decide between the two readings. Here ω, the third group, can often give the casting vote.

3. Group ω. In group ω there are six MSS., *C B Y O C2 G2*: one of the least important, *C* (MS. Dd. 1. 17. Univ. Lib. Camb.) shall be dismissed first.

[43] See Crowley's Introduction—note to VI. 328.

[44] See *Cr2*, *Cr3*. Pro. 215-221.

Primarily one is inclined to think well of *C*, which forms part of a neatly written, well-preserved MS. A very little investigation, however, soon reveals that it has numerous errors and omissions which often produce sheer nonsense. The scribe of *C* was careless and dishonest, he was also so indifferent that he had no objection to writing a meaningless line. The student does not grumble at him for his want of invention, for a faithful rendering of an original is obviously of more value than an unfaithful one, however interesting the latter may be; but his carelessness in copying has very greatly negatived the advantage that should have resulted from his lack of initiative.

C may be a composite MS., the point of junction being about the end of Passus IV. This theory is founded mainly on *C's* readings in one or two difficult passages in the Prologue and first few Passus, where *C* agrees with *L* in what is probably an erroneous reading, and disagrees with the group ω, with which from the end of Passus IV onwards it is in the closest agreement.

B[45] (MS. Bodley 814), the MS. most nearly related to *C*, is a poor MS., often corrupted by some absurd mistake.

'Witte' tells the poet of the Creation, how God made man—

> And Eue of his ribbe-bon . with-outen eny mene. (IX. 34)

This MS. alters *mene* to *mede*

> And Eue of his ribbon . wiþouten eny mede.

B is a composite MS. From the Prologue to about the middle of Passus III it presents an extraordinary confusion of A-, B- and C-texts; after the end of Passus III there are only sporadic A- or C-text readings, which soon cease altogether.[46]

As soon as *B* settles down into a pure B-text, i.e. about the middle of Passus III, it is closely connected with *C*, yet neither *C* nor *B* is derived from the other, they are descended independently

[45] The three MSS. *B*, *BM* and *Cot* derive from a common ancestor (B) and are so closely connected with each other that in this paper *BM* and *Cot* are not distinguished from *B*, except in the variant readings of the extracts from the reconstructed B-text.

[46] The fragment *J* contains between two and three hundred lines taken at random from a text closely resembling that of *B*, with the characteristic A- and C-text contamination in the Prologue and first three Passus. Only 17 lines of the Passus which are discussed in this paper are transcribed in *J*; consequently this MS. has been of very little use.

from their common ancestor "C." The resemblance between *C* and *B* is remarkable, in fact from the latter part of Passus III onwards, *C B* is one of the most frequently recurring groups in the textual variations of the B-text. Consequently *B* from the end of Passus IV onwards has, in common with its cognate *C*, the peculiarities of group *ω*. But "C" cannot have been a very good representative of its group. It abounds in mistakes of the most ridiculous kind. Here are some examples:

1. Conscience arraigns Mede before the king; among his charges are:

> . . . she is fauorable to þe fals . and fouleth trewthe ofte. (III. 153)

"C" reads *folweþ* for *fouleth.*

2. Conscience prophecies that an age will come when Mede shall be dethroned:

> Ac loue and lowenesse . and lewte togederes,
> Þise shul be maistres on molde . treuthe to saue. (III. 289, 290)

Here "C" has the remarkable mistake *lewidnesse* for *lowenesse.*

C and *B* are the worst MSS. of the group *ω*, they are valuable only in so far as they can be used to criticise one of the better *ω* MSS., e.g., *Y* (MS. Newn. Coll. Camb.).

Y has a high value as the best representative of the third group of the B-text MSS. It is of an early date and derived from a good MS. Unhappily the scribe was not always faithful.

Witte's statement about thieves and liars that they—

> Conceyued ben in yuel tyme . as caym was on Eue. (IX. 120)

troubled a good many of the scribes, *Y* among them, he writes—

> Conceyued ben in yuel tyme . as caym was of heuene.

Y's mistakes are numerous, but they can often be detected by internal evidence, or by comparison with its nearest cognates *O* (MS. 79 Oriel Coll. Oxf.) and *C2* (MS. Ll. 4.14. Univ. Lib. Camb.).

O,[47] which is nearly as good a MS. as *Y*, has been most accurately transcribed from its copy. It has curiously little individuality

[47] The collations of *O* in the accepted B-text are often erroneous. A list of the corrections necessary for this paper is given below:

I.169 *of*) on; 204. 'trewe' *is marked for correction*; IV. 9a O *has this line.* V.273 O *has this line*; IX.120 *on*) of; XII.16. *makynges*) maystries; XVIII. 10. þe [*2*]) *omitted*; 17. *domini*) domini etc.; 35. *tua*) tua etc.; XX.259, 260, 261; *The order of these lines in* O *is the same as in* L.

for, with the exception of some few quite trivial matters, it has no readings, good or bad, which are not to be found in one or more of its cognates. A MS. of this type is not necessarily a useless one, and *O* is a very good check on *Y*. Owing to some accident four leaves towards the end of the poem, containing about three hundred lines, are missing. No chance has yet brought these leaves to light, but in *C2*, a complete paper MS. written considerably later than *O* and nearly related to it, we have some indication of what has been lost.

The scribe of *C2* had a bold free spirit and no false regard for truth held him back from giving the world a reasonable narrative. So in cases where the B-text is obscure, or the alliteration defective, and *C2* has good readings which are not met with in other B-MSS., these readings prove, on investigation, to be variations introduced by the scribe. For example:

Conscience tells how God has numbered all things and numbering is good and necessary; he shows that monks and all men of religion (save only the friars) have fixed numbers, and then he talks of kings and their armies:

> Kynges . . .
> . . . if þei wage men to werre . þei write hem in noumbre,
> Wil no tresorere hem paye . trauaille þei neure so sore.
> Alle other in bataille . ben yholde bribours,
> Pilours and pykehernois . in eche a place ycursed. (XX. 258-261)[47]

So the passage stands in most of the B-MSS. It seems as if no soldier is to be paid for his service no matter how stoutly he fights; this, of course, is not the poet's meaning. The poet meant to point out that only those soldiers who duly enter the king's service will be recognised and rewarded after the battle. Clearly there has been a corruption of the text here. Some of the scribes tried to improve the passage. *C2* adds what seems to be a line of his own:

> Woll no tresourer wages hem paie . taille þey neuere so sore,
> But he kunne rekene ariȝt . her names in his rollis,
> Alle oþere . . . etc.

The C-text has a line of similar import; this is the obvious way out of the difficulty and does not prove any connection of *C2* with the C-text.

O and *C2* are descended from a common ancestor "O." It has been thought that *C2* is derived from *O*, in which case, except for the preservation of the three hundred lines missing from *O*, it would have been useless; but it is much more probable that *O* and *C2* are derived independently from their common ancestor "O." *O* and *C2* have many common errors, they add and omit the same lines and have the same false readings. Instances are: 1. They both omit the essential line which sums up the whole of Holy Church's teaching:

> Whan alle tresores arne ytried . treuthe is þe beste. (I. 133)

and also the important line describing the part played by Fauel in the preliminaries to Mede's marriage; he fetched her—

> And as a brokour brouȝte hir . to be with fals enioigned. (II. 65)

2. As Holy Church takes her leave of the dreamer she repeats her dictum:

> For-þi I sey as I seide . ere by þe textis,
> Whan alle tresores ben ytryed . treuthe is þe beste.
> (I. 204, 205).

In most of the B-MSS. the alliteration of the second half of the first line is defective, a fault probably inherited from the archetypal B-MS. *β*. "O" saw something was wrong and determined to improve matters; unfortunately he did not remember a similar line—

> For-þi I sey as I seide ere . bi siȝte of þise textis. (I. 132)

which would have given him the necessary correction, so he adds an adjective *trewe* and gives the line double alliteration s:s :: t:t—

> Forþi I seye as I seyde erst . bi þe trewe[48] textis.

In some places towards the end of the poem *C2* deserts *O* and agrees with *G2*. There is not, at present, enough evidence to show whether such cases are sporadic or whether they indicate some closer connection of *C2* and *G2* than has yet been recognised.

G (MS. Gg. 4.31. Univ. Lib. Camb.), the last MS. of the group *ω*, is, in some ways, the most interesting of the B-MSS. It is a late MS., probably as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, carelessly and loosely written thoughout in the same hand. The

[48] In *O* 'trewe' is marked for correction, but no alternative is given.

spelling is curious and the text often inaccurate, but many of these inaccuracies are due to the date at which it was written, and, for the most part, they can be detected easily.

A very little investigation showed *G* to be a composite MS., the point of junction, which is not very clearly marked, being about the end of Passus VII. It is also possible that the Prologue, Passus I and II are not derived from the same MS. as Passus III–VII.

G, accordingly, must be thought of as two MSS.; *G1* (*G* Prol.—Pass. VII) and *G2* (*G* Pass. VIII–XX). One cannot say when or how *G1* and *G2* were put together to form one MS. There is a good deal of superficial resemblance between the two parts of *G*. The spelling is moderately consistent throughout the MS. and the same type of foolish error is found in both *G1* and *G2*—compare the following examples:

1. Liar, fleeing from the king, could find no refuge

> He was nawhere welcome . for his manye tales,
> Ouer al yhowted . and yhote trusse; (II. 217, 218).

Now the writer of *G1* felt that a good story must always be appreciated, so he writes without regard to the context:

> he was more wellcome . for hys many mery tales,
> ouerall ionnyted . and hoted to curse.

2. Ymagynatyf tells of a man who is given meat in the hall of a great lord, but is not allowed to sit at the table. Such a one would say:

> Ich haue mete more þan ynough . ac nauȝt so moche worship
> As þo þat seten atte syde-table . or with þe souereignes of þe halle,
> But sitte as a begger bordeless . bi my-self on þe grounde.
> (XII. 199–201.)

For the writer of *G2* the word *beggar* means *one wanting bread*, so he writes:

> iche haue meyte more then inoghe but not so moche worshyppe . . .
> but sytt as beggers bredles. . . .

G1 frequently differs from the other B-MSS., but *G2* undoubtedly belongs to Group ω.

G1 will be considered later; *G2*, since it belongs to group ω, can be dealt with here.

G2 is not among the best of the ω MSS. It seems to have very few good readings which are not common to one or more of its cognates, and it has many individual errors, but these do not obscure the fact that *G2* is a perfectly consistent text showing a close agreement with five other B-text MSS. This is remarkable when one considers the date at which *G2* was written.

The six MSS. *C B Y O C2 G2* have common characteristics which class them together into the group ω. Of these MSS. Prof. Skeat collated *C O B*; roughly, wherever *C O B* occur in the collations of the accepted B-text *C2* and *Y* may be added; from Passus VIII onwards *G2* may be added. The composition of ω is not constant throughout the poem. It will be remembered that *C* and *B* only agree with the group ω from the end of Passus IV onwards and that *G2* exists from the beginning of Passus VIII only.[49] Consequently up to the end of Passus IV ω is represented by *Y O C2*, and up to the end of Passus VII ω is represented by *C B Y O C2*.

The characteristics of ω are unmistakable; they include the omission of essential lines, the insertion of spurious lines, and various corruptions and confusions of the text. For instance:
1. Charity may be rich or poor, of high estate or of low, in *ragged wedes* or in *riche robes*, and ω adds:

> And clenlich ycloþed . in cipres & in tartaryne. (XV. 224)

Neither λ nor τ have a trace of this line.
2. The poet is reproved for *makyng*, for there are already enough books, and he would do better to say his psalter:

> And þow medlest þe with makynges . and myȝtest go sey
> þi sauter,
> And bidde for hem þat ȝiueth þe bred; . for þere ar bokes ynowe.
> (XII. 16, 17).

ω reads *maistries* for *makynges*.[50] *Maistries* is reasonable here as far as the sense of the line goes, but the context *for þere ar bokes ynowe* makes it clear that *makynges* is the correct reading.

[49] It is perhaps significant that the breaks in these composite MSS. coincide with the natural divisions of the poem (Pro.-Pass. IV, Pro.–Pass. VII). Does this suggest that MSS. containing portions only of the poem were in circulation? The break in *B* (in the middle of Pass. III) is a different matter; the original of *B* was mutilated up to that point, and the copyist had to make up the missing portions as well as he could.

[50] See footnote 47, p. 507.

Y and *O* are the best ω MSS., they can be criticised and corrected with the help of their cognates and of each other; in this way their original errors can be eliminated and a very fair idea of their common ancestor, the archetypal ω, can be obtained.

G1 may be discussed here. The important point about this MS. is this—that it frequently differs from all the other B-MSS., and that these peculiar readings seem sometimes to be genuine B-text readings which do not occur in any other B-text MS. The isolation of *G1* suggests that we have here a B-text tradition different from that of the other B-MSS., all of which derive from one faulty original; the number of correct readings found only in *G1* suggests that this new tradition is of great value.

G1 presents some curious problems. The Prologue, Passus I and II have characteristics of a well-marked type of B-MS., the *W Cr* group, but in Passus III-VII there are only sporadic *W Cr* readings. For instance:

In the fable of the Rats' Parliament *W G1* and *Cr1*[51] omit the essential line (Pro. 170) which describes the Belling of the Cat:

> And hangen it [the bell] vp-on þe cattes hals . þanne here
> we mowen

Two other lines are omitted by *G1 W Cr*[52] and there are some verbal coincidences. The only thing of importance here is the omission of the same three lines in *G1 W Cr*; and this, which indicates a connection of *G1 W Cr*, is in contradiction to the points noted later which imply that *G1* is an independent B-MS. *G1*, then, has some of the characteristic errors of *W Cr*, but *W Cr* have none of the characteristics which suggest that *G1* is an independent B-text MS. The erroneous readings common to *G1 W* and *Cr* could be explained as corrections from a *W Cr* type written into an ancestor of *G1*, or vice versa, and then incorporated in the text in the next copying. This does not touch the difficulty of the missing lines; it does not seem likely that a corrector would erase an obviously essential line from his MS., just because that line was wanting in the copy from which he was correcting.

Perhaps this part of *G1* (Pro.—Pass. II) is itself a composite MS. due to some combination of an independent B-MS. and a

[51] *Cr1* is most certainly freer from contamination and nearer to *W* than *Cr2* and *Cr3*, which have insertions from other MSS. Many errors common to *W* and *Cr1* are corrected in *Cr2* and *Cr3*. See p. 505.

[52] Pass. I.145 omitted *W G1 Cr*; Pass. II. 186 omitted *W G1 Cr1*.

MS. of the *W Cr* type, while the latter part of *G1* (Pass. III-VII) is descended only from the independent B-MS. In the century and a half which elapsed between the appearance of the B-text and the writing of *G* there were endless opportunities for copying and cross copying between the *Piers Plowman* MSS. There is no extant B-MS. to bridge the gap (ca. 100 years) between *C2*, (which except *G* itself is the latest of the B-MSS.) and *G*,[53] so we have nothing but the internal evidence of *G* to show how it was produced. Therefore it is hardly surprising that the problems raised by a part of *G* are very disturbing. Further collation of all the B-MSS. may resolve some of these difficulties.

In addition to the agreement with *W Cr* in Pro. Pass. I and II, the whole of *G1* has readings which are also in the A-text. Some of these readings occur also in the C-text and so, as has been shown in the earlier part of this paper, should be in the B-text. The presence in *G1* of genuine B-text readings which are not found in any other B-MS., inclines one to think that *G1* represents an independent B-tradition, but the possibility that *G1* may owe its correct readings to contamination from A- or C-texts must not be ignored. As a matter of fact contamination from the C-text is hardly possible in this case, as *G1* has no characteristic C-text readings. Again, collation of *G1* with the A-text suggests most forcibly that *G1* does not owe its peculiar good readings to contamination from the A-text, but that, on the contrary, they are genuine B-text readings inherited from a B-ancestor, i.e. that *G1* represents an independent B-tradition. The reasons for these conclusions follow.

The collation of the B-MSS. which has been undertaken for this article shows that the accepted B-text is faulty in 113 cases in Prologue, Passus I and II, and in 14 at least of these cases *G1* is the only B-MS. to have the correct reading. For example:
1. Holy Church, quoting St. James' doctrine of justification by works, says that faith is:

> . . . as ded as a dore-tre . but ȝif þe dedes folwe. (I.185).

G1 alone of the B-MSS. reads *dorre nayle* for *dore-tre*. *Dead as a door nail* is in common use from the middle English period downwards, but there seems to be no other example of the phrase *dead as a door tree*. The A- and C-texts have *dore-nail*, and this should be the reading of the B-text.

[53] The corrupt *F* is not considered.

2. Later in the same speech, Holy Church shows how men are *acombred* by avarice:

> Many curatoures . . .
> Thei ben acombred wiþ coueitise . þei konne nouȝt don it fram hem,
> So harde hath auarice . yhasped hem togideres. (I. 193-195).

The alliteration of the second line is rather weak, for *konne* used as an auxiliary verb seldom takes the alliterative accent. *G1* alone of the B-MSS. reads *and cannot crye oute*, with better alliteration but with no improvement in the sense! The A- and C-texts read *conne not out crepe*, which is a good alliterative line and, at the same time, gives a much better idea of the grip of avarice than the somewhat colourless reading of the B-MSS. *Ċrye oute* of *G1* is a corruption of the *crepe oute* which must have been the original B-text reading.

Cases such as this (and they are fairly numerous) confirm the theory that *G1* represents an independent B-text tradition.

On the other hand, there are in *G1* 75 readings characteristic of the A-text, or of some MS. of the A-text. Of these 66 are trivial, such as the addition or omission of unimportant words, the substitution of an article for a possessive pronoun, the use of synonyms or some simple corruption of the text. No conclusion could be drawn from readings such as these; it is only the number that makes them worth notice. One finds the same type of agreement, in smaller numbers, between other A- and B-text MSS. and, indeed, between the MSS. of all three versions.

There remain a few cases (9) where the agreement between *G1* and the A-text is of rather more importance.

1. The 'loueli ladi' tells the poet that most people desire only 'worship' in this world:

> Haue þei worschip in þis worlde . þei wilne no better. (I. 8).

G1 and the A-text break the alliteration and read *kepe* for *wilne*. The C-text agrees with the accepted B-text.

2. Mede goes to Westminster and her followers with her:

> . . . Mede in þe myddes . and alle þise men after. (II. 184).

G1 and the A-text have *meyny* for *men*, a better reading, though *men* is good. *G1*'s *meyny* can hardly have been derived from

men, it must come from an original '*meyny*.' Again the C-text agrees with the accepted B-text.

3. 'Glotoun,' after a day in the ale-house, totters home and is put to bed:

> And after al þis excesse . he had an accidie,
> Þat he slepe saterday and sonday . til sonne ȝede to reste.
> (V. 366, 367).

(*an accidie* is an attack of sloth). *G1*, MSS. *V T H* of the A-text, and MS. *I* of the C-text agree that the *excesse* was followed by an '*acces*,' i.e. a fever. This is a possible result of a drinking bout, but here the following lines show that 'Glotoun' slept for two days, which he certainly would not have done had he been in a fever. *Acces*, then, is an early corruption appearing in all three versions. No other B-MS. has this corruption.

Of the nine cases where A-text contamination of *G1* is suspected, the quotation just given is the only one where the internal evidence supports one reading rather than another; so external evidence, i.e. the evidence of the C-text, must be called in to decide which is likely to be the genuine B-text reading, that of *G1* and the A-text, or that of the accepted B-text. In four of the nine cases the C-text is missing, in one case the C-MSS. are divided, so there remain four cases where the C-text agrees with the reading of the accepted B-text against *G1* and the A text. These last four cases may be the result of A-text contamination of *G1*.

It is difficult to see how the 66 minor agreements of *G1* with the A-text can be A-text contaminations. A scribe contaminating one MS. from another would hardly select so many unimportant matters—one would expect to find remarkable variations noted or whole lines inserted. Now *G1* has not one characteristic A-text line, and has only nine notable A-text variations, and these are not characteristic of any one known A-text MS. or group of A-text MSS. It is probably nearer the truth to assume that *G1* is an independent B-MS. This is all the more likely as against the four cases where *G1* may be a contaminated MS. must be set at least fourteen cases where *G1* is the only B-MS. to preserve the true B-text reading.

So it appears that *G1* is of great value; it is not possible to estimate its worth with any degree of accuracy until all the B-MSS. have been fully collated from the Prologue to the end of Passus

VII. Owing to numerous bad readings, many of them due to the date at which it was written, *G1* could not be made the basis of a new text of this portion of *Piers Plowman* (Prologue—Passus VII), but it can be used with advantage to correct texts founded on other B-text MSS.

The table[54] on the following page shows the general connection of the B-MSS. with each other.

This classification of MSS. agrees with the greater number of facts known at present, but it is based on an examination of about one-third of the poem, and further collation may modify the relationship.

Professor Skeat divided the B-MSS. into four groups.

I. *L R.* III. *O C2.*
II. *Y C B BM Cot.* IV. *W Cr.*

He did not group the remaining MSS.[55] The fuller information now available allows some slight alteration to be made in this classification. *Y* has no characteristics of *C B BM Cot* which are not shared by *O C2*, so *Y* should not be separated from *O C2* and placed in group II. It is more accurate to group these seven MSS. *O C2 Y C B BM Cot* together and then divide them into the sub-groups as in the table given below.

Dr. Kron[56] constructed a table showing the relationship of all the B-MSS., although he had no material except that published by Professor Skeat. He groups *M* rightly with *L* and *R*, otherwise his classification is correct only where it follows Professor Skeat's. In his table Dr. Kron derives all the extant B-MSS. from *L* (this is his interpretation of the theory that *L* represents the autograph of the poet) but does not seem to realize that in so doing he makes them valueless.

Estimate of the Value of the Existing B-text Mss

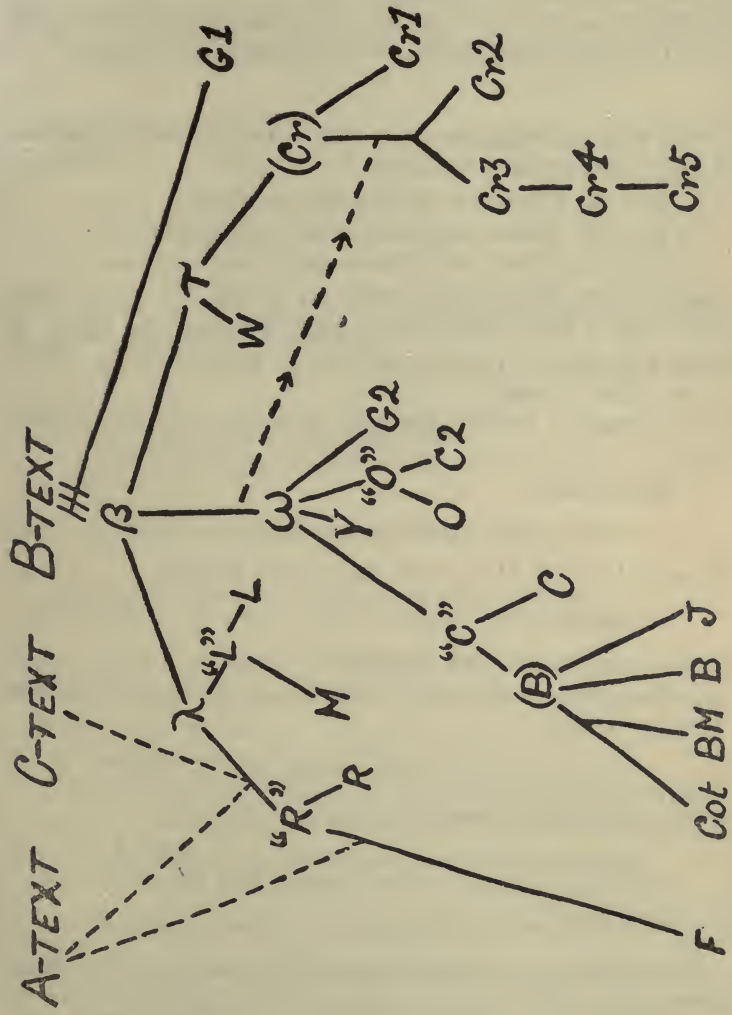
In estimating the value of the B-text MSS. it was found convenient to conduct three investigations. The first deals with the errors of the accepted B-text, i.e. *L*, in those passages of the selected passus[57] where the A-, B- and C-texts are sufficiently alike to be

[54] See footnote 26, p. 495.

[55] B-text p. xxxi.

[56] "Buch von Peter dem Pflüger." pp. 27, 28, 36, 38. The symbols used in this paper are substituted for those of Dr. Kron.

[57] Prol.–Pass. II, Pass. VIII, IX, XII, XVIII.



"*C*" exists only from the middle of Pass. III. It belongs to group ω Pass. V-XX.

C in Prologue Pass I and II has some readings characteristic of *L*.

(*B*) is contaminated from the A- and C-texts Prol.—middle of Pass. III.

G1 exists only Prologue—Pass. VII.

G2 exists only Passus VIII-XX.

compared with each other; the second with the errors of *L* in the remaining passages of the selected passus; the third with the errors of all the B-text MSS. in the whole of the selected passus.[58]

I

The first investigation deals with a comparison of the A-, B- and C- texts. If it is certain

a) that the C-text was written from a B-text,

b) that the B-text was written from an A-text,

c) that the C-text is not contaminated from the A-text,

then it follows that all cases where the A-[59] and C-texts[60] agree against the B-text must be cases where the accepted B-text is faulty, and where it must be emended to agree with the reading of the other versions.

This comparison yielded numerous corrections of the accepted B-text.

1. The Friars

Preched þe peple . for profit of hem-seluen. (B. Pro. 59)

All A- and C-text MSS. read much more forcibly:

Prechinge þe peple . for profit of here wombe. (A. Pro. 56. C. I. 57)

No B-text MS. has this reading.[61]

2. Lady Holychurch warns the Dreamer against the rabble who run about Mede:

Know hem þere if þow canst . and kepe þi tonge. (B. II. 46)

The A- and C-MSS. agree in a better reading:

Knowe hem þere ȝif þou canst . and kep þe from hem alle.
(A. II. 29; C. III. 47).

No B-text MS. has this reading.

[58] It is not easy to say exactly how many lines are alike in the A-, B- and C-texts; in lines which are for the most part the same there is occasionally a variation of a few words. Lines are counted as alike in all three versions, if they have at least half the line in common. On this basis there are in the selected passus (containing 1714 lines) 499 lines common to the A-, B- and C-texts. In these passus there are also 146 lines where the resemblance between the A-, B- and C-texts is not very close, and 1069 original B- lines.

[59] See footnote 13, p. 492.

[60] See footnote 22, pp. 493-494.

[61] This statement is always limited by the fact that two B-text MSS., *As* and *Ph*, have not been available.

3. Wit describes the Lady Anima and her Castle Caro:

> Anima she hatte . ac enuye hir hateth,
> A proude pryker of Fraunce . Prynceps huius mundi.
> (B. IX. 7, 8)

The A- and C-texts disagree with this personification of Envy and his identification with the prince of this world; they read:

> Anima heo hette . To hire haþ Envye
> A proud prikere of Fraunce . Princeps huius mundi.
> (A. X. 7, 8. C. XI. 133, 134)

Envy meaning *desire* is very well authenticated in Middle English. No B-text MS. has this reading.

4. Lady Holychurch refers to the teaching of justification by works:

> For Iames þe gentil . iugged in his bokes
> That faith with-oute þe faite . is riȝte no þinge worthi.
> (B. I. 183, 184)

All C-text MSS. and most A-text MSS. agree:

> Þat feiþ wiþoute fait . is feblere þan nouȝt. (A. I. 160;
> C. II. 183)

giving a line with better alliteration; for, though *without* may alliterate, the alliteration in such a case almost always runs on *o*, hardly ever on *w*.

No B-text MS. has this reading.

A few of the emendations of the accepted B-text obtained from a comparison of the A- and C-texts are found in one or more of the B-text MSS.

5. Lady Mede's dress is described, with defective alliteration, as:

> Purfiled with pelure . þe finest vpon erþe. (B. II. 9)

All the C-MSS., many A-MSS. and *F*, alone of the B-MSS, read:

> I-purfilid wiþ pelure . þe pureste in erþe. (A. II. 9; C. III. 10)

6. The poet speaks of foolish men who are deceived by pardoners:

> Thus þey geuen here golde . glotones to kepe,
> And leueth such loseles . þat lecherye haunten.
> (B. Pro. 76, 77)

The second line is unnecessary, for one would not give money to

pardoners unless one believed in them. The A- and C-texts read:

> Þus ȝe ȝeuen ȝoure gold . glotonis to helpe
> And leuiþ it loselis[62] . þat leccherie haunten (A. Pro. 73, 74;
> C. I. 74, 75)

Four B-text MSS. (*Y W Cr G1*) agree with the A- and C-texts in reading *it* after *leueth*, and a fifth, *M*, has *it* added in another hand.

7. When Conscience refuses to kiss Mede unless Reason agree to it, the king commands him to fetch Reason:

> For he shal reule my rewme . and rede me þe beste,
> And acounte with þe, conscience . so me cryst helpe,
> How þow lernest þe peple . þe lered and þe lewede.
> (B. IV. 9-11)

The A- and C-texts read:

> For he shal rewele my reaume . and rede me þe beste
> Of mede and of mo oþere . what man shal hire wedde
> And counte wiþ consience—so me crist helpe—
> How þou lerist þe peple . þe lerid and þe lewid. (A. IV. 9-12·
> C. V. 9-12)

In the accepted B-text, Reason is to rule the kingdom, give the king good advice and see that Conscience is leading the people in the right way. Since the government of the land is to be handed over to someone else, it is not quite clear what the king is to be advised about, or why he should need advice rather than his subjects; there is also no mention of Mede's marriage which is the direct cause of Reason's being summoned to court. The A- and C-texts clear up the difficulty quite simply by the preservation of a line explaining that advice is to be given to the king:

> Of mede and of mo oþere . what man shal hire wedde.
> (A IV. 10; C. V. 10)

i.e. the whole question of Mede, which has puzzled king and council and 'almost shent' the kingdom, is to be settled forever. All Reason's work is to be universal and supremely important. *Y O*[63] *C2*, three B-MSS. which are closely connected, and Crowley's later versions preserve this line.[64]

In none of these cases is it recommended that the accepted B-text should be altered to agree with the A- or C-texts simply

[62] And leneþ it to loreles . . . (C-text I. 75).

[63] See footnote 47, p. 507.

[64] This interesting example is not from the selected passus, consequently it is not counted in the total of *L*'s errors.

because it differs from them: for there is always some other determining factor or factors; in 4 and 5 the emendation improves the alliteration, in 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 the emended readings are more vigorous than those of the accepted B-text.

This comparison of the accepted B-text with the A- and C-texts resulted in 161 emendations in 499 lines—of these 69 occur in no B-MS. and 25 occur in one or more of the doubtful MSS. *R*[65] *F*. This leaves 67 cases where *L* has a reading inferior to that of one or more of the uncontaminated B-MSS; of these better readings 14 occur in *G1* only, 4 in *W* only, while *M B G2 Cr* have 2 each. There remain 41 cases where the emendation is supported by more than one of the B-MSS.[66] These figures show that *G1* and *W* (possibly *O* and *C2* should be added to them) are probably better MSS. than *Y M* etc., but the differences in the figures are so slight that it is not wise to base conclusions on them.

So ends the first investigation.

II

The business of the second investigation was to examine the remaining lines of the selected passus, and, where possible, to compare them with the corresponding passages of the A- and C-texts.

A. In some cases all the B-MSS. have a bad or even a senseless reading.

1. According to the popular medieval legend God sent an angel to warn Seem (a common error for Seth) that his issue must not marry with Cain's. But Seem was disobedient:

> ȝet some, aȝein þe sonde . of owre saueoure of heuene,
> Caymes kynde & his kynde . coupled togideres,
> (IX. 126, 127)

This is the reading of all the B-MSS; obviously *some* should be *seem*. *M* has *seem* added over an erasure.

2. 'Ymagynatyf' tells the Dreamer of the great Unfortunate,

[65] *R* lacks Prologue 1-124 and Passus I. 138-II. 39.

[66] *F* supports 30 of these emendations, *G1* 27, *W* 22, *Cr* 22, *O* 18, *C2* 18, *Y* 11, *M* 10, *G2* 7, *C* 6, *R* 4, *B* 3.

Solomon, Alexander, Rosamund, that:

> Catel and kynde witte . was combraunce to hem alle, . . .
> (XII, 46)
> And riche renkes riȝt so . gaderen and sparen,
> And þo men þat þei moste haten . mynistren it atte laste;
> And, for þei suffren & se . so many nedy folkes,
> And loue hem nouȝt as owre lorde byt . lesen her soules;
> *Date & dabitur vobis, &c.*
> [So catel and kende wit . acombreth ful many;
> Wo is hym þat hem weldeth . but if he hem [wel] despende;
> *Scientes et non facientes varijs flagellis vapulabunt*;
> Sapience, seith þe boke . swelleth a mannes soule,
> *Sapiencia inflat, &c*;]
> And ricchesse riȝt so . but if þe Rote be trewe;
> Ac grace is a grasse þer-of . þo greuaunces to abate.
> (XII. 53-61)

So the passage stands in the accepted B-text; but the three bracketed lines are found only in the doubtful MSS. *R* and *F*; all the pure B-MSS. omit them and, consequently, the reading of the pure B-MSS. is senseless. Clearly the pure B-MSS. have lost something between

> And loue hem nouȝt as owre lorde byt . lesen her soules;
> *Date & dabitur vobis, &c.* (XII. 56).

and

> And richesse riȝt so . but if þe Rote be trewe; (XII. 60).

but it is not clear that *R* and *F* supply accurately what the pure B-MSS. have lost. As a matter of fact two of these *R F* lines

> So catel and kende wit . acombreþ ful many;
> Wo is hym þat hem weldeþ . but if he hem [wel] despende;
> *Scientes et non facientes varijs flagellis vapulabunt*;
> (XII, 57, 58).

are out of place in the B-text since they are merely an amplification of

> Catel and kynde witte . was combraunce to hem alle, (XII. 46)

just above; also they are practically identical with two lines of the C-text:

> Ac catel and kynde witt . encombreþ ful menye;
> Woo is hym that hem weldeþ . bote he hem wel dispeyne;
> *Scientes et non facientes uariis flagellis vapulabunt.*
> (C-text XV, 17, 18).

and this is in a passage where the B- and C-texts vary considerably from each other. So it seems most probable that the occurrence of these two lines in *R F* is due to contamination from the C-text. The case is quite different with the third *R F* line—

> Sapience, seith þe boke . swelleth a mannes soule,
> *Sapiencia inflat, &c.* (XII. 59).

This is *not* in the C-text, it *is* necessary for the sense of the B-text and is almost certainly a genuine B-text line.

B. In several cases the reading of *L* was found to be distinctly inferior to that of other B-text MSS.

1. In the struggle between Life and Death, Death says he will have the mastery; but Life answers that he will overcome Death. *L* reads:

> Lyf seyth þat he likth . and leyth his lif to wedde,
> þat for al þat deth can do . within þre days,
> To walke and feeche fro þe fende . piers fruite þe plowman.
> (XVIII, 31–33)

i.e. Life says what pleases him, and pledges his life that he will defeat Death. A much stronger reading is that of *M C B Y O C2 G2 W* and the C-text:

> Lif saith þat he lieþ . and leyth his lif to wedde,

i.e., Life says that Death lies, and pledges his life etc.[67]

2. The poet recalls the royal prerogative of pardoning an offender condemned to death:

> . . . ȝif þe Kynge of þat kyngedome . come in þat tyme,
> There þe feloun thole sholde . deth or otherwyse,
> Lawe wolde, he ȝeue hym lyf . if he loked on hym.
> (XVIII. 379—381)

C2 G2 and *W* read:

> þer þe ffelon þole shuld . deth or oþer Iuwise.

and the C-text has correctly—

> Ther a þeof þoly sholde . deþ oþer Iuwise. (C. XXI. 427)

Iuwise (sentence, execution) is far better than the weak *or otherwyse* of the accepted B-text.

[67] The glossary of the accepted B-text gives *likth* as pres. indic. of *liȝen*. Neither Mätzner's Glossary nor the New English Dictionary recognize *likth* as a form of *liȝen*. *Likth* probably came into this line from l. 34, below.

3. Learning must be honoured, it must not be 'contraryed with crabbed wordes,' so at the Nativity:

> To pastours and to poetes . appiered þat aungel,
> And bad hem go to bethlem . goddis burth to honoure,
> (XII.149, 150)

This is the reading of *L M*. For some hundreds of lines this is the only reference to the angel who announced the birth of Christ, so *þat aungel* is clearly wrong. *W Cr C B Y O C2 G2* and all MSS. (except one) of the C-text read:

> To pastours and to poetes . appered the aungel.

R and *F* have *an aungel.*

There are a few obscure passages in the B-text where *W* alone of the B-MSS. has an intelligible line. A little investigation shows that *W*'s good readings at these points are most probably scribal emendations and were not in the MS. from which it was copied. For instance:

'Ymagynatif' discusses Benefit of Clergy and the penitent thief:

> *Dominus pars hereditatis mee* . is a meri verset,
> þat has take fro tybourne . twenti stronge þeues;
> þere lewed theues ben lolled vp . loke how þei be saued!
> þe thef þat had grace of god . on gode fryday as þow speke,
> Was, for he ȝelte hym creaunt to cryst on þe crosse . &
> knewleched hym gulty,
> And grace axed of god . and he is euer redy
> þat boxomeliche biddeth it . and ben in wille to amenden
> hem. (X11.189–195)[68]

F and *W* do not agree with the reading of this difficult passage. *F* has a fair reading here, but this, as is often the case with *F*,

[68] 193. *Was, for he*) þat was for þat he B, *obviously due to a misunderstanding of* Was *at the beginning of the line. on . . .* &) & vpon a cros R; knewleched) know C: knew B O C2 Y G2; *hym*) R *omits*; F *has* Was for he ȝalded hym to chryst & knowleched hym gylty.

194. RF *omit. and he is euer redy*) þat to graunten it is redy W.

195. þat) þam B; To hem þat W; *hem*) hym B G2. F- & buxum was in meende his mercy was to craue.

must be due to the scribe. *W*'s variants are adopted by Prof. Skeat for the accepted B-text:

> Þe þeef . . .
> Was for he yald hym creaunt to Crist on the cros . and knewliched hym gilty
>
> And grace asked of god . þat to graunten it is redy
> To hem þat buxomliche biddeth it . and ben in wille to amenden hem.

Prof. Skeat, in his Critical Note to this passage, says[69] that line 193 is undoubtedly too long and that "the reading of MS. *W* must be adopted in order to preserve the alliteration, and, indeed, in order to make sense . . . I believe the right reading to be as in the text, only the words *& knewleched hym gulty* should be struck out, and the metrical pause in l.193 placed after *creaunt*. Crowley has a different and very unsatisfactory reading:

> Was for he knew Christ on y^{e} cros . & knowlegid his sinne,
> And grace asked of god, & he is euer ready
> That buxomlyche byddeth it, & ben in wyl to amend hem."

It might be argued that here *W* has preserved a correct reading while the other B-MSS. are wrong, but there are two objections to this.

(a) The B-MSS. fall into three groups λ (*L M R F*), ω (*C B O C2 Y G2*) and τ (*W Cr*), representing three fairly independent traditions of almost equal value. There are here two whole groups, λ and ω, and *Cr* which is half of the third group τ, agreeing against one MS. *W*.

(b) It is very significant that *Cr*, which generally agrees with *W*, has here, in all essentials, the same difficult reading as the other B-text MSS. One must not lay too much stress on this point as Crowley is known to have 'edited' his MS., but his corrections are always designed to make the text less obscure, not more so. It is not likely that this passage in Crowley's MS. agreed with *W* and that he altered it to agree with *L* etc. Far more reasonable is the assumption that some scribe of *W* found this obscure passage in his original and altered it. It seems therefore that the archetypal B-MS. β had this passage as it appears in *L* etc. Within a few lines of this passage there is another place

[69] B-text, Critical Note to XII. 192, 193, pp. 409,410. The lines in question are really XII. 193, 194.

(XII. 184, 185) where *W* alone has a satisfactory reading, the rest of the B-MSS., including *Cr*, agreeing in a very difficult version; so that again it must be assumed that β had the harsher reading, and that *W* is sophisticated. Some ancestor of β may have been damaged here, with the result that words or lines were misplaced or lost, and these errors passed on with many others into β and so to the B–MSS.

Other places can be found where *W* has faked his copy.[70]

There are in the selected Passus 1069 original B-text lines, and 146 lines where the resemblance between the A-, B- and C-texts is not well marked. In these lines 26 emendations must be made in the accepted B-text (i.e. *L*); of these emendations 2 are found in no B-text MS., 2 are supported by one MS. only (*G2* has 1, *F* has 1) leaving 22 cases where *L* has a reading inferior to that of more than one B-MS. The MSS. of the τ group and the best of the ω MSS. have roughly an equal number of these emendations; the λ MSS. have very few of them.[71]

This ends the second investigation.

So far the investigations confirm the opinion that *L* is faulty in some respects. The first investigation shows that *G1 W O C2* are among the better B-MSS., the second suggests that *G2* and *Y* might be added to their number.

III

The third investigation deals with the errors of all the B-text MSS. in the selected Passus[72] and seeks to determine which of the chief B-MSS. *L G1 W O C2 G2 Y* is the most reliable.

In the third investigation the material obtained from the first two was ignored, as it was desired to obtain an independent criterion of the comparative value of the B-MSS. The readings of all the B-text MSS. for the whole of the selected Passus were examined and faults noted under two headings:

(a) Essential lines or words missing.

(b) Reading distinctly inferior.

(a) gives the best indication of the value of a MS. Care was taken to make (b) as reliable as possible by noting only those readings

[70] Compare the reading of *W* with the accepted B-text XV. 217, 218; XX. 253-255.

[71] *G2* and *B* have 15 each, *C Y O C2* 14 each, *Cr* 13, *W* 12, *M* 9, *F* 4, *R* 3.

[72] Prol.—Pass. II, Pass. VIII, IX, XII, XVIII.

where the alliteration or the sense is inferior; yet it is always possible that a superior reading may be a "felicitous corruption of the scribe." All these results therefore are provisional and are subject to correction when the critical study of the MSS. has proceeded further.

The results were as follows:

	L	*M*	*R*	*F*[73]	*C*	*B*	*Y*	*O*	*C2*	*G2*	*W*	*Cr1*[73]	*Cr2*	*Cr3*	*G1*
(a) Omissions.	12	19	76	93	63	37	28	33	36	26	18	16	15	17	28
(b) Read: inf.:	41	41	89	146	103	110	56	61	82	40	38	66	67	68	36
	53	60	165	239	166	147	84	94	118	66	56	82	82	85	64

Some comment should be made on these figures.

R has lost 252 lines;[74] allowing 28 errors for these lines *R*'s total of errors is 193. In *B* the corrupt Passus[75] (containing 673 lines) have been ignored; allowing 95 mistakes for these lines *B* has 242 errors. *G1* exists up to the end of Passus VII, *G2* exists from Passus VIII onwards; consequently they have only 673 and 1041 lines respectively, of the lines here discussed. Allowing *G1* 99 errors, and *G2* 43 errors for the missing lines, *G1* has a total of 163 errors and *G2* a total of 109 errors.

The comparatively few errors of *M* can be explained in two ways. Firstly, by its connection with *L*, and, secondly, by its numerous corrections, which give, for the most part, very good readings. But, obviously, these good readings of *M* have to be ignored in estimating *M*'s value in group λ. It is not remarkable that *Cr* and *C2* are more faulty than *W* and *O*, to which they are respectively related. *Cr* was printed by a man who was frequently puzzled by his MS., and *C2*, though near to *O*, is considerably later and bears the marks of repeated copyings, each with its possibility of additional errors.

The figures obtained in this third investigation may seem a little puzzling. The first investigation shows that *L* has 161 errors in 499 lines,[76] the second shows 26 errors of *L* in 1215 lines;[77] the third covering the ground dealt with in *both* the previous in-

[73] The errors of *Cr1*, *Cr2*, *Cr3* and *F* are more numerous than here stated, for many cases where they have original corrupt readings have not been noted.

[74] Prol: 1-124, Pass I. 138-II. 39, Pass XVIII. 411-431.

[75] Prol—Pass II.

[76] See p. 521.

[77] See p. 526.

vestigations shows that *L* has only 53 errors in 1714 lines (499+ 1215). Two things must be remembered here:

(a) Many of the 161 errors of the accepted B-text observed in the first investigation (i.e. a comparison of the A-, B- and C-texts) are in unimportant matters, where the readings could not possibly be called 'distinctly inferior,' and 69 of the 161 errors occur in *all* the B-MSS., making detection from the B-MSS. alone very difficult.

(b) The B-MSS. are generally very good; the differences between them are not important, and, where these are found, it is often impossible to say which of the readings is to be preferred. It follows therefore that in those passages of the B-text for which it is not possible to consult the corresponding A- or C-text, there are certainly many false readings which have not been detected.

According to the figures obtained in this investigation, *L* and *W* are equal in value, while *Y* and *O* are slightly inferior.

An estimate of the value of the groups λ, τ and ω would be more useful than that of their representatives *L*, *W* and *Y O* respectively; unfortunately two of these groups (λ and τ) contain only one reliable MS., and the rest of the evidence, in each case, is unsatisfactory.

The Group λ. *R F* are suspected of interpolation from the A- and C-texts; so they have to be ignored in deciding which of *L*'s errors are original, and which belong to the group λ. *M*, the fourth MS. of the group, has been so much corrected that its readings have to be treated with great caution: but there are thirteen cases where *M*, untouched, can correct *L*, so that *L*'s errors are reduced from 53 to 40.

The Group τ. *Cr* owes much to its editor and, in the present state of our knowledge, it would be unwise to correct any of *W*'s 56 errors from it.

The Group ω. The individual errors of any one MS. can be detected in ω, but here again caution is necessary. From the Prologue to Passus IV ω consists of three MSS., *Y O C2*. Now *C B* join ω about the beginning of Passus V, *G2* joins it about the beginning of Passus VIII. *C B* both before and after they are a part of ω are inferior to *Y O*. *G2* is of average goodness; it has few correct readings which are not shared by some other ω MS. Since *Y O* belong to ω throughout the poem and are the best MSS. of that

group, it is permissible to assume that their errors represent the errors of the MS. from which ω derives; 48 of *Y*'s 84 errors and 58 of *O*'s 94 errors can be corrected from one or more of their cognates, so that the errors of ω are reduced to 36.

So the third investigation shows that ω and *L* are nearly equal in value, while *W* is slightly inferior to them. As a matter of fact ω is somewhat inferior to *L*, for it has many more minor errors than *L*, while the number of its major errors is practically the same.

This ends the third investigation.

The first two investigations show that there is not much to choose between ω and *W*, but they give little indication of the value of *L*; the third investigation places ω a little below *L*, but above *W*. It is hardly possible to estimate the value of *G1*, for while the first investigation shows that from the Prol. to Pass. II it has more of the necessary emendations of the B-text than any other B-MS., the last investigation shows that in the same Passus it has a great number of errors of its own.

This examination of the B-text MSS. confirms Professor Skeat's opinion that *L* is the first authority, but it places ω second and *W* third to *L*, and rejects, or treats with caution, the evidence of *R*. It also shows that peculiar readings of *G1* may be of great value.

Reconstruction of the B-Text

In constructing a B-text the agreement of *L*, ω and *W* on any point may be taken as conclusive; where they differ the reading which is supported by any two of them is probably correct. If ω and *W* agree against *L*, an uncorrected *M* reading will be of use. *R F* are suspected of A- and C-text contamination, yet, in passages where the A- and C- texts are wanting, *R F* may give help. It is a little doubtful how far it is safe to use the evidence of *G1* in this reconstruction. As far as is known at present, *G1* represents an independent B-tradition, but this is not quite certain. In the existing state of our knowledge it is best to use *G1* to furnish corroborative evidence only.

The text obtained by this means will be, generally speaking, that of the faulty archetypal β from which all the extant B-text MSS. are descended.[78] Some improvement can be made in this text. Where the A-, B- and C-texts can be compared, it will

[78] *G1* is a possible exception.

be possible to get very near the original B-text; but in the passages where such a comparison is not practicable the reconstructed text, except for some few very obvious mistakes, must, for the present, be that of the faulty archetypal β. At present this seems to be as near as one can get to the original B-text, though a nearer approximation can be made when further collations of the B- and C-MSS. are available. This applies particularly to the later Passus (B. Pass. XVII–XX), where the agreement of the B- and C-texts is very close. At the end of this paper short extracts of the reconstructed B-text are given.

It is hoped later to print some Passus at least of the reconstructed B-text, when it will be seen that many apparent roughnesses of the B-text are innovations, and it is even possible that some of those passages in the B-text from which the argument in favour of multiple authorship is drawn owe their present form to scribal errors.

It has been shown that the accepted B-text is faulty in some respects and that occasionally all the B-text MSS. agree in an erroneous reading, proving their descent from one archetypal MS., the faulty β.[79] Very little is known of the method of MS. publication in the 14th and 15th centuries; it may be that β came into the hands of a man who subsequently specialized in copies of the B-version, and that a whimsical chance not only gave him a faulty MS. but also preserved just his copies and their descendants.

Whatever the cause may have been, there is one significant fact which cannot be overlooked by students of *Piers Plowman*—the extant evidence suggests that the writer of the C-text worked from a B-text MS. which, in certain respects, was better than the ancestor of the extant B-text MSS. This may have been pure luck, or the writer of the C-text may have had a special knowledge of the value of a certain type of B-text MS. Of course it is quite possible that copies of the B-text, less faulty than the archetypal MS. of those which have survived, were in circulation.

In conclusion I have only to express my thanks to the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, and to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for depositing their MSS. at the Bodleian for my use; to the Principal and Council

[79] *G1* is a possible exception.

of Newnham College, Cambridge for allowing me to consult their MS; to the Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for permitting me to have a portion of the Dublin C-text MS. photographed; to the officials of the Bodleian and Cambridge University Libraries and of the British Museum for their unfailing courtesy, and, more especially, to Dr. R. W. Chambers and Mr. J. H. G. Grattan for the help and advice they have given me throughout this work.

PIERS PLOWMAN

Provisional draft of revised B-text.*

Passus I. 163–207.

(Fol. 6r.)

For in kynde knowynge in herte . þere [comsiþ a mi3t], 163
And þat falleth to þe fader . þat formed vs alle,
Loked on vs with loue . and lete his sone deye 165
Mekely for owre mysdedes . to amende vs alle.
And 3et wolde he hem no woo . þat wrou3te hym þat peyne,
But mekelich with mouthe . mercy he bisou3te
To haue pite [on] þat poeple . þat peyned hym to deth.

163. *in*] of *B BM Cot Cr. in* (2)] off *G1 B BM Cot.* *þere* [*comsiþ a mi3t*] þere a my3te bigynneth *L M F C B BM Cot Y O C2 W Cr*; begynnyth a myght *G1. R lacks Pass: I. 138-II. 39.*

164. *vs*] you *Cr2, Cr3.*

165. *Loked*] He looked *Cr. and*] *om*: *B BM Cot.*

166. *Mekely*] Mekel *C. amende*] amenden *W.*

167. *And*] *om: G1. he*] *om: B BM Cot. hem*] theym *G1. þat þeyne*] al þat tene *B BM Cot.*

168. *with*] bi *O C2. he*] *om: W.*

169. [*on*] *so in M F B BM Cot O C2 Cr G1*; of *L C Y W. þat* (1)] the *G1 F. hym*] hem BM Cot.

*The revised B-text is based on *L*, collated with *M, R, F, C, B, BM, Cot, Y, O, C2, G2, W, Cr, G1*, and also with the revised A-text of Messrs. Chambers and Grattan and with the C-text. Corruptions peculiar to *F* or *Cr*, and orthographical variations are not always noted. Messrs. Chambers and Grattan provided me with proof sheets of the provisional draft of their revised A-text, and permit me to reprint here the necessary extracts from Passus I. The C-text readings are obtainable in the E. E. T. S. edition.

PIERS PLOWMAN

Provisional draft of revised A-text.†

Passus I. 139–183.

For in kynde knowyng in herte . *þer* comsiþ a miȝt 139
And þat falliþ to þe fadir . þat fo*ur*mide vs alle 140
Lokide on vs wiþ loue . and let his sone deiȝe
Mekliche for oure misdedis . to amende vs alle:
And ȝet wolde he hem no woo . þat wrouȝte hi*m* þat pyne
But mekly wiþ mouþe . m*er*cy he besouȝte
To haue pite on þat peple . þ*a*t pynede hym to deþe. 145

†Words and letters placed within round brackets () are to be deleted from the critical text, though found in the MS used as a basis.

Words and letters within square brackets [] are not in the MS used as a basis, but are inserted into the critical text from other MSS.

Important variations are given in the footnotes.

Here myȝtow see ensamples . in hym selue one,
That he was miȝtful *and* meke . and mercy gan graunte
To hem þat hongen him an heiȝ . and his herte þirled.
For thi I rede ȝow riche . haueth reuthe [on] þe pouere,
Thouȝ ȝe be myȝt[y] to mote . beth meke in ȝowre werkes;
For þe same mesure þat ȝe mete . amys other elles,
ȝe shullen ben weyen þer wyth . whan ȝe wende hennes.
Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remecietur vobis.
For þouȝ ȝe be trewe of ȝowre tonge . and trewliche wynne,
And as chaste as a childe . þat in cherche wepeth,
But if ȝe louen lelliche . and lene þe poure,

170. *myȝtow*] maist þou *B BM Cot;* miȝt þou *M*; might you *Cr*; myghtestow *C Y*; myȝtist þou *O C2 G1.* *see*] se in *Cr2 Cr3.* *ensamples*] ensaumpyle *C W Cr3 G1.* *hym selue*] selfe *Cr.*

171. *miȝtful*] myghty *G1.* *and mercy gan graunte*] y_t mercie can graunt *Cr.*

172. *hem*] theym *G1.* *hongen*] hengen *W B BM Cot*; hange *Cr1*; hangen *Cr2*; hanged *Cr3, G1.* *him an*] *om: B BM Cot*; theym *G1.* *him an heiȝ*] on height him *Cr2 Cr3.*

173. [*on*] *so in F C2 Cr G1*; of *L M C Y O W*; vppon *B BM Cot.* *reuthe*] mercy *F.*

174. *Thouȝ*] Thought *C BM.* *myȝt* [*y*] *so in B BM Cot Cr G1*; myȝtful *L M C Y O C2 W.* *in ȝowre werkes*] off yourseluen *G1.*

175. *mesure*] *so in B BM Cot F Cr*; mesures *wrongly in L M C Y O C2 G1 W.* *þat*] *om: G1.*

176. *shullen ben*] shalbe *G1*; shal be *B BM Cot Cr.* *fueritis*] *om*: *BM*; fueritis aliis *Cot G1; L M have alliteration points after* fueritis. *remecietur*] remetietur *W Cr*; rementiet*ur Cot.*

177. *þouȝ*] thoght *G1.* *tonge*] tonngis *B BM Cot.* *wynne*] selle *F*; wyn *Cr1*; worch *Cr2 Cr3.*

178. *as*] ben as *B BM Cot.* *cherche*] kerke C. *wepeth*] lernyth *G1.* *in—wepeth*] chideþ neiþer ne (chideth nother *Cot*) fiȝtteþ *B BM Cot.*

179. *if*] *om: M F.* *lelliche*] ȝour neyhebore *F*; loyally *G1.* *lene*] leue *Cr1 Cr3*; leene or gyve *F.*

Provisional draft of revised A-text.

Here miȝt þou sen ensaumplis . in hymself one
þat he was miȝtful *and* mek . *and* mercy gan graunte
To hem þat hongide him by . *and* his herte þirlide.
For þi I rede þe riche . haue reuþe on þe pore
þeiȝ ȝe ben miȝty to mote . beþ mek of ȝour werkis:
For þe same mesour ȝe mete . amys oþer ellis
ȝe shuln be weiȝe þer wiþ . whanne ȝe wende hennes.
For [þeiȝ ȝe] be trewe of ȝoure tunge *and* treweliche wynne
And ek as chast as a child . þat in chirche wepiþ
But ȝif ȝe loue lelly . *and* lene þe pore

Such goed as god sent . godelich parteth,
ȝe ne haue na more meryte . in masse ne in houres
þan Malkyn of hire maydenhode . þat no man desireth.
For Iames þe gentil . iugged in his bokes
That faith with oute fait . is [feblere þan nouȝt]
And as ded as a dore [nayl] . but ȝif þe dede folwe.
Fides sine operibus mortua est, etc.
Chastite with oute charite . worth cheyned in helle;
It is as lewed as a laumpe . þat no liȝte is inne.
Many chapeleynes arne chaste . ac charite is awey;
Aren [non] auarousere þan hij . whan þei ben auaunced;

180. *Such*] Of suche *B BM Cot F.* *goed*] good *C B BM Cot Y O C2 W Cr G1*; goodis *F.* *god sent*] god ȝow sent (god sendyth you *G1*) *wrongly in all the* B-MSS. *parteth*] deperten *G1*; *with* hem ȝe *parte F.*

181. ȝe] You *Cr.* *ne*] *om: M F Cr G1.* *more*] *om: C. ne*(2)] nor *W Cr.*

182. *Malkyn*]Makyn *Y.* *maydenhode*] meydenheyd *G1*; meydenhede *M W Cr.* *no man*] alle men *F.* *þat—desireth*] whan (wham *BM*) noman hire coueiteþ *B BM*; whan noman hire woweth *Cot.*

183. *gentil*] Ientylman *F*; gentile *W B BM G1.* *iugged*] juggeþ *B BM Cot.*

184. *fait*] *so in Y Cot F*; þe faite *L M C B BM O C2 W Cr*; dede *G1.* [*feblere nouȝt*] *so in B BM Cot*; riȝte no þinge worthi *L M F C Y O C2 W*; right nothing worth *Cr*; no thyng worthy *G1.*

185. *as*] *om*: *G1. a*] *om*: *C2 Cr.* *as* (2)] *om*: *C.* *dore* [*nayl*] *so in B BM Cot G1*; dore tre *wrongly in L M F C Y O C2 W Cr. but ȝif*] wythoute *G1.* þe] thy *C.* *dede*] *so in G1*; dedes *wrongly in L M F C B BM Cot Y O C2 W Cr.* *folwe*] sewen *F. etc.*] *om: B BM Cot O C2.*

186. *Chastite*] For thi chastite *L F C Y O C2 W Cr*; for chastyte *G1 M.* *worth cheyned*] worth sheued *G1*; worthi cheines *Cr.*

187. *laumpe*] lawpe *C2. as . . . laumpe*] a lewid þyng as a laumpe *B BM Cot.*

188. *ac*] and *C C2 Cr*; but *G1.* *is awey*] hem faileþ *B BM Cot.*

189. [*non*] *so in G1 F*; no men *L M O C2 W Cr*; no man *C Y.* *auarousere*] herder *G1.* *hij*] they *G1 O C2 Cr. B BM Cot have two lines—*
Arn none hardere ne hungryere . þan men of holichirche
Auerous (Auerouser *Cot*) and euyl willid . whan þei ben au*a*unsed.

Provisional draft of revised A-text.

Of such good as god sent . goodlyche p*ar*teþ
ȝe ne haue no more m*er*yt . in [masse] ne in [houres]
Þanne malkyn of hire maidenhed . þ*a*t no man desiriþ.
For Iames þe ientil . [iuggid] in his bokis
Þ*a*t feiþ wiþoute fait . is feblere þan nouȝt
And as ded as a dorenail . but ȝif þ^{e} dede folewe.
Chastite wiþoute charite . worþ cheynide [in helle]:
It is as lewid as a laumpe . þ*a*t no liȝt is inne.
Manye chapellenis arn chast . ac charite is a weye:
Arn none hard*er*e þan þei . whanne þei ben au*au*ncid:

156. parten.
157. ne *omitted.*
161. as *omitted.*
162. schryned.
164. but.

Vnkynde to her kyn . and to alle cristene,
Chewen here charite . and chiden after more.
Such chastite wiþ outen charite . worth cheyned in helle.
Many curatoures kepen hem . clene of here bodies,
Thei ben acombred wiþ coueitise . þei konne nouȝt [out crepe]

(Fol. 6v.)

So harde hath auarice . yhasped hem togideres.
And þat is no treuthe of þe trinite . but treccherye of helle
And lernyng to lewde men . þe latter for to dele.
[For þis arn wordis . ywryten in þe euangelie],
Date et dabitur vobis . for I dele ȝow alle.

190. *her*] theyr *G1 Cr.* *kyn*] kynde *Y.*
191. *Chewen*] they chewen *G1*; and schewen *C2.* *here*] theyr *G1 Cr.*
192. *cheyned*] sheued *G1*; worthie chaynes *Cr1 Cr2.* *Cr3 omits this line.* *B BM Cot omit this line and the next.*
193. *curatoures*] creaturs *Y.* *hem . . . here*] theym . . . theyre *G1.*
194. *Thei*] But þey *F*; And *B BM Cot.* *ben*] are *G1.* *coueitise*] couytous *G1.* *þei konne nouȝt*] *and* cannot *G1*; þey kunne *F.* [*out crepe*] *so in F*; crye oute *G1*; crepe out *B BM Cot*; don it fram hem (them *Cr*) *wrongly in L M Y C O C2 W Cr.*
195. *hem*] theym *G1 Cr.* *yhasped*] hasped *G1.*
196. *no*] in *O C2.* *of helle*] and synne *B BM Cot.*
197. *lernyng*] lerned *Y*; lernyge *Cr1. for*] *om*: *F G1.* *dele*] to leve synne *F.* *B BM Cot read for this line*:
And a lyþer ensaumple lief me . as for þe lewid peple.
198. *So in B BM Cot* (*B misplaces the alliteration point*);
For þi (For *C2*) þis wordes . ben wryten in þe gospel
wrongly in L M F C Y O C2 W Cr G1 (*L has the alliteration point after* ben).
199-201 *B BM Cot read*:
Date et dabitur vobis (vobis etc. *BM*)
For y dele ȝow alle . and þat is þe lok of loue
And vnloseþ (vnlose *Cot*) my grace . þat conforteþ alle careful encumbred with synne.

Provisional draft of revised A-text.

Vnkynde to here kyn . *and* ek to alle cristene
Chewen here charite . *and* chiden aftir more:
Such chastite wiþoute charite . worþ cheynid in helle.
3e curato*ur*s þ*a*t kepe ȝow . clene of ȝo*ur* body
3e ben acumbrid wiþ coueitise . ȝe [conne] not out crepe
So [hard] haþ auarice . haspide ȝow to gid*e*ris.
[Þat] is no treuþe of trinite . but a treccherie of helle
And a ler[n]ing to (þe) lewide men . þe latt*e*re to dele.
For þise arn (þe) wordis . writen in þe Eu*a*ungelie
Date et dabitur vobis . for I dele ȝow alle.

169. bodies.
171. gidere.
172. a *omitted.*

And þat is þe lokke of loue . [þat] lateth oute my grace
To conforte þe careful . acombred wiþ synne.
Loue is leche of lyf . and nexte owre lorde selue
And also þe graith gate . þat goth in to heuene.
For þi I sey as I seide . ere by [siȝte of þise] textis
Whan alle tresores ben ytryed . treuthe is þe beste.
Now haue I tolde þe what treuthe is . þat no tresore
is bettere,
I may no lenger lenge þe with . now loke þe owre lorde.

200. *And*] *om*: *Cr*; and *and G1*. [þat (2)] *so in G1 Cr*; and *L C Y O C2 W*; þat *over an erasure M*. *lateth*] lettyth *G1 C W Cr*.

201. *conforte*] counforte *O;* confort *C;* conforten *W Cr*; comfort *G1 C2*.

202. *Loue*] So loue *B BM Cot*. *nexte*] nexit *C*. *selue*] hym seluen *Y G1*. *nexte . . . selue*] lisse of alle payne *B BM Cot*.

203. *graith*] *om: Cr3*; grette *C2*. *B BM Cot read for this line*
And the graffe of grace . and redieste way til heuene.

204. *sey*] may seye *B BM Cot*. *ere . . . textis*] *so in G1, see too* I. 132; erst bi þe trewe textis *O C2* (trewe *marked for correction in O but none given*); ere by þe textis *L M F C Y W Cr*; best of þes textes *B BM Cot*.

205. *ben*] are *G1*. *ytryed*] tryed *G1 B BM Cot M W Cr*.

206. *Now*] So *Cr*. *haue I*] I haue *G1*. þe] you *Cr*. þat . . . *bettere*] *and* no treysour better *G1*; tak it if þu lyke *F*. *For this line and the next B BM Cot read*:
Loue it quod þat lady . lette may y lenger (no lenger *BM*)
To (Tho *BM*) lere þe wat loue is . and leue at me she lauȝte.

207. þe—*now*] but *G1, which also adds* explicit secundus passus de visione. *now . . . lorde*] oure lord looke þe euere *F*.

Provisional draft of revised A-text.

þat is þe loke of loue . þat letiþ out my grace
To counforte þe carful . acumbrid wiþ synne.
Loue is þe leueste þing . þat oure lord askiþ
And ek þe graiþ gate . þat goþ in to heuene.
For þi I seiȝe as I siede er . be siȝte of þise tixtes
Whan alle tresouris arn triȝede . treuþe is þe beste.
Now haue I told þe what treuþe is . þat no tresour is betere
I may no lengere lenge . now loke þe oure lord.

179. graiþest.

Passus XVIII. 1-39. Passus XVIII^{us} *et tercius de dobet.*

(Fol. 76v.)

Wolleward and wete shoed . went I forth after
As a reccheless renke . þat of no wo reccheth,
And ȝede forth lyke a lorel . al my lyf tyme
Tyl I wex wery of þe worlde . and wylned eft to slepe,
And lened me [til] lenten . and longe tyme I slepte,
[Reste] me þere and rutte faste . tyl *ramis palmarum*;
Of gerlis *and* of *gloria laus* . gretly me dremed,
And of crystes passiou*n* and penaunce . þe peple þat of rauȝte,
And how *osanna* by orgonye . olde folke songen.
One semblable to þe samaritan . *and* some del to Piers þe plowman
Barfote on an asse bakke . botelees cam [prikye],
Wyth oute spores other spere . spakliche he loked
As is þe kynde of a knyȝte . þat cometh to be dubbed

Title. *et . . . dobet*] *om*: *M O C2 C*; etc. et iij*us* de dobet *W*; et quart*us* de dobet *B BM Cot wrongly*; *G1 omits the title*; *R has* Passus xvj*us* de visione vt sup*ra*; *F has* Incipit Passus XIIII^{us}.

1. *Wolleward*] wellowerd *F*.
2. *As*] And as *C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2*. *a*] *om: O*. *renke*] freek *B BM Cot*; renke *altered to* reuke *G2*; reuke *Cr. wo*] *om*: C. *reccheth*] rouȝte *B BM Cot W*; recched *G2*.
4. *wex*] were *G2*. *wylned*] wilnes *C*; willed *Cr. eft to*] efte *R Cot*; oft to *B BM*.
5. [*til*] to a *L M R F C B BM Cot Y O C2 W Cr*, to *G2*, *all wrong*. *slepte*] slepe *B BM Cot*.

6–9. *All the B-text* MSS. *have these lines in the following order*—8 6 7 9; *clearly l. 8 is out of place, it must be put before* (*or possibly after*) *l. 9*.

6. [*Reste*] *so in M C Y O C2 W*; Rested *L R F*; rest *G2 Cr*; I reste *B Cot*; I restid *BM*. *rutte*] rutt *G2 Cr*.
7. *and*] *om: O*. *gretly*] grealye *Cr3*.
8. þe] *per B Cot*. *þat—rauȝte*] þat of taughte *C Y C2 G2*; *per* of tauȝte *B BM Cot*; of taught *Cr2 Cr3*; ofte tauȝte *O*.
9. *orgonye*] organ *B BM Cot*; orgene R. *folke*] folkes *C B BM Cot*; men *F*; men *corrected to* folk *O*.
10. *to*(2)] *om*: *G2*. þe(2)] *om*: *C B BM Cot O C2 G2*. *Piers*] petrus *C2*.
11. *on an*] and on an *Y O C2 C B BM Cot*. *cam*] gan *C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2*. [prikye] *so in M Cot O W*; prekie *B BM*; pryke *L C Y C2 G2*; prickynge *Cr R*; springe F.
12. *spores*] spore *Cr*. *other*] or *M Cot O Cr*. *spakliche*] meliche *C2*; spracliche *R F;* spackly *Cr*; sharpliche *B BM Cot*.

To geten [him] gylte spores . [and] galoches ycouped.
Þanne was faith in a fenestre . and cryde, "*a, fili dauid!*"
As doth an Heraude of armes . whan [auntrous] cometh to iustes.
Olde iuwes of ierusalem . for ioye þei songen
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.
Þanne I frayned at faith . what al þat fare be ment[e],
And who sholde iouste in Iher*usa*lem . "Ihesus," he seyde,
"And fecche þat þe fende claymeth . Piers fruite þe plowman."
"Is Piers in þis place?" q*uo*d I . *and* he preynte on me,
"Þis ihesus of his gentrice . wole iuste in piers armes,
In his helme *and* in his haberiou*n* . *humana natura*;
Þat cryst be nou3t biknowe here . for *consum*[*m*]*atus deus*,

13. *a*] *om*: *Y*. *be*] *om*: *C*. *dubbed*] doubed *C2*; dowbbed *G2*. *B BM Cot omit this line.*
14. *geten*]geute *B BM Cot*. [*him*] hem *L*. [*and*] *so in C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2 Cr*; or *L M R W*; on *F*.
15. *faith*] feythe a *G2*. *cryde*] crie *C*. *a fili*] fili *B BM Cot G2*; O fili *Cr*.
16. [*auntrous*] *so in R C O C2 Y*; aunt*u*ros *L*; aun*tu*rous (*where* ou *is added over an erasure*) *M*; aunterers *G2*; auentrous *W Cr*; aduentur*us B BM Cot*. *iustes*]iustice *Cr1*.
17. *nomine*] nomiue *Cr2*. *domini*] dom*i*ni etc. *Y O C2 B BM G2 C*.
18. Þ*anne*] That *C*. *be ment*[*e*] *so in R O*; bymente *M C B BM Y W Cr*; byment *Cot*; bement *L C2*; ment *G2*; mente *F*.
19. *And*] *om: Cr*. *sholde*]*om: R*.
20. *fecche*] fech *partly over an erasure M*; feccheth *R*; fecche out *B BM Cot*. *Piers fruite*] piers fruye *Y*; petrus ffrute *C2*.
21. *Piers*] petris *C2*. *þis*] þat *B BM Cot*. *I*] *om: C*. *preynte*] prente *M F*; prent *R*; preint *Cr C*; twynclid *B BM Cot*.
22. *þis*] þus *B BM Cot*. *of*] in *G2*. *gentrice*] gentris *M C2*; gentrie *R B BM Cot Cr*; gentries *W C G2*.
23. *and in*] and *M C B BM Cot G2*. *in his*] *om: O*.
24. *biknowe*] knowen *M*; knowe *B Cot Y*; knowne *Cr*; yknowe *C BM C2 G2*; yknowen *O*. *consum*[*m*]*atus*] *so in M R F B BM Cot Y O C2 W Cr*; consumat*us L C G2*. *deus*] est *C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2*. *B BM Cot place l.24 after l.25.*

In Piers paltok þe plowman . þis priker shal ryde;
For no dynte shal hym dere . as *in deitate patris.*"
"Who shal iuste with ihesus?" quod I, "iuwes or scribes?"
"Nay," quod he, "þe foule fende . and fals dome *and* deth.
Deth seith he shal fordo . and adown brynge
Al þat lyueth or loketh . in londe or in watere.
Lyf seyth þat he [lieþ] . and leyth his lif to wedde
þat for al þat deth can do . with in þre dayes
To walke and fecche fro þe fende . piers fruite þe plowman,
And [lede] it þere hym lyketh . and lucifer bynde,
And forbete and adown brynge . bale deth for euere."
O mors ero mors tua.
þanne cam *pilatus with* moche peple . *sedens pro tribunali,*
To se how doughtilich deth sholde do . *and* deme her botheres riȝte.

25. *paltok*] palcot *or* paltot *C2*. *priker*] prikiare *R*; prikiere *W B BM Cot*. *ryde*] aride *Y*.
27. *quod I*] *om*: *G2*. *or*] and *Y*.
28. *he*] faith *R F*. *þe*] but þe *R*. *foule*] *om*: *R F*; fould *Cr2 Cr3*. *fals*] also *G2*. *and deth*] to deye *R F*; ad deeþ B.
29. *adown*] doun *C2 G2*; adom *B BM Cot*.
30. *or*(1)] and *R F W*. *or* (2)] and *W*.
31. *he*] *om*: *C*. [*lieþ*] *so in M C Y O C2 W Cr1*; lyethe *G2*; *liȝeþ B BM Cot*; likth *R F*; likthe *L*; liueth *Cr2 Cr3*.
33. *fecche*] to fecche *G2*. *fruite*] ffructe *or* ffrutte *C2*. þe (2)] *om*: *Y*.
34. *And*] and to *C2*; to *G2*. [*lede*] *so in F B BM Cot, cf ll.* 267, 398; legge *L M R C Y O C2 G2 W Cr*. *it*] hym *G2*
35. *forbete*] forbite *R*; for to bete *C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2 Cr2 Cr3*. *adown*] doun *M R G2 Cr*; a don *B BM*. *bale*] bale *and Y O C2 G2*; bale of *B BM Cot*. *ero—tua*] mors tua ero *R*; ero tua mors *Cot*. *tua*] tua etc. *B BM Cot Y O C2 G2 C*.
36. *moche*] *om*: *C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2*.
37. *doughtilich*] douthliche *C2*; doughty *Cr1*; douty *Cr2 Cr3*. *her*] þer *G2*. *botheres*] boþes *M Cr1*; beither *R*; boþe *F*; bothere *Y*; brotheres *C B BM Cot G2 Cr2 Cr3*; brethers *C2*. *riȝte*] myȝt *O*.

Þe iuwes and þe iustice . aȝeine ihesu þei were,
And al [þe] courte on hym cryde . *crucifige* sharpe.

38. þe] *om*: *M B Cot Cr.* *iustice*] Iustices *C B BM Cot Y O Cr2 Cr3 F.* *þei*] *om: G2.*
39. [þe] *so in M F C B BM Cot Y O C2 G2 W Cr*; her *L R.* *on*] of *Y*; vpon *M.* *on—cryde*] vp and cried *Cr1*; of hem cried *Cot.* *hym*] ihesu *R.*

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SHAKESPEARE AND THE PURITAN'S "PENSIVE REGARD FOR THE WELL-BESTOWAL OF TIME"

If it is true that there is contemporary reference in Shakespeare's plays, the key that will unlock the door to admit to these illusive yet valuable meanings, is an intimate knowledge of the life of Shakespeare's day; and especially of those phases of the life which touched the vital interests of the dramatists and of their audiences. One phase of this life particularly invites attention, as offering in its study a means of determining Shakespeare's opinion of one of the important questions of his day. I refer to the hostility of those extreme puritans who contended that plays were to be banished utterly. Nothing could concern either dramatist or audience more than the deadly hostility to the stage of the puritan, who, deaf to the argument that it was the abuse and not the use that should be put down, strove to banish the theatre.

In the arguments pro and con of this dispute, we have a fruitful field for the discovery and the understanding of topical allusions in Shakespeare. It is necessary, however, in order to make progress in this field of contemporary allusion, to separate and to examine singly the arguments involved in the dispute. With the purpose of clearing and of limiting the ground, therefore, only one of the puritan arguments against the theatre, that of "wasting the golden hours of the day," together with the reply to it by the dramatists, is discussed here. By an exposition of this argument, in connection with certain allusions to it by Shakespeare, a ray of needed light is thrown upon the disputed attitude of Shakespeare to the puritan attack upon the stage.

In the violent religious disputes of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the right and proper employment of time assumed an importance that can be understood by us to-day, only when we recall the antithetical conceptions of the play-loving follower of the renaissance and of the play-hating follower of the reformation. If the thought of the former was "carelessly to fleet the time away," the concern of the latter was, no less, carefully to avoid wasting upon the pleasures of live "time more precious than all else."

Out of the clash of these two conceptions arose the puritan charge against plays of "consuming the day, which without pastime

flies too swift away."[1] There were among the puritans of Shakespeare's day "certain grave learned divines" who, holding "that it is not lawful for any Christian man to play at any game or pastime," asked "what account we are able to yield to God of the time that we lose in play."[2] To them and their like, stage-plays were flagrant abusers of time: they wasted the time of the poets who wrote, of the actors who played, and of the crowds who applauded. William Prynne[3] is especially severe against "such infamous persons as players," for by them "much time is lost and days of honest travel are turned into vain exercises." They are the cause of great "mispence of money, and that which far transcends all treasure, of precious, peerless time." And by reason of plays people "flock into the theaters out of an affected desire to post and pass away our peerless time, which flies too fast without these wings and spurs to speed it." The author of *A Short Treatise against Stage-Playes*, 1625,[4] had earlier argued the same objection against plays. He would have "the very idle persons" that "ordinarily resort to stage plays rather set to some honest labour than so unprofitably misspend the time to their own hurt." The condemnation was general. Every one connected with the giving or seeing of plays came in for a share in the waste of time. "All of you, for the most part, do lose the time or rather willfully cast the same away; condemning that as nothing which is so pretious as your lives cannot redeem."[5]

These "learned divines" in their general condemnation of games and pastimes were not allowed, however, "to bear all away" in their hostility to the theatre. The dramatists, with other friends of recreation, attacked their opinion as born of ignorance, envy, and prejudice; and in their plays they introduced "a kind of a puritan"[6] whose "pensive care for the well-bestowal of time,"[7] characterised

[1] Quarles, *Embl.* 1.X. (1718).

[2] John Northbrooke, *Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes*, Sh. Soc. pub., 1843, p. 49.

[3] *Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scourge.* 1663, pp. 540, 39.

[4] In *The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes.* Ed. Hazlitt, 1869, p. 242.

[5] *Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theatre*, in *English Drama and Stage*, p. 130.

[6] Maria so describes Malvolio, *Tw. N.* (II. iii, 151).

[7] Richard Hooker, *Eccle. Polity*, Bk. V, Chap. XXVI (note), Keble Ed., vol. 1, p. 360.

him as of the intolerant sect. Taking direct issue with the enemies of plays, the friends of the theatre termed plays "harmless spenders of time."[8] As for the amount of time spent upon them, "there was no more time spent about them than useth to be spent in sports, sleep, talk, and learned releasing of the mind from study."[9]. Richard Baker,[10] answering William Prynne's charge that plays "cause prodigal expence in time," replies that it may be true of heathen plays, which lasted many times, many days together," but "it is false of ours;" and asks further, "What will Frenchmen say in defense of their recreation, who spend more time in one day at tennis than those at plays?"

In their endeavor to prevent recreations from being banished because men's time was too precious to be so spent, the friends of games and pastimes met the scripture-quoting enemies of plays with Scripture. Solomon's statement that "there is a time for all things, a time to play, a time to work," etc.,[11] was advanced against the various passages of the New Testament that were argued against spending time at the theatre.[12] Northbrooke refers to the defense of evil practices found in this passage:[13] "And as for this place of Ecclesiastes, or Preacher, by you alledged to maintain your idle sports and vain pastimes, it is not well applied by you, for he speaketh of this diversity of time for two causes. . . . So may the drunkard, adulterer, usurer, thief, etc., with the whole rabble of wicked and ungodly ones, likewise, and to the same effect and purpose, alledge this place, and apply it for their practices, as you do for yours." In the course of his conversation with Age, Youth in Northbrooke's *Treatise* had quoted Solomon's words in justifica-

[8] *The English Gentleman*, R. Brathwait, 1641, p. 106.

[9] Gager in defence of his plays, as quoted by Rainoldes in *The Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, p. 21, 2nd edit., 1629.

[10] *Theatrum Redivivum*, pp. 67, 56.

[11] *Eccle.* 3:1, 2.

[12] Northbrooke's reference to 1. Peter, 4.2., (*Treatise against*, etc. p. 174, is typical of biblical passages quoted to prove that time should not be wasted: "Therefore sayth Peter, [because we have wasted time in the past] let us henceforwarde live, as much time as remaineth in the flesh, not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God: and whatsoever we doe let us doe all to the glory of God." Two other passages that are found similarly quoted in this connection are: "See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools but as wise, redeeming the time, because it is evil." (Ephes. 5. 15-16.); and "Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time." (Colos. 4.5.).

tion of the amusements in which he had been accustomed to spend a good part of his time.

Northbrooke's reference to the use of these words of Solomon's in defense of games and pastime is evidence that they were used in this manner; and we find them so used in the literature of the dispute itself. Gager, Rainolds, Heywood, and Chettle in their contributions to the dispute either use these words of Solomon's in argument for the allowance of "games and pastimes," or refer to their use in this connection. Henry Chettle in *Kind Heart's Dream*[14] urges that "there is a time of mirth," when plays may be given, as "there is a time of mourning," when plays may not be given. "Mirth," he says, "in seasonable time taken is not forbidden by the austerest sapients. But indeed there is a time of mirth and a time of mourning, which time having been by the magistrates wisely observed, as well for the suppression of playes, as other pleasures, so likewise a time may come, when honest recreation shall have his former liberty." Thomas Heywood, in *An Apology for Actors*,[15] claims that since God "hath limited us a time to rejoice as he hath enjoined us a time to mourn for our transgressions," that those who "go about to take away from us the use of all moderate recreations" are "more scrupulous than well advised." The frequent occurrence of Solomon's words by the friends of pastime in the literature of the dispute makes it likely that their significance was well understood when they were found in the plays of the period.[16]

[13] *Treatise against Dicing*, etc. p. 42.

[14] See in *Shakespeare Allusion Book*, New Shakespeare Society pub., p. 65.

[15] *An Apol. for Actors*, Sh. Soc. edit., p. 25.

[16] Further, Rainolds answering Gager in *An Overthrow of Stage Playes*, refers to Gager's use of this argument, p. 23: "Finally you say that there is a time for sportes, plaies, dances, a time for earnest studies: and man consisteth not of one part alone; he hath a body as well as a minde. . . . [But this need for recreation] does not prove the lawfulness of your theatrical sports and plays. J. Stowe, *The Survey of London*, p. 75: Marginal note to Chapter on "Sports and Pastimes of old times used in this citie": "Everything hath his time, a time to weep, a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to dance." Gataker, *On Lots*, p. 246: "For there is a time and season for all things, and for recreation among other things. There is a time saith Solomon for laughing and mirth, and a time for dancing and delight." J. Downame, *Four Treatises*, p. 200: "and seeing the holie Ghost himself telleth us, that as there is a time to mourn, so also there is a time to dance; I see no reason but that now upon the like occasion, and with the same holie affection, it may lawfully be used to

When Solomon's words, "there's a time for all things," are found in plays of this period, they frequently are quoted for the purpose of justifying, humourously, practices objectional to the pastime-denouncing puritans. As an instance, John Lyly puts them into the mouth of a minstrel:[17] "Boy, no more words! there's a time for all things. Though I say it that should not, I have been a minstrel these thirty years and tickled more strings than thou hast hairs, but yet was never so misused." In *Every Woman in her Humour*[18] the same thought is found in the mouth of a drunken reveller, and in *The Parson's Wedding*[19] it is quoted by one of a group of lovers, of whom it is said by the ladies that they "could tell when to be civil, and when to be wild." In other places, also, reference to this passage in *Ecclesiastes* serves to suggest the use made of it in justifying practices condemned by the puritans.[20]

Shakespeare must be counted in among Northbrooke's "whole rabble" of those who "likewise, and to the same effect and purpose, alledge this place, and apply it for their practices." Contemporary significance attaches itself to the use in *The Comedy of Errors* [21] of the words, "there's a time for all things;" and gives life to a passage that has been particularly lifeless:

> *Ant. S.* Well, sir, learn to jest in good time: there's a time for all things.
> *Dro. S.* I durst have denied that before you were so choleric, etc.

Dromio's jesting denial of his master's statement, "There's a time for all things," ends, after many lines, as with our fuller knowledge of the significance of these words we know it will end, in the discomfiture of Dromio, who has argued the puritan point of view that there is no time at all to be allowed certain practices.

expresse our rejoicing, cheere the mind, and exercise the bodie, as well as musicke, or any other such like pastime and recreation." Hooker, *Eccle. Pol.* Book V., Chap. xxiii, 4, with broader application quotes Solomon's words. Prynne, p. 721: Cyprian says some "converted the very censure of the heavenly Scriptures into a justification of crimes and stage-plays; producing some texts of Scriptures in defence of Playes, as well as reasons."

[17] Lyly, Bond edit., 111., p. 217.

[18] Tudor Facsimile Edit. (E).

[19] Dodsley, (1744), vol. ix, p. 425.

[20] *Stukeley*, Tudor Facsimile, (G3).

[21] II, ii, 63.

In reply to the reformers' insistence upon how time should be employed, the apologists of the theatre and of other pastimes did not rest their case with bringing to the support of their side Solomon's words bearing upon the right disposition of time. They went further, and pictured the deplorable condition that would result were the theatres to be closed, in as much as those who had been accustomed to spend their time in attending plays would then give themselves up to practices far worse. Time, in short, would then be not better but worse employed. With plays banished, the apologists insisted, "the idelheaded common" would spend their time in ways less profitable. It were better, therefore, that theatres remain open, since, when freed from abuse, they were capable of moral instruction. It is this defense—time would be worse employed—to which Prynne scornfully refers when he records "the players' pretense that seeing plays serves to pass away time, which would else, perchance, be worse employed";[22] and to which Gager turns, when, in answering Rainolds' attack upon university plays, he replies that "it may be, that some of his critics were worse occupied than his actors on that night that his plays were given."[23]

In this part of their rebuttal of the precisians' argument of waste of time, the apologists for the stage pointed out two ways in which time would be worse employed were there no theatres. Either the pleasure-seekers would give themselves over to excessive forms of dissipation; or they would spend their idle time plotting against the government. Usually one, and not infrequently both of these dangers, were dwelt upon by the defenders of the stage in their answers to the general charge of waste of time. The first of these two replies to the puritans' charge of waste of time lays stress upon the misfortune that would result to the pleasure-seekers themselves with the closing of the theatres. Henry Chettle[24] opposed the suppression of the theatre, among other reasons, because of the encouragement such action would give to "dicing, drinking and the following of harlots." Richard Perkins in prefa-

[22] Histrio-Mastix, p. 951.

[23] Quoted in Rainold's *Overthrow of Stage Plays*, p. 48.

[24] *Kind Heart's Dream*, p. 63.

tory verses to Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* advances the same argument:[25]

> Thou that dost rail at me for seeing a play,
> How wouldst thou have me spend my idle hours?
> Wouldst have me in a tavern drink all day,
> Melt in the sun's heat, or walk out in showers?
> Gape at the lottery from morn till even,
> To hear whose mottoes blanks have, and who prizes?
>
> To drab, to game, to drink, all these I hate:
> Many enormous things depend on these,
> My faculties truly to recreate
> With modest mirth, and myself best to please,
> Give me a play that no distaste can breed.

Thomas Nash,[26] writing in 1592, argues strongly for plays on the ground that they prevent men giving themselves to worse practices: "The policy of plays is very necessary, howsoever some shallow-brained censurers (not the deepest searchers into the secrets of government) mightily oppugne them. For whereas the afternoon being the idlest time of the day; wherein men that are their own masters (as Gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of the Court, and the number of Captains and Souldiers about London) do wholly bestow themselves upon pleasures, and that pleasure they divide (how virtuously it skills not) either into gaming, following of harlots, drinking, or seeing a Playe: is it not then better (since of four extremes all the world cannot keep them but they will choose one) that they should betake them to the least, which is Playes?"

Shakespeare in one place definitely employs this argument. It is at the end of the Chorus in *Winter's Tale*,[27] where "Time" asks

[25] The same argument is found in other of the prefatory poems prefixed to this work; p. 6, by A. Hopton:

> And did it nothing, but in pleasing sort
> Keep gallants from misspending of their time
> It might suffice;

And p. 11; by Robert Pallant:

> Have I not known a man, that to be hyr'd
> Would not for any treasure see a play,
> Reele from a taverne? Shall this be admir'd,
> When as another, but the t'other day,
> That held to weare a surplisse most unmeet,
> Yet after stood at Paul's-crosse in a sheet.

[26] Thomas Nash, McKerrow edit. 1. pp. 211-212.

[27] IV. i, 29.

allowance for his tale of those who may have "spent time worse ere now":

> Of this allow,
> If ever you have spent time worse ere now;
> If never, yet that Time himself doth say
> He wishes earnestly you never may.

Such direct use of an argument of the dispute by Shakespeare, as we have here, is rare.

Besides the value of plays in keeping the people from indulging in dissipation of various kinds, the friends of the theatre pointed out a further value of plays to the state, for without them "the idle-headed common would work more mischief," as Lodge affirms.[28] Thomas Nash maintains[29] that "it is very expedient that they [the people] have some light toys to busy their heads withal, cast before them as bones to gnaw upon, which may keep them from having leisure to intermeddle with higher matters"; and adds further[30]: "Read Lipsius or any prophane or Christian politician and you shall find him of this opinion." Evidence of the general use of this argument, to which Nash refers, is not difficult to substantiate. Robert Laneham,[31] regretting the abolition of the Hock Tuesday play, wishes it back because it "did so occupy the heads of a number that likely enough would have had worse meditation." Thomas Heywood,[32] similarly, defends plays, since "doubtless there be many men of that temper, who, were they not carried away and weaned from their own corrupt and bad disposition, and by accidental means removed and altered from their dangerous and sullen intendments, would be found apt and prone to many notorious and traiterous practises." Further testimony to the general employment of this argument is found in its use, either in defense or in criticism, by S. Gosson,[33] Cervantes,[34] Guevara,[35] Tacitus[36] J. G. (Greene)[37]

[28] In Thomas Lodge's Attack upon Gosson, p. 41.

[29] McKerrow edit. of *Nash*, 1. p. 211, l. 28.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[31] Quoted in E. N. S. Thompson's *Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage*, p. 56.

[32] T. Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, p. 31.

[33] In *School of Abuse*, Stephen Gosson, p. 31: "Meane time, if players be called to account for the abuses that growe by these assemblyes, I would not

in *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615), Thomas Nash,[38] and Dion Cassius.[39]

Shakespeare's acquaintance with this argument is no less likely than with the argument last named. Evidence of this is found in a passage in *Julius Caesar*.[40] Caesar is confessing to Anthony that were he capable of fear, Cassius would be the kind of man that he would have reason to suspect, for:—

> *He loves no plays*
> *As thou dost, Anthony*: he hears no music,
> Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort
> As if he mocked himself, and scorned his spirit
> That would be moved to smile at any thing.
> Such men as he be never at heart's ease,
> While they behold a greater than themselves,
> And therefore are they very dangerous.

have them to answere, as Pilades did for the theaters of Rome when they were complayned on, and Augustus waxed angrye: 'This resorte, O Cesar, is good for thee, for theere were kept thousand of idle heads occupied which else peradventure would brue some mischiefe."

[34] *Don Quixote*, Tudor Trans. p. 246, (IV. 21): "It will be no sufficient excuse for this errour [abuse of plays], to say, that the principall end of well governed commonwealths in the permitting of comedies, is only to entertain the communaltie with some honest pastime, and thereby divert the exorbitant and vicious humours which idlenesses wont to ingender."

[35] In North's translation of *Diall of Princes*, chap. 43: "But this [allowance of plays] was not through abundance of vanity, but to take from the Plebians occasion of idleness and to keep them occupied in other particular playes."

[36] Quoted by J. Davies of Hereford, 1. p. 82, Grosart edit.: "There is good use of plaies and pastimes in a Commonwealth for thereby those that are most uncivill, prone to move war and dissention, are by these recreations accustomed to love peace and ease. Tac. 14. An. Ca. 6."

[37] "But admit that Cicero's opinion of Playes, viz., That many heads were busied with them which other wise would bee inquisitive after his greatness, etc."

[38] Vol. 1. line 23, p. 214, McKerrow edit.: Faith, when Dice, lust, and Drunkenness, and all have dealt upon him if there be never a Playe for him to go to for his pennie, he sits melancholie in his Chamber, devising upon felonie or treason, and how he may best exalt himselfe by mischiefe."

[39] Foster's edit. Vol. IV, p. 124: He (Augustus) brought back from exile one Pylades, a dancer, driven out on account of civil quarrels . . . Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very cleverly when the emperor rebuked him for having quarreled with Bathyllus, an artist in the same line and a relative of Maecenas: 'It is to your advantage, Ceasar, that the populace should exhaust its energy over us."

[40] I. ii, 200.

The significance for our purpose of this passage lies in the fact that it draws a contrast between a subject plotting treason, who "loves no plays"; and another subject innocent of conspiracy, who loves plays. For this antithesis between the lover of plays and the conspirator, Shakespeare is not indebted to Plutarch; but is relying probably upon the classical tradition that considers plays to be a potent instrument in diverting evil-minded men from their "traitorous practices."

Shakespeare's recognition in this passage of the argument in favor of plays is the more probable, since it was contended, not only in Roman but in his own time, that criminals from witnessing the reproofs administered by plays to vice, were often diverted from their villainy. A valuable passage in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*[41] in this connection even attributes Julius Caesar's support of the *histriones* of Rome to his belief that they diverted the minds of criminals from treasonous conspiracies. "Julius Caesar, the famous conquerour, discoursing with Marcus Cicero, the as famous orator, amongst many other matters debated, it pleased the emperour to ask his opinion of the histriones, the players of Rome, pretending some cavil against them as men whose imployment in the commonweale was unnecessary. To whom Cicero answered this: Content thee, Caesar, there bee many heads busied and bewitched with these pastimes now in Rome, which otherwise would be inquisitive after thee and thy greatnesse. Which answere, how sufficiently the emperour approved, may be conjectured by the many guifts bestowed and privileges and charters after granted to men of that quality." At this point Heywood adds significantly, "Such was likewise the opinion of a great statesman of this land, about the time that certaine bookes were called in question."[42]

The friends of the players, who made use of this argument in their printed defenses in resisting the aggressions of the enemies of plays, were active, also, in bringing the same argument based upon state policy to the attention of the highest state authorities. In a letter written Nov. 3, 1594, by the Lord Mayor of London to Lord

[41] P. 31, *Apology for Actors*.

[42] Thomas Nash (Vol. 1, p. 214) has in mind the Pylades incident (see note 39) when he tells of "a player's wittie answere" upon "a great Fraie in Rome": "It is good for thee, O Caesar, that the peoples heades are troubled with brawles and quarrels about us and our light matters: for other otherwise they would looke into thee and thy matters."

Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Mayor writes:[43] "I am not ignorant (my very good Lord) what is alleadged by soome for defence of these playes that the people must have soom kynd of recreation and that policie requireth to divert idle heads and other ill disposed frome other woorse practize by this kynd of exercise." The Lord Mayor goes on to show that while godly recreations were good, ungodly plays are not tolerable, for they draw men to imitate evil, and to plot uprisings and troubles. In 1595 and 1597 almost the same language is used in similar communicaions.[44] In communications to the Privy Council the puritan Lord Mayor and Aldermen argue explicitly that far from diverting evil minded men from their plottings, plays gave such men examples and opportunities for promoting just such seditious plots: "Amonge other inconveniences it is not the least yt they give opportunity to the refuse sort of evill disposed and ungodly people that are within and abowte this cytie to assemble themselves and to make their matches for all their lewd and ungodly practices; being as heartofore we have found by th' examination of divers apprentices and other servants who have confessed unto us that the said stage playes were the very places their randevous appoynted by them to meet with such other as wear to ioigne with them in their designes and mutinus attempts." It was in these words of the Mayor and the Aldermen, which insisted that it was at the very theatres of London that tumults and uprisings in the city were hatched, that this ancient argument in favor of plays met its most vigorous opposition.

II

Besides such direct and argumentative references, to the puritan argument of waste of time, as we have been considering, there were other, numerous and emphatic, protests introduced by the dramatists into their plays in the form of caricatures of "a kind of puritan" compounded of equal parts of hypocrisy and of misdirected zeal. These satirical portrayals of the enemy were as popular with their audiences, as they were obnoxious to their objects of attack. In the publisher's preface to Rainolds' *Overthrow of Stage-Plays* (1599), expression is given to the offence taken by the puritans at frequent attacks upon the stage: "Men have

[43] Malone Society, Coll. 1., 1., p. 75.
[44] P. 79, *ibid.*

not been afraid of late days, to bring upon the stage the very sober countenances, grave attires, modest and matronlike gestures and speeches of men and women to be laughed at as a scorn and reproach." Lucy Hutchinson, also, writing of the treatment which puritans suffered years later declared that "every stage, every table and every puppet play belched forth profane scoffs upon them, the drunkards made them their songs, and all fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them, as finding it the most graceful way of fooling."

To these caricatured puritans as presented on the stage, the dramatists frequently gave as an effective tag a zeal for the well-bestowal of time. In some cases these references by the dramatists to the puritans' "pensive care for the well-bestowal of time" are fully and definitely stated: in other cases they are only glanced at or inferred. Examples from plays, in which characters have given to them this puritan anxiety to spend time profitably, will show how the dramatists retaliated by using the puritan's view-point for their own purposes of caricature.

The puritan wife, Florila, in Chapman's *An Humourous Day's Mirth*[45] finds herself on a hot day too warmly clad, so that she is obliged to change her costume. In magnifying her trivial mistake into a sin—another touch in the satirical picture—Florila accuses herself of wasting time "that might be better spent." "What have I done?" she exclaims. "Put on too many clothes? The day is hot, and I am hotter clad than might suffice health: my conscience tells me that I have offended, and I'le put them off. That will ask time that might be better spent. One sin will draw another quickly on. See how the devil tempts."

Mistress Purge in Middleton's *Family of Love*, and Malheureux in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, are easily recognized by their words and views to be pictures of puritans. But the sketch is rendered complete when we are shown their zeal for the worthy employment of time. Malheureux[46] advises his friend to avoid those excesses that will be sure to expose to danger "his health, his strength, his precious time, and with that time the hope of any worthy end"; while Mistress Purge[47] is equally emphatic in her counsel to the young men of her acquaintance to reform: "Fie, fie, 'tis pity young

[45] Edit. 1873: Vol. 1, p. 57. (1.1.).
[46] A. H. Bullen edit., (1887): Vol. 11, p. 11.
[47] Dyce edit., (1840) Vol. 11, p. 125.

gentlemen can bestow their time no better; this playing [on the stage] is not lawful, for I cannot find that either plays or players were allowed in the prime church of Ephesus by the elders." All of which good advice, as intended by the authors, loses its point unless we recognize that it is offered by the veriest hypocrites, who assume the garb of virtue to cover their own manifold and serious transgressions. Hypocrisy must be premised to understand the true value of the stage-puritan's exhortation to virtue. It is the lack of appreciation of this fundamental element in Malvolio's character, that has misled some critics into sympathy with Olivia's steward who, "sick of self-love," "tastes with a distempered appetite." Mihil, a pretender to holiness, for the advantage of the moment, in Brome's *Weeding of Covent Garden*,[48] meets his father with "invectives against drinking, wenching and other abomination of the times," by which is "wasted both money, and time which is more pretious than money." The later dramatists of the seventeenth century do not forget to add this touch to their pictures of puritans. A "lay elder" in Mrs. Alpha Behn's *Good Old Cause*[49] condemns the idle sins of the times and points out that time spent in anything else than the great work of the reformation is both a loss and an abomination.

There are other similar satirical allusions in the plays which are *not* put in the mouths of stage puritans, as are those just mentioned.[50] The satirical purpose of these references, however, is no less intentional. Reference to examples of this kind will show the variety of ways in which satire against the time-saving

[48] 1873 edit. Vol. 11, pp. 23-24.

[49] 1871 edit., vol. 1, p. 324.

[50] However not all of the allusions in the plays of this character are of a satirical character. In a few plays of serious purpose the allusions to "wasting time" are made without intention of ridicule. Such references point to a certain sympathy on the part of the writers with the stricter view of life by the puritans. *Eastward Hoe*, p. 24: Touchstone: We lose no time in our sensuality, but we make amends for it. O that we would do so in virtue, and religious negligences. *Honest Whore*, B., XII. 348: Bellafront (reformed): Good love, I would not have them sell thy substance and time (worth all) in those damned shops of hell. P. 281: Bellafront (to deceiver): You love to undo us, To put heaven from us, whilst our best hours waste. *Lusty Juventus*, p. 123: Good Counsel: Saint Paul unto the Ephesians giveth good exhortation, Saying walk circumspectly, redemyng of the tyme; That is, to spend it well and not to wickedness incline. *Virgin Martyr*, p. 23: Angelo: Where did you waste your time when the religious man was on his knees speaking the heavenly language?

enemies of the stage is pointed. A mocking bawd in *Northward Hoe*[51] says to the man who has given up his watch to her: "O, foolish young man, how dost thou spend the time!" A "wild gallant" in *The Picture*[52] exclaims that in the pursuit of his pleasure he loses no time; and in *Old Timon*[53] a convivial person urges his fellows to drink, "not idely spende the time." In *The Ordinary*[54] we read that "we do best spende the time, when no dull zealous chime but sprightly kisses strike the hour."[55]

III

As the examples shown above prove, an over-zealous regard for the right use of time was an essential detail in the satirical portrayal of the puritan by the Elizabethan dramatist. In the employment of this detail of characterization Shakespeare is no exception. Nor does it seem likely, when he ridicules a character's anxiety to employ time worthily, that he is not following the general practice of his fellow dramatists in holding up to laughter the precisians of his day. In this connection it is to be expected that there is in Shakespeare's use of this detail of characterisation a variety of method and a degree of effectiveness that are unknown to his fellow dramatists of less insight and penetration into the springs of character.

Twelfth Night gives interesting opportunity of observing Shakespeare's satirical treatment of the precisian's regard for the right employment of time, including the "tieing" of allowed recreations to the times proper for such recreations.[56] Malvolio and

[51] P. 258.

[52] P. 215.

[54] P. 424.

[54] P. 206, Dodsley (1744).

[55] A late example is found in Dryden's *Law against Lovers*, p. 306: "Lucio: No, he [Duke] began the right course about forty [at which time we are told he became a loose lover]; but, good man, he repented the lost time of his youth." A later example still is found in Minor, where a citizen says to his nephew that "time is too precious to spend in talking with him."

[56] Allowed recreations, the puritan writers remind us repeatedly may be endulged in only under certain conditions: Stubbes, xi: "With respect had to the *time*, place, and persons, it [dancing] is in no respect to be disalowed." Northbrooke, 45: "Youth: I am very glad that you graunt some kynde of pastime and playes although you tye it *to times*, matters and persons." Gosson, p. 13: "I set this down not to condemn the fits of versifying, dauncing or singing in wiman, so they bee used with meane and exercised *in due time*."

Olivia, devoted to the strict ordering of their lives and of the lives of those about them, have their thoughts constantly upon the value of time and the necessity of spending it in fitting manner. Olivia "takes great exceptions" to Sir Toby's "ill hours," threatens to punish Feste for spending his time away from the house in "dishonest" practices, and calls the time that she spends in hearing Feste's fooling "idleness."

Malvolio rehearses to himself the lecture that he will give to Toby for "wasting the treasure of his time in the company of a foolish knight," upbraids the midnight revellers for their disregard of the late hour, and includes all of the "lighter people" under the charge of "idle, shallow things." Typical stage-puritan as he is, he divides his care for the right employment of time between an avoidance of indulgence in all "dishonest recreations"; and a careful restriction and supervision of the amount, the place, and the company in which time is spent in "honest recreations." Contrary to Mr. Rolfe's assertion that Malvolio does not speak like a puritan when he reprimands the roisterers at midnight, Olivia's steward gives characteristic puritan expression to his reproval of the noisy singers for their lack of "respect of time, persons and place": "My masters, are you mad, or what are you? Have you no wit, manners, nor honesty? But to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? Do you make an ale-house of my lady's house, that ye squeak out your cozier's catches without any mitigation or remorse of voice? Is there no respect of time, persons, nor place in you?" The incorrigible Sir Toby is quick to turn this "pensive care" of Malvolio's for the "right bestowal of time" into a jest: "We did keep time in our catches. Out of time, sir, ye lie." And follows this quip with his penetrative summary of the puritan position: "Dost think because thou are virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?"

Sir Toby in this play is constitutionally opposed to the strict view of the employment of time held by his puritan niece and her time-serving steward, Malvolio. The idea that he may not trifle away his time as he wishes, is to Toby "a false conclusion," which he hates as "an unfilled can"—for is not "care an enemy of life?" His thoughts dwell on the cakes and the ale that the virtuous would banish. For him, as for Sir Andrew, "life consists rather of eating and drinking." When Andrew in a moment of regret repents that he has misspent his time in fencing, dancing, and bear-baiting,

Sir Toby has only ridicule for his thoughts of improving his time as he had for the puritan practice of early to bed and early to rise which he summarily sets aside with his "not to be abed after midnight is to be up betimes."[57] Shakespeare makes high comedy here and elsewhere out of the exaggerated preciseness of the extreme puritan in insisting upon the proper time of day, place, and company for allowed amusements.

The mirth that lies in a passage in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is based upon the insistence of a foolish precisian to tie a 'recreation' *not* allowed to place and persons. Slender has been robbed by Falstaff's men, in whose company he had imbibed too much. Unable to find redress, he forms the pious resolution, by which he determines to govern his future conduct: "I'le ne'er be drunk while I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company for this trick; if I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves." Upon this worthy sentiment, Parson Evans, mindful only of the reiterated puritan comment that 'pitch defiles,' stamps his approval with, "So Got 'udge me, that is a virtuous mind." Intentional satire in these words of Slender's is the more likely since we find him shortly afterwards naively revealing his hypocritical attitude towards bear-baiting: "I love the sport well: but shall as soon quarrel at it as any man in England"—which is exactly the attitude that the dramatists ascribe to the enemies of games and pastimes in England.

In *Much Ado About Nothing* there is humorous reference to the puritan solicitude to do all "within measure" and "in due time," the two restrictions upon recreations that Northbrooke

[57] Northbrooke is especially severe against those that either sleep overmuch or sleep at unusual hours: p. 40: They will go verye late to bedde at night, and sleep long in the morning. Surely he that so doth, his offence is nothing lesse than his that all daye doth sitte in fatte dishes. Also p. 40: In which sort we must take our sleepe onely for necessitie, and nothing for ydle pleasure, and that in due time, and not out of season that we may the better serve God and our neighbours. p. 39: "Be you ashamed, then, that spende the greater parte of your time in ydlenesse, and sleepe in your beddes untill you be readye to goe to your dynner, neglecting therebye all dutye of service both towardes God and man." A puritan preacher-teacher, Aminadab in *How a Man may*, etc. (Dodsley ix. pp. 27 and 70) is made to say," [The rod] shall teach him that *diluculo surgere est saluberrimum*"; and, "This early rising, this *diluculo* Is good both for your bodies and your minds." In *Royal King*, etc., p. 125: "Why you were abroad Before the sunne was up, and the most wise Doe say 'tis healthful still betimes to rise."

Gosson, and Stubbes emphasize.[58] Leonato has just instructed his daughter in the reply she is to make to the Prince, in case he proposes for her hand during the dance. At this point Beatrice, interposing with characteristic banter, rallies her cousin: "The fault will be in the music, cousin, if you be not woo'd *in good time.* If the Prince be too important, tell him there is *measure in every thing,* and so dance out the answer."

Touchstone joins Beatrice in glancing mirthfully at the puritan concern for the proper employment of time. He has been listening to a song sung by the pages in praise of the present enjoyment of life: "Truly, young gentlemen, though there was no great matter in the ditty, yet the note was very untuneable. *First Page*: You are deceived, sir; we kept time, we lost not our time. *Touchstone*: By my troth, yes: *I count it but time lost* to hear such a foolish song." Touchstone in his preaching vein here is not offered us seriously; but only to make fun of the sober-minded critics of the stage, who would banish all plays for the time they "waste."

Falstaff's first words in *The First Part of Henry the Fourth,* "Now, Hal, what time of day is it?"—together with his following conversation with the Prince—take on an added meaning in the light of the value attached by the puritans to time, and of the dramatists' satire of this concern of theirs for the proper employment of the same. Hal's reply to Falstaff's query introduces Falstaff as a notorious abuser of time: and in so doing gives us at the beginning of the play the key to his character: "What the devil hast thou to do with the time of day? Unless the hours were cups of sack, and minutes capon, and clocks the tongues of bawds, and dials the signs of leaping-houses and the blessed sun himself a fair hot wench in flame-coloured taffeta, I see no reason why thou shouldst be so superfluous to demand the time of day."

Falstaff, defending himself against Hal's charge of waste of time, denies that he orders his life by the sun, or by the time of the day, but by the moon: "Indeed, you come near me, now, Hal: for

[58] Northbrooke, p. 109: "All these things, if they be done *moderately and in due time,* are tollerable. Gosson, 13: I set this down not to condemn the gifts of versifying, dauncing or singing in wiman, so they bee used *with meane and exercised in due time.* Northbrooke, p. 41: Honest and lawfull games as are chesse and tennise allowed at *convenient times and that moderately.* Stubbes, p. 155: I will not much denie but *being used in a meane, in tyme and place convenient,* it is a certen solace to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities."

we that take purses, go by the moon and the seven stars, and not by Phoebus"; and therefore, "sweet wag, when thou art king, let not us, that are squires of the night's body, be called thieves of the day's beauty [that is, those that waste the daylight]." "Let men say we are men of good government, being governed as the sea is by our noble and chaste mistress the moon, under whose countenance we steal."

Because he and his fellows waste their days in excessive idleness and pleasure, and therefore can not be called "men of good government," Falstaff disclaims allegiance to Phoebus. He prefers that he and his men be called "minions of the moon," under whose countenance they steal. If they be governed, then, as the sea is by the moon; and have her countenance to steal, why then they are still, in spite of all their waste of day-time, "men of good government"—and if "men of good government," then Hal's charge against him, of waste of time in particular and of worthlessness in general, falls to the ground, and he stands before us as innocent "as any cristom child."

Falstaff finds a frequent spring of mirth in thus "wrenching the false way" one or another of the puritan scruples. He returns twice to laugh at the puritan regard for time. Once while chiding Hal, as his "father will chide him when next he sees him," he gravely acts the part of the puritan in tieing pastime to place, time, and persons: "Harry, I not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou are accompanied, for though the camomile, the more it is trodden on the faster it grows, yet youth the more it is wasted the sooner it wears." In another place Falstaff blames Bardolph for not observing the proper time, not for an allowed diversion, but—and here is the true Falstaffian touch—for a crime that under no circumstances could be allowed: "I am glad that I am so acquit of this tinderbox; his thefts were too open; his filching was like a unskillful singer; he kept not time." Bardolph was, therefore, in Falstaff's ill opinion, not because he stole, but because, not observing the proper time to steal, he was unsuccessful in his filching.

It is, however, only the excessive and hypocritical zeal for the "well bestowal of time," that challenges the derision of Shakespeare. In a number of places in his plays time well spent is duly valued and rewarded. It is well to remember in this connection, that the excessive zeal of the extreme puritans, which repeatedly

evoked Shakespeare's satire, was directed at the destruction of the theatre. In holding up to laughter the possessors of this immoderate zeal, Shakespeare is opposing, not the sincere contenders for a higher standard of living, but the enemies of the arts of life who knew no measure in their hatred of play and pastime.

From this examination of Shakespeare's allusions to the puritans' "over pensive regard" for the employment of time, it seems likely that he did not occupy in the dispute between the stage and the precisians the position of entire disinterestedness that has been assigned by many to him. It seems rather that he took a definite stand with the other defenders of the stage; and that, in the thrusts and parries of such characters as Falstaff, Touchstone, and Malvolio, he held up to ridicule those "grave learned divines who held that no Christian man might lawfully spend any time in games and pastimes."

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THE ARTISAN AND MASTERSINGER DRAMA IN NÜRNBERG

Theodor Hampe has extracted and published the entries in the records of the city council of Nürnberg that bear upon the history of the theater and drama[1] and has given an historical sketch of the Nürnberg theater based upon this material. The records begin with the year 1449 but are very fragmentary for the first twenty-five years. From 1474 on they are preserved in an uninterrupted series. A survey of these entries shows first a period including the second half of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth in which short Shrovetide plays of the Hans Folz type or even more primitive were given. Then after a decade in which interest in the school drama seems predominant, there begins, about the middle of the sixteenth century, a period of artisan and mastersinger drama which continues to the year 1613. During the last two decades of this period, i.e. from 1593 on, the artisan drama is outshone by the new offerings of those first professionals in Germany, the English Comedians, and the period from 1613 on belongs practically entirely to companies of professional players.

The interesting period of the artisan and mastersinger drama from about 1550 to 1613, in the early part of which falls Hans Sachs' theatrical activity, is not adequately treated by Hampe and the purpose of this article is to throw additional light upon details of the theatrical performances of this period.

Places Used for Performances

Nürnberg went over early to the Reformation. As a result some of its numerous church buildings became available for secular purposes. Of these the small church of St. Martha and the Dominican monastery were used in season for dramatic performances. Later, after about 1577, the monastery ceased to be so used and in its place the inn Heilsbrunner Hof came into frequent use. The following other places, mentioned as being used or refused between 1550 and 1613, show how considerable was the dependance upon secularized church buildings: Carmelite monastery (refused in 1551, used in 1560, and probably several following years), Church of St. Clara (used in 1551, refused in 1569), City Hall (School

[1] *Die Entwickelung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg*, 1900.

play in 1552), Augustinian monastery (refused in 1569, used by English Comedians in 1600), Monastery of St. Egidius (School play in 1605), "des Anthoni Pfannen hof" (1587), suburban inn Gostenhof (unauthorized playing in 1612).

It has been generally assumed[2] that the plays in the Dominican monastery were given in the refectory, and from the following entry of January 16, 1576, this would seem to be the case:" . . . die andern aber zulassen, doch darneben sagen, wo sie im rebenter bei den predigern an den fenstern oder sonsten ein schaden tun wurden, wie zu andern jaren geschehen, denselben auf iren costen wider zumachen." I should like, however, to advance some reasons for thinking that the church may have been used. In 1562 the mastersingers were given the use of the Dominican monastery for their Singschulen: "Die meistersinger sol man zu den dreien hohen festen kunftig allemal im predigercloster singen lassen, weil es in der spitalkirchen zu engist."[3] Here the monastery church is evidently meant, since the refectory, a rectangular hall about seventy-seven by twenty-six feet, would doubtless be "enger" than the Spitalkirche. The Singschulen are held here until 1578 when St. Martha is assigned to the mastersingers, "weil inen ir vorigen ort im predigercloster genommen worden." This taking away of the monastery in 1578 seems to be related to the fact that it is not used for dramatic purposes after 1577 and suggests a certain probability that the mastersingers had their Singschulen and plays in the same place in the monastery, as would indeed be the most natural thing to expect, especially as the Singschulen were regularly omitted at Shrovetide during the theater season. This probability is materially strengthened by the entry of December 1568 which refers to the two places where plays were given as 'the two churches': ". . . es hinfuro bei den beden kirchen bei den predigern und Martha pleiben lassen"[4]

Of particular interest is the question in which 'theater' the plays were given which Hans Sachs himself directed. His directorial activity falls in the decade from 1551 to 1560, after which

[2] Hampe, p. 70; Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, p. 20.

[3] Cf. Mummenhoff in Stiefel's *Hans Sachs Forschungen*, p. 284.

[4] References to entries in the minutes will be given by year or season only, when this is enough to enable them to be readily found in the chronological arrangement of Part II of Hampe's work.

appears as a sort of successor, a mastersinger company of which the leadership rested, according to the minutes, sometimes with Sachs' personal friend Veit Fesselmann, sometimes with Michel Vogel, and sometimes with the two jointly. But throughout practically the entire quarter century from 1551 to the poet's death in 1576 we find a second company of players, directed by Jörg Frölich but giving as a rule also plays of Hans Sachs. An examination of the entries following 1560 shows clearly a regular practice, a sort of tradition, of giving the use of St. Martha to Frölich and the monastery to Fesselmann and Vogel.[5] If this practice prevailed during the time that Sachs was active as director it would put him in the monastery, with Frölich in St. Martha; and this was, I think, the case, at least for his last five years from 1556 to 1560. The one entry in the minutes that mentions a place in connection with Sachs' play-giving places him in the monastery. This was in the season of 1557. An entry of the same year places the other company in St. Martha and other entries place it here in 1559 and 1560, so that Hans Sachs must clearly have been in the monastery in all three of these years. It seems reasonable to assume the same location of the two companies in 1556 and 1558, where no places are mentioned. This period in which Hans Sachs is so closely connected with the monastery may well be considered the height of his dramatic interest. In addition to the unbroken sequence of five seasons of play-giving, his productivity as a playwright is greatest in these years.

In the first half of Hans Sachs' decade of theatrical activity there are two years, 1553 and 1555, apparently without public plays. There remains, therefore, only the seasons of 1551, 1552, and 1554, and for 1550 the entry of the year 1551 granting the use of St. Martha to some company, "weil sies fernt (voriges Jahr) auch geprauchte haben." In these first years of the artisan and mastersinger drama the minutes do not yet mention the name of Frölich, although their wording does not preclude the possibility of his leadership. There is also no mention of places except that of St. Martha in 1551 (and 1550). In 1551 there is definite permission given a certain Joseph Aininger and his company to use the church of St. Clara. The question whether Hans Sachs used St. Martha in this season, or some other place, presumably the

[5] See entries for the seasons of 1565, 1566, 1567, 1570, 1572 and 1576.

Dominican monastery, depends upon whether the words of the entry of January 5: "Desgleichen sol denen, die bei sant Martha ain comedi halten wöllen, dasselbig . . . vergönnt werden, weil sies fernt auch geprauchte haben," refer to Sachs. Under January 15 is the entry "Daneben erkundigung tun, was Hans Sachs für ein spil hab, sollichs wider springen," and under January 19, "Hans Sachsen auf die beschehen erkungigung sein spil vom abt und ainem edelman, der in gefangen, weils daussen allerlai nachred geperen und mein herrn zu nachtail kumen möcht, weiter ze treiben mit guten worten ablainen." The general assumption has been that the entry of January 5, as well as the two later ones, refers to Hans Sachs,[6] but this seems to me questionable. If we could assume that slightly later conditions already prevailed at this time, the very use of St. Clara by Aininger's company would of itself indicate two other companies, one in St. Martha and one in the monastery. Futhermore, although the censorship of the plays is not always mentioned in the minutes, yet in the many cases where it is mentioned, it invariably precedes the authorization of performances, and to refer the St. Martha entry of January 5 to Hans Sachs and his *Abt in Wildbad* involves an improbable reversal of this order of procedure. There is possibly a small corroborative point also in the plural *inen* of the St. Martha permit, for in all the entries concerning Hans Sachs he is always referred to in the singular, without any mention of associates such as are often mentioned in connection with Fesselmann, Frölich, Aininger and others. These various reasons establish a strong probability that Hans Sachs in 1551 was not in St. Martha but was presumably in the monastery. For the seasons of 1552 and 1554 there is no mention of any places and no basis for conjecture, other than a certain probability established by other seasons. This rather detailed examination, aiming to show that for most of Hans Sachs' decade of activity as director and perhaps for all of it he gave his plays in the Dominican monastery, casts grave doubts

[6] I.e., to his performance of the *Abt im Wildbad*, although Herrmann (*Forschungen*, p. 14) makes the improbable assertion that Hans Sachs' Meistergesang of Dec. 3, 1550, in which the poet invites to a Singschule including Meisterlieder and a performance of his play *Jacob and Esau*, was written "als eine Einladung zu jener durch das oben mitgeteilte Protokollstück genehmigten Veranstaltung. des Jahres 1551 (i.e., the performance authorized in St. Martha by this entry of Jan. 5).

upon Max Herrmann's attempt to reconstruct the stage of St. Martha upon the basis of the stage directions in Hans Sachs' plays.[7]

Mention has been made of the fact that beginning with 1577 Heilsbrunner Hof came into regular use as a 'theater,' replacing the Dominican monastery. Statements of Hampe about this inn need correction. In 1577 plays are being given here, probably by Veit Fesselmann's company, at the time when Frölich in St. Martha gets into serious trouble for playing "etliche ganz schampare und unzuchtige nachspil." The council investigates and decides on Feb. 23, since his guilt is establised: ". . . soll man ine deswegen 8 tag auf ein turn stroffen und das spilhalten heuer gar darnider legen. Aber die comedianten im Halsprunner hof noch morgen ire spil halten lassen." The next day, Feb. 24 was 'weisser Sonntag' and the permission to both companies had been given (on Jan. 9) with the provision "doch das sie damit auf den weissen sontag ein end machen," so we find on Feb. 25 the entry "Den comedianten im Halsprunner hof soll man das spilhalten nun mehr ablainen." I see in these facts no basis for Hampe's statement (p. 70) "Augenscheinlich nur mit Widerwillen war den 'Komödianten im Heilsbrunner Hof,' ihre Spiele noch einmal zu halten, vergönnt worden." Under date of February 25 is the following entry about the inn:

> Und dieweil der wirt im Halsprunnerhof bisher nicht allein die fechtschul und comedien zu sich gezogen und im hof allerlei gelegenheit darzu pauen lassen, sondern auch was schier für spil oder kurzweil her kommen, daselbst gehalten, auch hochzeiten, zechen und gastereien hinein gelegt worden, welches vor jaren dergestalt nicht herkommen, auch dem closter halsprun nie eingeraumbt werden wöllen, soll man die sach bei herren doctor Gugel dem eltern beratschlagen, wie solches gegen dem wirt zu endem oder was derwegen furzunemen.

The complaint here seems to be directed not so much against the regularly authorized plays and Fechtschulen as against other forms of Spiel and Kurzweil. Hampe says however in comment: "Es wird beschlossen, eine Änderung dieses zustandes herbeizuführen, und bis zum Erscheinen der englischen Komödianten in Nürnberg hören wir in den Ratsprotokollen in der Tat nur noch zweimal von "Komödianten im Heilsbrunner Hof" zum Jahre 1585 und für die Spielsaison 1587. Für die Epoche der

[7] *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, p. 13 ff. I have discussed this reconstruction in this Journal, XVI, 208 ff.

Nürnberger Theatergeschichte, welche dies Kapitel zum Gegenstande hat (i.e. the 16th century), bleiben die Marthakirche und das Predigerkloster durchaus die bevorzugten oder richtiger die vom Rate der theatralischen Produktion vorgeschriebenen Lokale." These statments of Hampe and their implication that the council was opposed to the use of Heilsbrunner Hof for plays in the late sixteenth century and continued to grant the use of the Dominican monastery are quite at variance with the evidence of the minutes. As a matter of fact the monastery is not mentioned after 1576, while the inn is mentioned in connection with the mastersinger drama in 1577, 1579, 1585, 1587, and 1606 and is used by the English Comedians in 1596. Two of these entries indicate that the inn and St. Martha had become the usual places for plays. In 1585 the council grants the use of these two places but refuses to authorize a third company and a third place. In 1587, St. Martha being for some reason unavailable, permission is granted the company asking for the inn and refused the one seeking the use of the church, but a few days later permission is given to this second company in the words: " . . . weil sie jetzo des Anthoni Pfanner hof darzu bestanden, soll man dasselbig gleichwie der andern (gesellschaft) in dem Halspronner hof zulassen." Evidently Heilsbrunner Hof and St. Martha are the regular places and indeed after 1576 no other places are mentioned in connection with the mastersinger drama, aside from this sporadic use of 'des Anthoni Pfannen hof'.

The use of St. Martha continued until the end of the mastersinger performances in 1613 and from 1578 to about 1614 it was used also for their Singeschulen, after which it was renovated and seems to have been used for religious services. So this small church, although used but little or not at all by Hans Sachs himself, was in use and doubtless very largely for Hans Sachs' plays during the whole of this period of the artisan and mastersinger drama.

Annual Season

Throughout Germany the mastersinger and burgher plays were generally limited to certain times of the year such as Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter, and in some cities, the time of the annual fairs. The most important of these seasons seems to have been Shrovetide, and not only for the short Fastnacht plays but for serious dramas as well, the serious ones having at times the express purpose of counteracting the carnival excesses and the objectionable

Fastnacht plays. In a Nördlingen supplication[8] of about 1559 we read: "Dieweill zu Nurnberg, Augspurg und ander steten preuchlich ist, das die burger und meistersinger comedi dichten und agiren, von der zeit an pis auf fasznacht, welches alles Got zu lob und ehr geschieht, dadurch gotteslesterung, spillen, fullerei, hurrerei, zoren, zanck und ander schant und laster mytt verhindert werden, deshalben hat ein erbar gesellschaft ein schön evangelisch comedi miteinander gelernet . . ."

Nürnberg held quite closely to a Shrovetide season. In the earlier years it seems to have been a short one of a day or a few days about Shrove Tuesday, but with the new period of artisan and mastersinger drama, from about 1550 on, it becomes longer. Throughout this period the regular season was from Candlesmas (Feb. 2) to "weisser Sonntag." Hampe gives to 'weisser Sonntag' its usual present day meaning of first Sunday after Easter and would thus have the usual season extend from February 2 to a date that might come as late as the end of April. This, however, is wrong. Weisser Sonntag in Nürnberg was Invocabit Sunday, the first Sunday of Lent.[9] This would give a season of from one to six weeks but when Invocavit Sunday came very early the limits were usually extended a little. Consequently in actual usage the season seems to have been from three to six weeks. Even players from elsewhere, who sought permission to give performances out of this season, were regularly refused up to the time of the English Comedians. Although these from their first appearance in 1593 on gave their performances at various times of the year, the local mastersingers continued to be limited to their Shrovetide season. Even in the year 1612, when Emperor Rudolf's death interfered with their playing at the usual time, a request for leave to give their plays in April was refused. With the end of the mastersinger drama the old Shrovetide theatrical season seems to come to an end.

[8] *Archiv für Lit.-Gesch.* XIII, 41-42. The document is undated, but the time of the year was doubtless January or late December.

[9] This meaning is given by Grimm as oberdeutsch. That it was the Nürnberg meaning is shown by the following passage from the old Nürnberg chronicle of Ulman Stromer (Chroniken deutscher Städte, I, 67); "Kristein mein tochter ward geborn anno domini 1372 die 8 marcij, waz der weiss suntag, zu vesper zeit," the eighth of March 1372 being the first Sunday of Lent. Also a number of entries in the minutes cannot be reconciled with the meaning which Hampe assumes.

Within the season the usual practice was to play but two days a week, Sunday and Monday. In fact in 1551 both Joseph Aininger, in St. Clara and the company in St. Martha are permitted to give their plays "doch nur am feirtag nach der predig" and seem thus to have played but once a week. The first definite evidence of playing on other days than Sunday and Monday is in the following entry of 1595, the wording of which indicates, however, that these two days were still the rule: "Dieweilen die comoedianten bei St. Martha ire spil nit allein an son- und montagen, sondern auch noch lenger in die wochen hinein halten tuen, soll man sie nur noch bis künftigen son- und montag spilen . . . lassen."

In the period from 1550 to 1613 there were eleven seasons in which, as far as the council minutes show, there were no public performances by the artisans and mastersingers. In most of these years supplications were handed in but were refused, the reason most frequently given being the plague, that great disturbing factor in medieval life. An examination into the plague years in Nürnberg shows that it was doubtless the reason in most years where no cause is given, as in 1574 and 1575. It is doubtful, however, whether the absence of plays in the years 1553 and 1555 was due to this cause. Lersch does not mention the plague in Nürnberg in these years.[10] An apparent relation between the absence of plays in 1555 and Hans Sachs' dramatic production of that year will be pointed out later.

Goetze has called attention to the fact[11] that in the years from 1555 to 1561, for which we have the protocol of the Nürnberg mastersingers in Hans Sachs' own handwriting, the dates of the Singschulen avoid the theatrical season, the only exception being the year 1561 with a Singschule on Candlemas day, although the plays of Frölich began a week before that day. I believe it has not been pointed out how strikingly this relation between Sing-

[10] *Gesch. d. Volksseuchen.* He mentions plague in Regensburg in 1553. A statement of Lersch for the year 1600 receives confirmation from the council minutes. He says in a note on page 273: "Der zu Nürnberg 1600 erschienene 'Bericht' und das zu Leyden gedruckte Pest-Boeck deuten auf pestilenzialische Krankheiten in jener Zeit." The minutes mention the plague in connection with the dramatic season of 1600 and 1601. On the other hand an old Nürnberg chronicle states that in the year 1600 all the burghers and artisans were allowed at Shrovetide "alle täncz und spil auch allerley kurzweil." (*Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deutsch. Vorzeit* III Johrgang, p. 166.)

[11] *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Lit.-Gesch.* 1894, p. 446.

schulen and theatrical seasons can be shown from the year 1576 on. From this year to 1613, Singschulen are held only twice within the usual limits of the theatrical season, in 1586 and 1612.[12] We learn from the minutes that in 1586 the public plays were forbidden because of the plague, and in 1612, as mentioned above, permission to play was cancelled because of the death of Emperor Rudolph II. After the year 1613, in which as we know the council permitted the mastersinger plays for the last time, they begin at once to hold Singschulen within the Shrovetide season, thus in 1614, 1615, 1616, on February 20, February 26, and February 28, respectively, the last two of these dates being "weisser Sonntag" and the first one three weeks before.

Plays and Players

There were usually two companies of players each season throughout this period. Some exceptions, however, occur. For a number of years between 1560 and 1570, in addition to Frölich in St. Martha, and Fesselmann in the monastery, we find Ambrosius Osterreicher, "der teutsche schreiber," allowed to give plays in the Carmelite monastery. This is evidently looked upon as an exception and a special concession. When, in an early supplication, Ambrosius[13] even gets ahead of Frölich and secures the use of St. Martha in 1569, and Frölich is seeking some other place for his plays, he is refused with a definite expression of purpose on the part of the council "es hinfuro bei den beden kirchen bei den predigern und Martha pleiben lassen." This purpose is repeated in a second refusal: ". . . kunftig dergleichen spil mer nit zu vergonnen, dann zu den predigern und zu s. Martha." A similar purpose to limit the plays to two places, at this time to St. Martha and Heilsbrunner Hof, seems to underlie two entries of 1585, refusing permission to a third party and advising Veiten Hubner and Jorgen Fenitzer to rejoin the company from which they had apparently branched off. At first the companies seem generally to have given but one play. Then come a few years, from 1558 on, in which

[12] Drescher, *Nürnberger Meistersinger-Protokolle*, Stuttgarter, Lit. Verein CCXIII.

[13] For Ambrosius' career, see article by Hampe in Stiefel's *Hans Sachs Forschungen*. It is amusing to note the extremely early application of Frölich for St. Martha in the following year. He gets back into his usual place and Ambrosius does not appear again as a director of plays.

there are clear indications that two has become the usual number evidently fitting in with the two playing days, Sunday and Monday of each week. The first mention of a more extensive repertoire is the permission given Frölich in 1565 "seine 6 comedien bei s. Martha zu spiln." In 1590 six plays were submitted to the council, three of which were approved and three rejected.

The entries in the minutes unfortunately do not often give the names of the plays. In the whole period from 1549 to 1613 only nineteen plays are mentioned by name, in connection with the artisan and mastersinger drama, including those rejected as well as those approved.[14] In addition come, as partially identified, "zwei spil aus dem alten Testament" (1560) and "diejenigen comedien, so von den handlungen in Frankreich und Niderland gedicht" (probably two plays), rejected in 1576.

The tabulation[15] (on opposite page) of the time of composition of the plays of Hans Sachs bears upon several of the questions involved here.

This table shows that the height of Hans Sachs' dramatic productivity was the decade in which he was also active as a director of plays. Noteworthy, however, is the number of plays, forty-seven in all, written before the year 1550-51, in which comes the first mention in the minutes of the performances of a Hans Sachs play. The influence of the annual season is seen clearly in the distribution by months, one hundred and fifty-eight coming in the time from September 1 to 'weisser Sonntag,' compared with

[14] These are as follows, preserving the names as found in the minutes and indicating those that surely are Hans Sachs plays with an asterisk, and those that may possibly be his with a dagger: 1549, die Josephisch historien (probably one play); 1551, sant Johanns des taufers enthauptung; 1551, *spil vom abt und ainem edelman (rejected); 1552, enthauptung Johanns (rejected); 1552, *kaiserin, die eepruchs halb unschuldig ins ellent verwisen worden; 1554, *römisch histori von aufgelegter schatzung; 1556, *zerstörung Jerusalem; 1558, *kindheit Christi; 1558, †kunigin zu Frankreich (rejected); 1558, *konig David; 1558, *konig Cyrus; 1567, schöpfung der welt (rejected); 1567, †der passion (rejected); 1569, *Theseus; 1570, schlacht von Pavia (rejected); 1570 Theuerdank (rejected); 1570, zerstörung Troia; 1579, belegerung der stat Wien (rejected;) 1607, spiel vom jungsten gericht (rejected).

[15] F are Fastnacht plays, C, T are comedies and tragedies. The years are from March 1 to the end of the following February, that is, from the end of one season to the end of the next, all the February plays being dated before 'weisser Sonntag.' In the years between 1540 and 1544 no plays were written.

		Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Totals
1517–40	F					1		1	2	1	5	1	3	14
1527–40	C,T		1						1		2	7	2	13
1544–48	F									2	1			3
	C,T	1	1	1					1	3	1	1		9
1549–50	F									1			1	2
	C,T					1		1			1	2	1	6
1550–51	F								3	3	1	1	1	9
	C,T	1	1									1		3
1551–52	F						1	3	3	2				9
	C,T	1	1				2		2	4		1	1	12
1552–53	F						1				5	3		9
	C,T			1		3				1	1	2	1	9
1553–54	F	1						4	5		2	2	1	15
	C,T	1					1		2	2	1	2		9
1554–55	F		1	2		1	1	1	1					7
	C,T		1										1	2
1555–56	F						1	1					2	4
	C,T						2	1	1	3	2	2	1	12
1556–57	F	1											1	2
	C,T		1	1	1	1		3	2	2	3	1		15
1557–58	F							2			1			3
	C,T	1			2	2	2	2	2			1		12
1558–59	F									1		1		2
	C,T	2	1	1				2				1		7
1559–60	F									2	1			3
	C,T	1					2		1	1	1			6
1560–61	F								1	1				2
	C,T				1			2	1					4
After Nov. 1560		1T ('62)								1C ('64)	1T ('61)	1T 1C ('65)	1T ('64)	6
Totals	F	2	1	2	0	2	4	12	15	13	16	8	9	84
	C,T	9	7	4	4	7	9	11	13	17	13	23	8	125

fifty-one in the other half or slightly more than half of the year.[16]

In the half decade from 1551 to 1555 he wrote forty-nine Fastnacht plays and only thirty-five comedies and tragedies, while in the

[16] A glance at the table will show that there is not much justification for Creizenach's statement (III, 438, Anm. 2): "Auch die Abfassungszeit dieser Spiele ist in den späteren Jahren nicht mehr bloss auf die Monate vor und während des Faschings beschränkt."

second half of this decade, the period in which we find him most regularly directing plays, he wrote only fourteen Fastnacht plays and fifty-two comedies and tragedies. These relative numbers must surely have some significance and, as will be pointed out, have a probable bearing upon certain conjectures of Goetze. A glance at the year 1554-55 in the table shows a rather striking break in playwriting; in the months of November, December, and January, usually the most productive months, Hans Sachs does not write a single play. This is probably connected in some way with the fact that the minutes do not indicate any plays in the season of 1555. The great reduction in the number of plays written after 1560, coming at the time that he ceases his activity as director, indicates a loss of interest in the drama, due doubtless to a combination of causes. Some trouble and vexation is suggested by an entry in the minutes of Jan. 18, 1560, which, after granting Frölich's request to play, continues: "Daneben aber Hans Sachsen warnen mit machung derselben spil etwas behutsam zu sein, und was ainiche ergernus verursachen möcht zu umbgehen." In January 1560 in the Beschluss to Volume II of his works he complained of age and lessened vigor, mentioned "Viel feindtschaft, neyd und hass" that his writings had brought him and expressed the thought to give up poetry: "Dacht, for meins lebens zeyt / Getichts müssig zu gohn." And he lives up to this purpose for a while; the years 1560 and 1561 mark a very low ebb in all forms of his writing. In March 1560 came the keenly felt death of his wife. In 1561 he published the third and as he thought the last volume of his works. This he devoted entirely to his unpublished plays and he may well have felt it to be a monument marking the end of his dramatic career as well as his literary work in general. He closes the Vorrede with the words: "Guthertziger leser, nimb also an mit gutem geneigtem hertzen diss mein letztes buch, darmit ich mein 66 jar und alter mit Gottes gnaden nun zu rhu setzen wil!" Although the years from 1562 on show a remarkable revival of his literary activity, so that two more volumes of his works were published soon after his death, his interest in the drama did not revive. He wrote only four plays after March 1562 and three of these remained unpublished.

In the case of the Hans Sachs plays mentioned in the minutes a comparison of the dates of composition with the dates of performance shows clearly the practice of giving each season a selection

from the latest productions, i.e. from those written since the preceding season. It is reasonable to assume that this practice prevailed throughout the period in which Hans Sachs continued to write new plays. This, however, is not of much help in conjecturing what plays were given in those seasons in which the minutes mention no names. As the above table shows, Hans Sachs averaged almost fifteen plays a year during his most productive decade, and of these not more than four to six would probably be given each year, if both companies gave exclusively Hans Sachs plays, Goetze, in his conjectures,[17] uses an additional means which I consider unjustifiable. He assumes that there is a distinction in meaning between 'comedi' and 'spil' as used in the minutes, and that when 'spil' is used it refers to Fastnacht plays. 'Spil' is used in the entries giving permission to Hans Sachs to play in 1557, 1559, 1560, and in permission to Frölich in 1561 to play "des Sachsen spil." For 1557 Goetze is forced, to be sure, to suggest two comedies since as the table shows, Hans Sachs wrote no Fastnacht plays for practically a year before the date of his supplication (although he wrote fifteen comedies and tragedies). For the other three of these years Goetze's conjectures are Fastnacht plays, although as mentioned above, Hans Sachs was writing a great many more comedies and tragedies than Fastnacht plays throughout all these later years. Goetze's conjectures are not of themselves important but the question whether the repertoires of these years contained so many Fastnacht plays, or even contained any at all, is worth considering. In the first place, does 'spil' necessarily mean a Fastnacht play? It has often this meaning when used by Hans Sachs in the titles of his plays in distinction to 'comedi' and 'tragedi,' but is used by Hans Sach himself elsewhere in the broad generic sense of a play of any kind, and it is in this sense that it seems to be used, and very naturally would be used in the minutes. Thus we read in 1570 of the "comedi von der zerstörung Troia," but in 1555 of the "spil von der zerstörung Jerusalem," in 1560 of "zwen spil aus dem alten testament," in 1559 "Frölichs, messerers, und seiner gesellschaft, zwai spil besichtigen und, wo sich nichts ungeschickts oder unzuchtigs darinnen befindet, soll man inen solche comedias . . . zu spilen vergonnen." Evidently 'spil' and 'comedi' are used interchangeably. The entire absence of any plays

[17] Keller-Goetze, *Hans Sachs*, Vol. 26, p. 50 ff., and *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteratur*, 1894, p. 446 ff.

that could well have been Fastnacht plays in the seventeen that are named in the minutes after the one Fastnacht play, *der Abt im Wildbad*, of 1551, considered in connection with the great falling off in the number of Fastnacht plays written after 1554, leads me to believe that in the later years of Hans Sachs dramatic activity, Fastnacht plays were rarely if ever included in the repertoires. Somewhat later there seems, to be sure, to be a change from this serious spirit and we find mention of Possenspiele given along with the regular plays.

There is little to add to Hampe's scant data about Frölich, Fesselmann, and other players mentioned in the minutes. The usual assumption, found in Goetze and Hampe, that Frölich was not a mastersinger seems to me very questionable. He took part in the Singschulen frequently in the years from 1555 to 1560 and won the highest prize several times. In 1561 he did not take part, and the Singschule met on Candlemas of this year while Frölich was giving plays. The protocol of the Singschulen from 1562 to 1574, which would show whether Frölich took further part in the singschulen, has unfortunately not been preserved. In the years 1576 to 1578 he was still directing plays but is not mentioned in the mastersinger's protocol of these years. From this evident loss of interest it does not, however, seem reasonable to assume that he was not a member of the mastersingers' organization in those earlier years of active participation. I feel indeed quite confident that the entry of January 11, 1558, "Den ansuchenden maistersingern soll man . . . vergonnen . . . zuspilen," (in which the mastersingers are mentioned by name for the first time in the drama entries of the minutes and for the only time before 1566) refers to Frölich's company, which is the company that we find along with that of Hans Sachs in all the other years of the period from 1556 to 1560.

Attitude of the Council

The council's attitude towards certain larger questions is shown by its action upon theater matters. It was a dignified and cautious body. Although the Reformation early gained an entrance to Nürnberg, the council strove not to offend either side. In many Protestant cities the Shrovetide period became the occasion for elaborate plays and pageants satirizing the pope and papacy. Something of this kind was undertaken in Nürnberg in the early

days of the Reformation but met with the disapproval of the council as the following entry of 1522 shows: "Das vasnachtspil, darinnen ein babst in aim chormantel get und im ein dreifach creütz wirdet vorgetragen, ganz abstellen und dem sacristen im spital ein strefliche red sagen, das er zu soldem spil den chormantel hat dargelihen, und das er den widerumb zu seinen handen nem. Den hauptleuten des schemparts undersagen, das sie zu der hell nichtzit geprauchen, so der gaistlichait ze neid sein mög." A similar attitude evidently underlies the disapproval of Hans Sachs' Abt im Wildbad in 1551. On the other hand the council was opposed to the old type of religious play that kept up medieval catholic traditions. Nürnberg seems not to have had the great passion plays of the late middle ages, so characterstic of Frankfurt, Alsfeld, and other cities, but it had Easter and Good Friday plays. The annual Easter play was abolished by council act as early as 1498, two decades before the Reformation, doubtless because it was losing its religious character. The Good Friday play was abolished in 1523, evidently a result of the Reformation. Although Bible plays, of which Hans Sachs wrote so many, were doubtless a large element in the repertoires of the players, there was objection to certain Bible themes, such as the Creation, the Passion, the Last Judgment, moments that were so prominent in the medieval religious drama. In 1567 is the entry: "Jorgen Frolich, auch Veiten Fesselman und Michel Vogel sol man zulassen, . . . auserhalb der schöpfung der welt und des passion ire verzeichnet comedias zu agiren," and in 1607: "Thomas Grillenmaier und sinen mitconsorten, soll man ihr begern, das sie . . . ein spiel vom jungsten gericht agirn mögen, ablainen, ihnen sagen, es sei difs ein articul des glaubens und gehaimbnus, das niemand erforschen könne . . . " Similarly in 1581 permission to give a Last Judgment play is refused.

As Hampe and others have pointed out, the caution of the council is shown in its disapproval of modern historical plays that could possibly have any political suggestions. Almost all of the plays mentioned by name as not approved were evidently rejected either from political or politico-religious considerations. The entry of January 11, 1558: " . . . inen aber die ander comedi von der kunigin zu Frankreich um ergernus willen zu spilen ablainen," suggests from the title of the play a political reason for the refusal. This inclines me to differ with Goetze and agree with Creizenach in thinking that this was not Hans Sachs' harmless play of 1549,

'Die Königin aus Frankreich mit dem falschen Marschalk.' An additional reason for thinking it is not Sachs' play is the practice mentioned above of selecting for presentation only plays which had been written within the preceding year. From the political point of view the following approving entry of 1554 is interesting: "Hans Sachsen sol vergönnt werden, die vorhabend römisch histori von aufgelegter schatzung, weil vil guter argument und ursachen wider die beschwerungen dergleichen auflagen darin auf die pan gepracht werden, die allen oberkaiten zu guten gedeütet werden mügen, alhie zu agiren, wie er gebetten hat." The play referred to is Mucius Scaevola.

The attitude of the council toward the artisan and mastersinger drama itself changes in the course of the period, due doubtless to a moral deterioration in the plays and players. Some of the indications of deterioration found in the minutes are: the difficulty that Frölich gets into in 1577 'dieweil die spilleut bei s. Martha etliche ganz schampare und unzuchtige nachspil dise tag gespilt haben'; the increasing frequence of the warning or provision that 'nichts schampars oder sonsten vergrifflichs' should be in the plays; the rejection in 1590 of three plays 'darin etliche leichtfertige und schampare possen seien'; warning against damage to property in the monastery in 1576 and in St. Martha in 1591; a disrespectful and threatening tone on the part of the council, as in the permission of 1608 to play until the first Sunday of Lent, 'ihnen aber sagen, warnn sie sich lenger zu spielen unterstehen solten, werd man sie ins loch einziehen und daselbs mit ihnen auch comedien halten.' It is difficult to say when this deterioration began. I question Hampe's assumption that it was as early as the years in which Ambrosius Osterreicher played, i.e. from 1560 on. The evidence from the minutes begins with 1576.

Evidence of Plays Not in the Minutes

The discussion of this article has been based chiefly upon the council minutes. In conclusion the question may be asked whether the minutes give a complete record of the plays of this period. The requirement that public performances be authorized by the council was evidently enforced, for occasional entries show that unauthorized players were called strictly to account. There remains, however, the possibility that council action was not always

entered in the minutes,[18] that it was at times merely endorsed on the written 'supplication' of the players, or that authority to give permission was at times delegated to one of the several burgomasters and the permit not made a matter of record. The entry of January 25, 1552 shows such action by the elder burgomaster, which however was ratified the next day by the council.

The question of the completeness of the minutes raises the question whether there were private dramatic performances in Nürnberg that did not require authorization by the council. One thinks most naturally of plays given privately in the schools and in the Singschulen[19] of the mastersingers, and it seems certain that there were private plays in both of these places and possibly elsewhere. It is naturally difficult to learn much about such performances.

In the following two lists is presented all the evidence which I have been able to find of plays given without recorded authorization both before and during the period under discussion. In the first list are instances of plays or playing alluded to in the minutes but without entry of authorization. One may suspect in most of these cases incompleteness of the record.

1. Entry of 1497: "Es ist bei einem erbern rat erteilt, Wolf Keczel und den Osswalt . . . ein monat uf ein versperten turn zu straffen . . . darumb das sie Hansen Zamasser mit einem fassnachtspil als ein narren gehont haben." No authorization or previous mention of this play in the minutes.

2. Entry of 1517: "Den jenen, so morgen ain vassnachtspil vor dem rathaus halten werden, soll man vergönnen, etlich schranken von der pan ze füren und ain prucken darauf ze machen. paumeister." This instruction to the 'paumeister' implies previous authorization that is not in the minutes.

3. Entry of 1522: "Das vasnachtspil, darinnen ein babst in aim chormantel get . . . ganz abstellen. . . ." No authorization.

4. Entry of 1542: "Den schulmeistern zulassen, mit irn jungen dise zeit comedias zu spilen, unangesehen jüngster abstellung, diweilen zu der jungen übung dienet, doch sollen si kein trummel oder pfeifen prauchen." The 'jüngste abstellung' is not in the minutes.

5. Entry of 1549: "Dweil ein zeither allerei sprüchspil von schulmaistern und andern leuten gehalten worden, sols nun dabei pleiben und dieselben füran mer ze halten abgestellt werden." This implies plays not otherwise mentioned in the minutes.

[18] Trautmann speaks of this with regard to Nördlingen in *Archiv f. Lit. Gesch.* XIII, 36.

[19] Up to 1546 the meetings of the Singschulen required council authorization. After that, although they continued to be held, no acts of authorization are found in the council minutes.

6. Entry of 1551: ". . . weil sies fernt auch geprauchte haben." This indicated play of 1550 in St. Martha is not in the minutes.

7. There seems to be a missing record of approval of Hans Sachs' plays between the entry of Jan. 25 and Feb. 8, 1552. In the latter a new tragedy is approved, "wie man im die andern spil zugelassen." (See also Feb. 5, ". . . man hab vorhin spil gnug zugelassen.")

8. Entry of 1566: "Ambrosi Osterreicher sol man noch uf kunftigen suntag vergonnen, seine tragedias zu agiren, darnach abstellen." No authorization of Ambrosius' company for this season.

9. Entry of 1579: "Sixten Ludel . . . soll man sein begern umb widerzulassung des comedispilens ablainen und bei jungster abstellung nachmal pleiben lassen." This 'jungste abstellung' is not in the record.

The following more interesting list gives the evidence of play-giving not mentioned in the minutes at all. It seems most reasonable in these cases to assume private performances, although the possibility that some were public is not to be denied. The list given above indicates that the record of the minutes is not infallibly complete.

1. A request of "die chorales des neuen spitals" for permission to give a play has been preserved, of which there is no record in the minutes. If the reference in it to Anthon Tucher as 'pfleger' did not seem to put it between 1500 and 1505, it might refer to the entry of 1498: "Den spitelschulern ist vergunt ein spil zu treiben, doch das si dhein gelt da von nemen." (Hampe, p. 47; Lier, *Studien z. Gesch. d. Nürnb. Fastn.-Sp.*, p. 10; also given by Baader in *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deutschen Vorzeit*, XV, 231, where the date 1520 is given to it).

2. Evidence from a printed title-page: Ein Christlich Teütsch Spil, wie ein Sünder zur Busz bekärt wirdt, Von der sünd Gsetz vnd Evangelion, zugericht und gehalten zu Nürnberg Durch Lienhardū Culman, M.D.XXXIX. Culman seems to have given all of his schools plays privately; at least there is nowhere any mention of them in the minutes, although it contain entries authorizing other school performances. A later edition of this same play has the statement: "Geben zu Nürnberg auff der Schul des Newen Spitals. 4. Martij, im 1539." (Goedeke, Vol. II, p. 381.)

3. Another title-page: Ein schön weltlich spil, von der schönen Pandora ausz Hesiodo dem Kriechischen Poeten gezogen, durch Leonhardum Culman . . . (Geben Nürnberg Mitwochen nach Letare 1544). . . . Wednesday after Laetare Sunday was March 26 in the year 1544.

4. Another title-page: Ein schön Teutsch Geistlich Spiel, Von der Widtfraw, die Gott wunderlich durch den Propheten Elisa mit Oel von jrem Schuldherrn erlediget. . . . Durch Leonhardum Culman. . . (Geben zu Nürnberg 14. Febr. 1544). . . . A later edition has: Geben zu Nürnberg, auff der Schull des newen Spytalls, am 14. tag Februarij, im 1544. Jar.

5. Another title-page: Ein schön Christlich Spiel, Hecastus genant . . . , Durch etliche Knaben zu Nürnberg gehalten deutsch im 1549. Lateinisch im

1550. School plays of Rappolt are authorized in 1547 and 1552, but not these performances of Hecastus.

6. Creizenach says (III, 440): "Von den Repertoirstücken (der Meistersinger) hat sich ausser den Hans Sachsschen nur wenig erhalten. 1551 ist ein Spiel vom edlen Ritter Ponto, verfasst von dem Nürnberger Rechenmeister Heinrich Hoffot zur Fastnacht aufgeführt worden und dann im Druck erschienen." Creizenach is doubtless in error in connecting Hoffot and his play with the mastersinger drama. The title of the play, which begins 'Ein Teutsch spil von dem edlen Ritter Ponto . . .' indicates a German school play, as opposed to a Latin one; the play comes within the period of interest in school performances in Nürnberg; the absence of authorization in the council minutes suggests a private school performance similar to those of the plays just listed of Culman and Rappolt. 'Rechenmeister' means therefore 'Meister einer Rechenschule' and not its other possible meaning 'Vorsteher eines Rechenamtes.' In 1618 permission is given Hansen Bairn and Endres Volckamer, "beeden teutschen rechenmaistern," to give three comedies with their pupils.

7. Hans Sachs' Meistergesang of Dec. 3, 1550, 'Das new jar' was a kind of an invitation to a Singschule of which the program contained among other things a play, 'Auch wellen wir wie andre jar / Da ein comedj halten.' The phrase 'wie andre jar' implies also an established custom. From the poem we see that the play was Sachs' comedy 'Jacob mit seinem bruder Esaw' of Jan. 30, 1550, and hence given, as was the usual custom, in the year following the date of its composition. See Michels in *Seufferts Vierteljahrschr.* III, 33.

8. Hans Sachs' Meistergesang of March 6, 1551, 'Die 27 spil des schmidlein' tells of the roles played by a certain mastersinger named Schmidlein in the performances of twenty-seven plays, chiefly of Hans Sachs, through an unknown number of years preceding the date of the poem. For text of poem and identification of the plays see Michels in *Seufferts Vierteljahrsch.* III, 42 ff. (also 615), Herrmanns *Forschungen*, 142 ff. Keller-Goetze 26, p. 48 ff.

9. In Hans Sachs' own list of his works his comedy Violanta, written in 1545, is entered again under date of Dec. 17, 1549, with the remark 'gepessert vnd gehalten.' See Keller-Goetze XXV, Nr. 3205a.

10. In this same list the comedy Thitus und Gisippus, written in 1546, is entered again later with the remark 'Anno salutis 1553 gemert vnd gespilt.' 1553 is one of the years in which the council minutes show no public performances. Keller-Goetze XXV, Nr. 4259a.

11. A little later than the period under discussion, in 1622 and 1623 and again in 1636, the protocol of the mastersingers mention performances on Trinity Sunday in the suburb Wöhrd. These are not mentioned in the council minutes, although Wöhrd was under the council's jurisdiction. The protocol for 1636 gives interesting expense data. See under these dates in the *Meistersinger Protokolle* in Vols. 213 and 214 of *Stuttg. Lit. Ver.*, also Hampe, p. 102-3.

In addition to these cases of unrecorded play-giving, many of which must have been private, it seems necessary to assume considerable private dramatic activity of the mastersingers to explain and justify the well-known passage in Hans Sachs' intro-

duction to volume III of his works, a volume containing exclusively plays: "...weil ich sie den meisten theil selb hab agiren unnd spielen helffen, wiewol der auch vil nie an tag kommen noch gespielt sindt worden . . .". The repertoires of Hans Sachs' eight seasons of public playing would amount at the most to twenty or thirty plays, while the number in volume III, to which 'den meisten theil' refers, is 102 and Hans Sachs' total number is about 209. Evidence of the mastersingers' continued interest in the drama after 1613 may be seen in their 'supplications' to the council made after this date and regularly refused. There is record of these for every season from 1614 to 1618 and then in the years 1624, 1625, 1628, and 1643. This long continued interest was doubtless kept alive by private dramatic activity. Hampe, in his article on Ambrosius Osterreicher, speaks of this interest "so dass wohl einer (Hans Winter, 1621) in der Singschule bat, ihn doch lieber beim Komödienspiel zu verwenden, da er weder viel singen könne, noch eine schöne Stimme habe."

From the evidence presented it is clear that, although the council minutes are our chief source of knowledge about Nürnberg theater, they do not reveal the full extent of dramatic interest and activity on the part of the Nürnberg mastersingers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. And in this period, before the development of professional acting, private performances, about which we know so little, cannot have differed very essentially from public ones and may thus have had an importance in Nürnberg's theater development relatively greater than they could have had in later periods.

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[20] Keller-Goetze X, 6.

[21] In Stiefels *Hans Sachs Forschungen*, p. 400. The authority he gives is Will, Bibl. Norica III, No. 782, p. 663.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

Lat. *terra* 'Erde': *torreo* 'etwas dörren, braten, rösten, sengen,' *torridus*, etc.—Skt. *dhanuh*, *dhânvan-* 'trockenes Land, Festland, Strand, dürres Land, Wüste,' *dhánŭ-* 'Sandbank, hervorragendes Festland, Gestade, Insel.—Russ. *gar'* 'ausgebrannter Ort im Wal-. de; Brandgeruch,' LRuss. *ú-hor*, Bulg. *ú-gar* 'Brachfeld': OBulg. *gorěti* 'brennen, verbrennen.'—Lett. *degas* (pl.) 'ausgebrannte Stelle,' *degsnis* 'ausgebrannter Wald, ein mit Feuer gereinigter Morast,' Lith. *ísz-dagas* 'ausgebrannte Stelle, durch Ausbrennen urbar gemacht,' *ìsz-dagas* 'von der Sonne versengte Stelle': *dègti* 'brennen.'—Lat. *āra* 'Altar, Brandaltar; Sandbank,' *ārea* 'freier Platz, Bauplatz, Dreschtenne, Rennbahn; Glatze': *āreo*, *ardeo*, etc. See Reichelt, *KZ.* XLVI, 313 f. The underlying meaning would be 'burnt (off), dry, bare place, etc.' On the basis of such comparisons it is probably worth while to examine a few Germanic words which may show similar semantic development.

1. Norw. dial. *hal* 'bar klippegrund i aker og eng,' 'bare, ro ground in field and meadow' (Torp, *Nyn. Et. Ordbok* p. 195) m belong with MDu. *hael* 'ausgetrocknet, dürr, schal,' Du. *haal*, LG. *hāl*, *hœl* 'trocken, dürr, mager,' Altmärk. (Danneil) *hall'n*, *ût-hall'n* 'austrocknen,' *hall*, *hallig* (*lucht*, *wäd'r*) 'trocken,' Westf. *hœl* 'trocken,' probably also *häller* 'dürrer Ast,' Dan. dial. *hallen(d)* 'vertrocknet, welk,' ON. *hallœri* 'Missjahr,' Lett. *kalstu*, *kalst* 'trocken werden,' *kals* 'mager' and with initial *s-*: NHG. *schal* 'fade, kraftlos,' (Hess.) 'trocken, dürr, leck,' Swed. dial. *skäll* 'mager (vom Acker, von der Erde),' Gk. σκέλλω 'trocken, dürr, mager machen, σκληρός 'trocken, dürr, mager,' NSloven. *skelêti*, *sklêti*, 'brennen.'

2. OHG. *hart*, *hard* 'Hart (Berg, Wald), lucus,' MHG. *hart* 'fester Sandboden; Schneekruste: Trift, Weidetrift; Wald,' frequent in names of forests and mountains: *Hart* 'der Harz,' *Spehtes hart* 'Spessart,' *herte* 'steinichter Boden,' NHG. (Bav.) *hart* 'hart gefrorner Schnee, Schneekruste; Boden aus Sand und Kies bestehend und nur mit weniger trocknen und an sich unfruchtbaren Dammerde überzogen; Eigenname von Gegenden mit solchem Boden; Eigenname verschiedener, ehemals oder jetzt noch mit grossen Waldungen bedeckter Gegenden,' *die hart-wis* 'dürre, trockne

Wiese,' (Swiss) *hard* 'Gemeintrift; Flurname, meist von Waldungen oder von früher bewaldet gewesenen, jetzt zum Teil Feld gewordenen Gegenden,' (Swab.) *hart* 'Wald' may be compared with Lett, *karsts*, Lith. *kãrsztas* 'heiss,' *kařsztis* 'Hitze,' Lett. *karsēt* 'erhitzen,' OBulg. *krada* 'Feuerstelle, Herd,' Lat. *carbo* 'Kohle,' MLG. *harst* 'Rost,' OHG. *harsta* 'Röstung,' *gaharstit* 'geröstet,' Goth. *hauri* 'Kohle,' ON. *hyrr* 'Feuer,' Lith. *kùrti*, Lett. *kurt* 'heizen.'

Germ. **harðа-*, etc. (from IE. **qar-dho-*, *-tó-*, etc., see Walde[2] p. 129 f.) meant probably 'dry, sandy, bare place, mountainous region where there was an abundance of poor ground, place of dry, thin soil, place for herding, and the like.' Compare *Schwz. Id.* II, 1595 f. For 'mountain': '(mountain-) forest' compare Skt. *giri-h* 'Berg,' Lith. *gìre*, *gìria* 'Wald,' OBulg. *gora* 'Berg,' Bulg. *gorá* 'Wald; Berg,' Sloven. *gôra* 'Berg, Bergwald,' Alb. *gur* 'Stein'; Span. *monte* 'Berg; Wald.' The meaning 'hart gefrorner Schnee Schneekruste' may be derived from the idea 'thin soil': 'thin crust of snow'; but it is also probable that this comes from the adjective *hart*. Compare Bav. *der harsch* 'Schnee, der so fest gefroren ist, dass er trägt,' Carinth. (Lexer p. 134 f.) *harĕt*, *harsch* 'die feste Schneekruste, auf welcher man gehen kann'; MHG. *harsten*, *verharsten* 'hart werden'; NHG. *harsch* 'hart, rauh, besonders durch Auftrocknung,' NHG. *hart*, etc.

3. Germ. **warupa-*, **wariþa-* 'dry, elevated land, bank, shore' island' in OE. *w(e)aroþ*, *wearþ* 'shore,' OHG. *warid*, *werid* 'Insel,' MHG. *wert*, *-des* 'Insel, Halbinsel, erhöhtes, wasserfreies Land zwischen Sümpfen; Ufer,' *werder* 'Insel,' NHG. *Werder*, *Wert* 'Flussinsel; Uferland,' MDu. *waert*, *weert* 'piece of land situated near or in water, ground near a river; bank, shore; peninsula, island,' *waerde* 'plain, level ground, exposed place,' Du. *waard* 'low ground, drained lake; land that has been dammed up,' MLG. *werde* 'Insel,' *werder* 'Werder, Insel; Halbinsel,' LG. (*Brem. Wb.* V, 307) *wuurt* 'ein etwas erhöhtes, mit Gras bewachsenes Erdreich eine Haus- und Hofstelle,' (*Idiot. Hamb.* 345f.) *wörde*, *würde*, etc. 'ein aufgehöhtes Erdreich, locus suggestus, in den niedrigen Marschländern, worauf die Gebäude und Wohnungen gesetzt, oder das Vieh zusammengetrieben wird, um bei Überschwemmungen in Sicherheit zu sein,' EFris. *wörde* 'hohes Ufer, hochgelegenes Land oder hochgelegene Grundstücke; ein Komplex hochgelegener sandiger Grundstücke': IE. root **guher-* 'warm' in Skt. ghṛṇóti 'leuchtet,

glüht,' OBulg. *gorêti* 'brenne,' LRuss. *û-hor* 'Brachacker,' Czech. *horký* 'heiss,' *horko, horkost* 'Hitze,' *û-hor* 'Brachacker,' Pol. dial. *gorky* 'heiss,' *u-gor* 'Brachacker,' Obersorb. *wu-hor* 'Brandfleck auf dem Felde,' OBulg. *raz-garati sę* 'entbrennen, völlig verbrennen,' Russ. *gař* (early) 'ausgebrannter Ort im Walde,' (now) 'Brandgeruch, -geschmack,' Bulg. *û-gar* 'Brachfeld' (gepflügter, doch noch nicht besäter, erst noch dem Erwärmen ausgesetzter Acker); Skt. *gharmá-ḥ* 'Glut, Hitze,' Lat. *formus*, OE. *wearm*, OHG. *warm* 'warm.' Start-meaning 'warm, dry place or land resulting from sun's heat, effects of fire, etc.'

4. Goth. *þaurp* 'Acker, Feld, *ἀγρός*,' ON. *þorp* 'gaard paa landet; en by eller kjøbstad,' 'hamlet, village; a land (field, fenced place, or garden,' (Edda) 'freier ungeschützter Platz, kahler Hügel,' Norw. dial. *torp* 'kleiner Pachthof,' Swed. *torp* 'kleiner Pachthof, kleiner Hof auf dem Lande,' Dan. *torp* 'Dorf,' OE. *þorp, þrop, þrep* 'farm, estate; village,' OFris. *thorp, therp* 'Dorf,' OS. *thorp, tharp*, MDu. *dorp* 'akker, hoeve, landgoed; dorp,' 'field, farm, estate; village,' Du. *dorp* 'village,' dial. *darp, derp*,' OHG. *dorf* 'praedium, villa, vicus, municipium, oppidum,' MHG. *dorf* 'Dorf; Gehöft,' NHG. *Dorf* 'Ortschaft ohne höhern Rang,' Germ. **þurpa-, *þarpa-* may have meant a 'field or dry place,' especially for cultivation, habitation, and the like; later on this was the place of settlement for a definite group or community, and finally a village or municipality with definite bounds. Germ. **þurpa-*, if from IE. **tṛs-bó-*, may be referred to the root **ters-* 'dry' in Goth. *þaursus*, OHG. *durri* 'dürr,' Skt. *tr̥ṣ̱ta-h* 'dürr,' ON. *þorna* 'vertrocknen,' *þerra* 'trocknen,' Goth. ga-*þairsan* 'verdorren,' Gk. *τέρσομαι* 'to be or become dry, dry up,' Lat. *torreo* 'burn, parch, dry up with heat or thirst,' *torris* 'a firebrand,' OLat. *torrus* 'torridus,' OIr. *tír* 'trocken,' *tír* 'Land,' Lat. *terra* 'land,' Osc. *teer[úm]*, *terûm* 'territorium,' *teras* 'terrae,' Corn., Bret., OCymr. *tir* 'tellus' (see Walde[2] s.v. *terra*).

The meaning 'crowd, multitude' ('flok, skare') in ON. *þorp*, if it belongs to Germ. **þurpa-* 'field' at all, may have meant primarily 'group or number of people, etc. about a *þorp*,' that is, 'a definite division, crowd, multitude.' ON. *þorp* in this sense, however, may go more properly along with *þyrpa*, 'drängen,' *þyrpask* 'sich haufenweise versammeln,' Swiss *dorf* 'Besuch, Zusammenkunft' with Lat. *turba*, Gk. *σύρβη*.

5. Goth. *asans* 'Erntezeit, Sommer, Ernte,' OHG. *aran, arn* 'Ernte,' MHG. *ern, erne, ernde* 'Ernte; als Monatsname Juni, Juli und August,' OHG. *arnēn, arnōn* 'ernten,' ON. *ǫnn* (**aznạ*) 'Feldarbeit; Eifer,' *annask* 'versorgen, sich mühen,' Norw. dial. *aann* 'Bodenarbeit im Herbst und Frühjahr' (the Scandinavian perhaps only in part, see Falk-Torp, *Et. Wb.* p. 6), OE. *earnian* 'deserve, merit, earn,' Goth. *asneis* 'Taglöhner,' OE. *esne* 'laborer, servant; retainer, man,' OHG. *asni, esni* 'mercenarius,' OS. *asna* 'Zins, Abgabe': IG. *ăs-* 'brennen, glühen; verbrannt, verdorrt' in Lat. *āreo* 'trocken, dürr sein,' Skt. *ćsa-h* 'Asche, Staub,' Lat. *assus* 'trocken, gebraten, geschmort,' *aridus* 'trocken,' Gk. ἄξη 'Dürre, Trockenheit, ἄξω 'dörre, trockne, ἄξομαι 'verdorre,' Czech. *ozd* 'Malzdörre,' *ozditi* 'Malz dörren' (see Walde[2] s.v. *āreo*). The synonymous words in Balto-Slavic, OPruss. *assanis* 'Herbst, Erntezeit,' ChSl. *jesenĭ* id., Russ. *ósenĭ* 'Herbst' may represent a borrowing from the Germanic. So Falk und Torp p. 6; but see Berneker, *Sl. Et. Wb.* p. 265; Fick III[4], 22. . . . Accordingly, the primary meaning of Germ. **asani-*, **azani-* was 'hot, dry time or season,' whence, 'summer, fall, harvest-time.' The meaning 'to earn, merit, deserve' in OE. *earnian* comes from 'to harvest, work in the harvest-fields, labor, acquire by labor,' compare MHG. *asten* 'bebauen.' . . . A close parallel in the development in meaning is seen in Skt. *nidāghá-ḥ* 'Hitze; Sommer,' Lith. *dāgas, dagà* 'Erntezeit,' OPruss. *dagis* 'Sommer': Skt. *dāhas* 'Brand, Hitze,' Lat. *favilla* 'glowing ashes,' *foveo* 'to warm, keep warm,' Ir. *daig* 'Feuer,' Lith. *dègu, dègti* 'brennen,' Skt. *dàhati* 'brennt.'

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BODMER AND MILTON

In one of his essays Hamann says: "Die meisten Bücher sind . . . ein treuer Abdruck der Fähigkeiten und Neigungen, mit denen man gelesen hat und lesen kann." Of no one's writings, perhaps, is this more conspicuously true than of certain works of Bodmer. Throughout his life he was a wide reader, and much of his reading is reflected in his writings. The present discussion will attempt to deal, merely in a general way, with his relation to Milton, a more detailed treatment of the subject being reserved for some future time.

At the outset it may be stated categorically that if there had been no *Paradise Lost*, there could have been no Bodmerian epic *Noah*.[1] We may go still further and assert: without a Milton a Bodmer would have been impossible. Bodmer not only read, translated, studied, and discussed *Paradise Lost*, but was also an ardent admirer of its author. More than that, on the Continent he became in the course of time a veritable apostle of the English poet. The evidence of this profound and unfailing appreciation is strewn in abundance through his theoretical and critical writings as well as through his correspondence. Among the works which evince his deep interest in Milton may be mentioned his *Kritische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie* (1740), his *Kritische Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemälde* (1741) and the *Sammlung kritischer, poetischer und anderer geistvollen Schriften* (1741-2); appreciatory remarks are also contained in the preface to his translation of *Paradise Lost*.

In the spring of 1720 Bodmer, with his friends Breitinger and Johann Meister, founded the literary club *Gesellschaft der Maler*. The first number of the club's weekly literary organ, *Die Diskurse der Malern*, was published May 3rd, 1721. The little journal, avowedly an imitation of the English moral weeklies of Steele and Addison, was doomed to be shortlived; its publication ceased within two years. But the very year which witnessed its passing saw the

[1] At the suggestion of Prof. J. A. Walz of Harvard University, the writer several years ago undertook a somewhat detailed study of Bodmer's *Noah*. In the memorial volume *Johann Jakob Bodmer, Denkschrift zum CC. Geburtstag*, Zürich 1900, the same epic is pointed out as a promising subject for investigation.

beginning of another important literary enterprise on the part of Bodmer, for it was in 1723 that he received from his friend Zellweger a copy of the Tonson duodecimo edition of *Paradise Lost*—then "the only copy between the upper Rhine and the Reuss"[2]—which he proceeded to read with the help of merely a Latin–English dictionary,[3] and so fascinated was he by Milton's poetic genius that he forthwith planned a German translation of his biblical epic.

Burying himself in the rural solitude of his Swiss home, he appears to have completed his task by the following year.[4] His translation is in prose.[5] For over seven years it failed of publication, thanks, in part at least, to clerical objection, for by some of his contemporaries the poem was regarded as an all-too "romantic" treatment of so sacred a theme; not until 1732 did it appear in print. At this work Bodmer filed away with a rare assiduity so that, in the course of fifty years, no fewer than four revised editions of his translation came from the press. This prolonged and, to us, almost incredible revisional labor was strikingly paralleled by the indefatigable industry of Bodmer's contemporary Klopstock, who likewise for a period of approximately half a century as conscientiously polished away at his *Messias*.

Despite its many shortcomings we may say that in his prose version of *Paradise Lost* Bodmer acquitted himself in a manner

[2] Cf. G. Jenny: *Miltons Verlornes Paradies in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1890. On page 19 he cites passages from Füssli as they are contained in the *Neues schweizerisches Museum* 1. Jahrgang 1794, page 803.

[3] Cf. *Bodmers persönliche Anekdoten* (ed. by Theodor Vetter) page 36.

[4] In his brief survey "The Relation of English to German Literature in the Eighteenth Century" in Poet Lore 1890, vol. II, O. Seidensticker erroneously states that Bodmer "translated the Paradise Lost in 1732;" the same error is made by Carl Lemcke in his *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung neuerer Zeit* vol. I, page 409. On page 60 of his monograph *Edward Young in Germany* J. L. Kind makes the statement that Bodmer became acquainted with a French translation of *Paradise Lost* in 1719 and prepared his German version from that. On Bodmer's own testimony in his *Anklagung des verderbten Geschmackes* (1728) no French translation was accessible to him in 1719; cf. on this point Hans Bodmer: *Die Anfänge des zürcherischen Milton*, page 183, in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte* (1893) dedicated to Michael Bernays. The first French translation, we may add, appears to have been that of 1727. It was probably a further oversight on the part of Dr. Kind when he gave 1762 as the date of Berge's translation of *Paradise Lost*; that appeared eighty years earlier viz., in 1682.

[5] It is interesting to note that just as Bodmer's version of *Paradise Lost* is in prose, so is Collyer's English translation of Bodmer's *Noah*, London, 1767.

which was not really discreditable for his time, though, as must be admitted, it falls far short of meeting the considerably higher standards of to-day. Needless to state, it was prior to the greatest heat of the literary feud, which Gottsched and his Saxon coterie waged with the Swiss group, that the Saxon leader pronounced Bodmer's translation superior, in some respects, to the original. This dictum is interesting in itself; it happens, however, to recall the recorded judgment of Prof. Klotz to the effect that Ebert's German version of Young's *Night Thoughts* was also superior to *its* original.[6]

Through the medium of Bodmer's translation the theme and the method of *Paradise Lost* made its first and, at the same time, very profound and lasting impression upon the young Klopstock. This is a fact of some literary importance, since Klopstock had not yet adquired the ability to read Milton's masterpiece in the original. Evidence of this as well as of other forms of helpfulness on the part of Bodmer is contained in the following passage which is cited from Klopstock's first letter to him, written under date of August 10th 1748:[7] ". . . ich [muss] Ihnen sagen, dass ich Sie nicht nur verehre, sondern dass ich Sie liebe, und dass Sie, so wenig Sie es selbst wissen mögen, die grössten Verdienste um mich haben. Ich war ein junger Mensch, der seinen Homer und Virgil las, und sich über die kritischen Schriften der Sachsen im Stillen ärgerte, als mir Ihre und Breitingers kritische Schriften in die Hände kamen. Ich las sie nicht nur, sondern ich verschlang sie vielmehr; und wenn mir zur Rechten Homer und Virgil lag, so hatte ich jene zur Linken, um sie immer nachschlagen zu können. Und als Milton, den ich vielleicht ohne Ihre Übersetzung allzuspät zu sehen bekommen hätte, mir in die Hände fiel, fachte er im innersten Grunde das Feuer an, das Homer in mir entzündet hatte, und hob meine Seele, um den Himmel und die Religion zu besingen." Surely, in view of Klopstock's indebtedness to Milton, a tribute of importance. Thus we see that Milton became, in a sense, the

[6] This was the same Klotz to whom Lessing a few years later paid his respects in the *Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts*. In a letter to Nicolai dated Nov. 21, 1768 Herder refers to him disparagingly as "ein zweiter Gottsched."

[7] The German version of the letter is given by Mörikofer in his *Klopstock in Zürich*, page 8 ff.; Mörikofer there points out that the original Latin text of the letter is contained in *Isis*, 1805, vol. I, page 355 ff., a periodical which was not accessible to the present writer.

ideal both of Bodmer and Klopstock, as Molière a little later claimed the admiration of the young Lessing. Bodmer as well as Klopstock rated Milton above Homer; this is due, in part at least, to the fact that both at this time favored religious themes in poetry and regarded moral beauty as one of the chief ends to be furthered by a poetic treatment of virtue and loftiness of sentiment. In other words, not pure, but applied, poetry was their motto. This was also the attitude of Gottsched and, we may add, of Bodmer's friends Sulzer and Breitinger; in fact, it was a view which was then more or less in the air.

Even before the first cantos of Klopstock's *Messias* were published, Bodmer had an opportunity to read certain portions in manuscript, as they were furnished him by his friends Gärtner and Hagedorn. This was in May 1747, and so deeply was he impressed that in the enthusiasm of the moment he declared the very spirit of Milton himself had descended upon the young poet. It seems by no means strange that, after having distinguished himself as a discoverer of Milton, he should have been destined to become also one of the discoverers and earnest champions of the Miltonizing Klopstock. In keeping with his gift for friendship and helpfulness, he accordingly offered Klopstock the hospitality of his quiet Swiss home so that he might, at perfect leisure, devote himself to the furtherance of his religious epic. Though the invitation was accepted, the visit proved less successful than either author had expected. While he regarded himself as Klopstock's mentor and protector, we may be sure that in his heart Bodmer was, at the same time, ready to become in a manner his disciple, for he hoped that his gifted guest would assist him in the literary work which he had at that time upon his desk viz., the biblical epic *Noah.*

Several years prior to this time Bodmer had published a sketch of the poem[8], hoping thereby to enlist the interest of some of the younger men of talent to the point of trying their hand at executing the plan. But now, under the inspiriting effect of the opening cantos of the *Messias*, he himself—he had just passed his fiftieth

[8] Cf. his *Grundriss eines epischen Gedichtes von dem geretteten Noah* in the *Sammlung kritischer, poetischer und anderer geistvollen Schriften.* Viertes Stück. Zürich 1741-2. Possibly Milton's several references to the Flood may have suggested to Bodmer the plan of writing his *Noah.*

year—felt moved to gird up his loins for the ambitious task of writing an epic poem on the theme of the rescued Noah.[9]

We have seen that Bodmer had previously prepared a German version of Milton's masterpiece. Even if no further evidence were available, we should be justified in assuming *a priori* that so interested and so intimate an acquaintance with a work of the length and the distinction of *Paradise Lost* must needs have left its unmistakable influence upon his own biblical epic. And so, in fact, it did. Making due allowance for the personality of authors, the psychology of literary production is frequently to be regarded as more or less the result of suggestion, guidance, and inspiration derived from existing literary works; indeed, at times it is a direct and conscious imitation of models. We know that even so rare an imagination as Milton's had to be set in motion by books. Pursuing this subject a little further we may say that in some cases the influence of one author upon another may be slight, so slight, in fact, as to be a matter of sheer conjecture. Again, in others the influence, though positive enough, may be sporadic. And yet a third type may reveal a perfectly obvious influence upon almost every page. Bodmer clearly belongs to the last group.[10]

The *Noah* appeared in instalments in 1750-1752. In the original sketch of the epic the author refers to a number of scenes and situations in *Paradise Lost* which might be used to advantage. However, if we were to depend exclusively upon such scattered evidence we should have a most inadequate, not to say erroneous, conception of Bodmer's actual indebtedness to Milton. That their themes overlap at certain points might in itself suffice to explain certain general correspondences; it will by no means account for the astounding number both of formal and material parallels which the writer has gleaned and which he hopes some time to publish *in extenso*, together with a considerable body of evidence showing also the influence of many other authors upon Bodmer. By no means all the correspondences between the *Noah* and *Paradise Lost* are of equal obviousness; rather, the resemblances vary from the most definite, palpable sort to a mere subtle agreement

[9] By a singular coincidence Milton produced his *Paradise Lost* at about the same age, being in his fifty-second year when he began his epic.

[10] For an account which will tend to substantiate this statement cf. C. H. Ibershoff: *Dryden's Tempest as a Source of Bodmer's Noah* in Modern Philology, August 1917, pp. 54-61.

in spirit which may be perfectly apparent at a careful reading though, at times, it may be more or less impracticable to point out the common features.

Bodmer, like Milton, took his theme from the "best known book". This fact at once accounts for some of the resemblances, in particular for the common biblical incidents and, in a measure, for the general Old Testament spirit which pervades both epics. At the same time we have here also the key to some of the notable differences between the two poems, for not only did Bodmer and Milton choose for their central epic plan themes which are unlike, but frequently they differed also in their choice of minor matters. And even where the bible was drawn upon for common matter of character or incident, we sometimes find a marked variation of treatment by the two authors.

The theme of Milton's poem is the fall of Man through the sin of Eve. Bodmer's epic, as the title indicates, deals with the story of the Flood and the final rescue of Noah. Both epics are written in a serious religious spirit[11], and in both there is discernible a certain anti-Catholic sentiment. Each poem reflects its author's virtue and piety, and each, moreover, ends in a note of reconciliation and hopefulness. As a minor matter we may note here that Bodmer like Milton, does not disdain to relieve the moral earnestness of his epic by introducing, at one or two points, just a touch of humor. In the Bodmerian as well as in the Miltonian epic we find a marked predilection for the marvelous; though, on the other hand, a love of nature and of idyllic simplicity is likewise reflected in both. That Bodmer's soul did indeed respond to the sounds as well as the silentness of nature is attested by such a passage as the following:

> "Die Stunden
> Flogen mit sanftem Weben vor ihnen, wie Zephire fliegen,
> Stille wie der Wandel des Mondes; Gewühl war ihnen nicht nötig,
> Um ihr Dasein zu fühlen. Noch schallten Stimmen vom Haine,
> Stimmen von rieselnden Quellen."[12]

The figure in the following lines bespeaks the same sense for nature:

[11] In this connection we may recall Voltaire's observation: "La religion . . . est presque toujours le fondement de la poésie épique." Cf. his *Essai sur la poésie épique.*

[12] Cf. the *Noah* ed. of 1765, page 5.

"Sanft, wie zwischen den Ufern bekränzt mit Lilien, die Fluten
Silbern rinnen, so floss vor Jemima der Morgen zum Abend."[13]

Similar evidence of his loving interest in nature is scattered not only through the *Noah* but through other writings of his as well. But strong as is for him the appeal of nature's quiet charms, it is, after all, not equal to that of friendship as appears, for example, from the significant words which he puts into the mouth of one of his characters:

Zwar schön is der tauende Frühlingsmorgen,
Schön ist im Aufgang der Phosphor mit seinem leuchtenden Auge;
Und wie schön sind auch die Geländer mit Blumen gesticket,
Diese Früchte der Zweige mit ihrem wohlreichenden Schmelze;
Aber sind sie so schön wie die Freundschaft der Edelgebornen?[14]

At another time—nor does it surprise us—Bodmer glorifies "herzerquickende Freundschaft" even to the point of classing it with the virtues "die Geist zum göttlichen Ursprunge nähern."[15] To him friendship was a particularly congenial theme, as is evidenced by his frequent reference to it in the *Noah*;[16] in *Paradise Lost*, on the other hand, it yields in relative importance to the subject of divine and human love. This difference is natural enough in view of the fact that a capacity for friendship was one of the outstanding traits of Bodmer's nature, whereas love as a personal factor entered more abundantly into Milton's life. It must be added, however, that with his unmistakable gift for friendship Bodmer combined a pronounced liking for the unruffled quiet and peacefulness of an almost hermit-like seclusion, such a fondness as speaks to us from the following characteristic passage:

Und wisst ihr was Schöners,
Als die ruhige Hoheit des stillen verborgenen Lebens,
Wo der Friede mit seinem beständig grünenden Ölzweig
Eingang und Ausgang krönt?[17]

[13] *Ibid.* page 104.

[14] *Ibid.*, page 94. The phrase "die Geländer mit Blumen gesticket" recalls Milton's

"the violet,
Crocus and hyacinth . . .
Broidered the ground." (P. L. IV 700 ff.)

[15] *Ibid.*, page 20.

[16] Friendship was also a favorite subject of the poet Young, who represents another of Bodmer's sources. For the "Bremer Beiträger" friendship was even a kind of cult, as it was for the members of the "Hainbund," the literary coterie which centred about Klopstock.

[17] *Ibid.*, page 94 f.

Milton's theological interests frequently show through his *Paradise Lost*; from the pages of the *Noah*, however, one easily gathers that Bodmer's concerns, aside from literature, lie more particularly in the realm of history. The didactic element, though present in both epics, comes more to the fore in Bodmer's poem than in Milton's; moreover, Bodmer in his more pronounced moralizing tendency betrays at the same time a stronger leaning toward sentimentalism, thereby identifying himself at once as a true child of his century. Both authors make a very general use of the device of dialogue for presenting their stories, and both are wont to weave lesser episodes and incidents into a larger whole.

Though perhaps not to the same extent as Milton, nevertheless Bodmer too, in his *Noah*, is given to displaying his learning; and like Milton he has been criticized therefor.[18] In a letter to Gleim under date of March 17th, 1751, Ramler writes with reference to a journal to be founded: "Wir wollen mehr als Rezensionen hineintun. Was mir jetzt einfällt. . . . Abhandlung von der Gelehrsamkeit in Gedichten (N. B. dieses ist heimlich wider die letzten Gesänge des Noah)."[19] It is interesting to note that in his translation of *Paradise Lost*[20] Bodmer devotes a lengthy footnote to the

[18] Landor declares of Milton: " . . . he was too fond of showing what he had read." (Cf. the *Works*, London 1876, vol. 8 page 390). In the edition of Milton's *Poetical Works*, Oxford 1824, which is provided with "notes of various authors" we read concerning *Paradise Lost* XI 387 ff.: "And thus he [sc. Milton] surveys the four different parts of the world, but it must be confessed, more with an ostentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem." And in his *Conjectures on Original Composition* the poet Young has this to say: "If Milton had spared some of his learning, his muse would have gained more glory than he would have lost by it." Such criticisms are, we must admit, far from undeserved, since of all great epics *Paradise Lost* is undoubtedly the most learned; indeed, it is Milton's deliberate display of learning which, unfortunately, makes the poem more or less unpalatable to many. If there is a measure of truth in the hyperbole that "*Paradise Lost* is a poem which everybody praises and nobody reads," it is the super-learned character of the work which is, no doubt, largely responsible.

[19] Unless Ramler had an opportunity to see portions of the *Noah* before they were published, his expression "die letzten Gesänge" must have reference to the last cantos which had then appeared, as the complete epic was not published until 1752. The date of the letter appears to be correct; at any rate, it is so given by H. Pröhle in his *Friedrich der Grosse und die deutsche Literatur*, Berlin 1878, page 218, and also by Carl Schüddekopf in his *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler*, 1906 page 290.

[20] Cf. the edition of 1742 page 471 f.

question of Milton's ostentation of learning and on this score constitutes himself the poet's apologist. The note in question reads in part as follows: "Ein episches Gedicht ist nicht für die unwissenden und trägen Köpfe geschrieben. Das befreite Jerusalem und die Henrias selbst, erfordern, wenn sie mit einer völligen Zufriedenheit sollen gelesen werden, eine gewisse vorläuftige Belesenheit, und hätten zum Trost vieler Leute einen guten Ausleger wohl nötig. Es kommt in diesem Stücke bei allen Gedichten von dieser Art nur auf das mindere, und das mehrere an. . . . Es fraget sich hauptsächlich, ob man, wenn man sich in den Stand gesetzet hat, gewisse feine Ausdrückungen, gewisse gelahrte Anzüge zu verstehen, aufrichtig und um sein selbst willen, wohl wünschete, dass das Vergnügen, so man daher empfängt, bei der zweiten Überlesung aus dem Gedichte, als etwas Überflüssiges und Unnötiges weggenommen werde?"

Like Milton, Bodmer sings the praise of liberty,[21] righteousness, the simple life, the beauties of nature, and the glories of the life hereafter; like his English master he introduces angels and devils;[22] like him he traverses the world and soars boldly through space his heavenly cosmography revealing more than one feature of the Miltonian scheme. Again conforming to its English prototype, the *Noah* is divided into twelve parts; however, in point of meter each epic is distinct, for instead of the iambic pentameter, Bodmer chose to cast his epic in the mexameter. After referring to his translation of Pope's *Dunciad*, he writes in a letter to Hagedorn dated September 10th, 1748: "Ich wollte den elfsilbigen Vers in keinem grossen oder ernsthaften Gedichte gebrauchen,[23] seitdem ich die Tüchtigkeit der Hexameter, die Kleist und Klopstock gebrauchen, erkannt habe."[24] Moreover, he had already tried his hand at the hexameter—the rhymed type, to be sure—in his *Charakter der deutschen Gedichte* and his *Drollingerische Muse.*

Throughout the twelve cantos of the *Noah* one is conscious that Bodmer was largely guided by the diction, the epic figures, the

[21] On one single page of the *Noah*—page 301—we come upon no fewer than four references to "Freiheit." Bodmer's republicanism, it is to be noted, is another personal quality which he possessed in common with Milton.

[22] His infernal spirits, however, betray also the influence of Klopstock's *Messias.*

[23] His translation of the *Dunciad* is in blank verse.

[24] Cf. Hagedorn's *Poetische Werke*, Hamburg 1825, Fünfter Teil, page 209.

scenes, the scenery, the episodes, the machinery of the marvelous, the poetic contrasts, and the religious spirit of *Paradise Lost.* Indeed, the imitation in these and still other respects is about as close and frequently, one may well say, as slavish, as was possible to his imitative ability and as was compatible, at the same time, with the difference of his general theme and with his further borrowings from other sources. In general one discerns a determined and sustained effort on his part to equal both the idyllic and the heroic features of Milton's epic. Even on the very last page of his *Noah* his indebtedness to *Paradise Lost* appears, for in the line:

> Die Menschen
> Stiegen von da hinunter, die Erd' in Besitzung zu nehmen."—

there is obviously a reminiscence of Milton's closing passage:

> the hastening Angel caught
> Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
> Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
> To the subjected plain
> The world was all before them.

In view of his extensive indebtedness to Milton the question naturally suggests itself: how did Bodmer manage to borrow such a mass of material from *Paradise Lost* as he actually worked into the fabric of his *Noah.* Did he make excerpts? Probably.[25] But whether he did or not, we may, at any rate, take it for granted that as his poem grew under his hands he made it a practice to get additional hints, both as to form and matter, by re-reading portions of Milton's epic whenever he felt the need. Nor should this method altogether surprize us when we recall that even so gifted a writer as Schiller, while at work, for example, upon his *Jungfrau von Orleans*, was wont to re-read such portions of Shakespeare as he thought might prove of inspirational value for his purpose; however, there is a marked difference to be noted in this connection, for, unlike Bodmer, Schiller possessed the ability to transmute what he borrowed. That, finally, Bodmer's memory contributed some of the parallels between Milton's epic and his own seems likely

[25] Elsewhere the writer hopes to revert to this question and on that occasion intends to cite a passage which he is inclined to regard as virtually Bodmer's veiled confession of such a practice. Further evidence, as will be shown, favors such an assumption, not only with regard to *Paradise Lost* but with reference to many other works as well. On this point, then, the writer takes issue with Hirzel, Cholevius, Baechtold and others.

enough. It is significant that, like Klopstock in his *Messias*, Bodmer assumes the reader's acquaintance with certain episodes of *Paradise Lost.*

Bodmer's unfailing admiration for Milton, it must be admitted, argues a taste for a poet of very high order and that at a time when Milton had not yet, on the Continent, come unto his own. Indeed, in a sense it was none other than Bodmer who discovered Milton for Germany. But that by virtue of his *Noah* he merits, in any legitimate acceptation, the title of continuator of Milton, no one to-day could for a moment seriously maintain. Sitting in judgment upon his epic, as we needs must, we are constrained to admit that, unlike the Miltonian masterpiece, it is not a distinguished performance. Not that the *Noah* is destitute of all merits.[25a] There are occasional passages of at least moderate success such as, for example, certain of the idyllic scenes and then, above all, the picture of the Flood. But where Bodmer signally fails is in the portrayal of his epic characters; in fact, so lacking are they in poetic, convincing individuality that, on the whole, they fail to arouse our sympathy or even to interest us, for the author lacks, to a disappointing degree, the Miltonian wealth and force of plastic imagination. He lacks, moreover, his ease and poise, his majesty of movement, his pregnant utterance, his depth, his ruggedness and beauty of diction. In the *Noah* we miss those life-touches which at once charm and convince, for Bodmer is seriously deficient in aesthetic truth. He is essentially an Intellectual. His is the didactic temper of the critic and the scholar, and it is to his paucity both of poetic ideas and literary power that we must ascribe those stretches of his epic which are distinctly prosaic in spirit and in form. The *Noah* is wanting in refreshing spontaneity; we are conscious of the deliberateness of it all, and we are ever haunted by the conviction that its author is a literary artisan, not an inspired, creative artist. Though the epic gives abundant evidence of Bodmer's wide, assimilated reading, the garnered material is not vitalized—a failure due not only to his inadequate visualizing faculty, but also to the further fact that he does not command the insinuating charm of words which, as in *Paradise Lost*, so stimulates the reader's fancy that it "bodies

[25a] The final word on the labored products of the inveterate poetaster was spoken by Herder in his respectful though essentially depreciative review of Bodmer's *Die Noachide*, published in *Herders Lebensbild* I, 3, 2, p. 147 ff.—Ed.

forth" its own images and visions. Too rarely does the reader of the *Noah* become in even a distant sense "a kind of spectator," as the Addisonian phrase has it.

Compared with *Paradise Lost* the *Noah* is marred at times by a disturbing harshness and angularity of verse, a defect which is probably to be accounted for, in a measure, by Bodmer's deficient musical sense. How different from Milton, whose splendidly harmonious numbers bespeak his sensitive musical ear. It is well known that he was not only endowed with a fine feeling for music but that on the organ he was a performer of no mean ability. Perhaps it will not be forcing the point to say that in Bodmer and Milton we have a twofold confirmation of the saying that music is indeed the mother of poetry. In a word, then, Bodmer lacks all of Milton's poetic distinction. Eager enough he was to attain to the apostolical succession, but his temperamental, shall we say constitutional, incapacity as a poet, together with the immaturity of the German language of his time and its inadequacy as an instrument for the type of heroic poetry which he had set himself to write, proved all too serious handicaps to permit him to realize his fondest dream.

Franz Muncker, in his standard life of Klopstock, makes the unqualified statement that Bodmer esteemed Klopstock "hoch über alle andern Dichter."[26] This pronouncement can hardly be allowed to pass unchallenged. Quite apart from the surprizing extent of his borrowings from Milton, we happen to have it on Bodmer's own personal testimony that of all the works of the moderns he regarded *Paradise Lost* as the unequaled masterpiece, his judgment on this point being recorded in the following passage:[27] "Gleichwie es [viz. *Paradise Lost*] ein Meisterstück des poetischen Geistes ist, und kaum ein höherer Gipfel ist, auf welchen sich das Gemüte des Menschen erheben kann, so kann man aus den Wirkungen, die es tut, einigermassen abnehmen, auf welchen Grad der Geschmack am Vortefflichen bei gewissen Personen, Klassen der Menschen, und ganzen Nationen gestiegen ist. Das Schicksal, welches das verlorne Paradies hier oder dort empfangen hat, ist das Schicksal, welches die Gaben des freiesten Geistes, die schönste Weisheit, und die würdigste Tugend allda empfangen. . . .

[26] Cf. his *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock*, second edition 1900, page 165.

[27] Cf. Mörikofer: *Die schweizerische Literatur* page 90 f.; he quotes from the third edition of Bodmer's translation of *Paradise Lost*.

Wir sind überzeugt, wer wahren Geschmack und einiges Genie hat, wird dieses Gedicht für das beste unter den Werken der Neuern . . . erkennen." [Italics not Bodmer's] Certainly a fine tribute and one that does not fail to reflect high credit upon its author.

Despite his many obvious limitations as a producer of poetry, it must be conceded that Bodmer was an author of serious literary purpose—an author, withal, who, besides being a critic and a patron of literary interests and activities, was in the German literary world of his day and generation to all intents and purposes a pathfinder and a pioneer. Milton, on the other hand—lest that fact be forgotten—had the good fortune to fall heir to the finest of literary traditions and to a language which had, in a sense, attained its flowering. In view of such widely different literary conditions under which Milton and Bodmer lived, moved, and had their being, it is perfectly comprehensible how not only the author of the *Noah* but German writers generally, in the course of the eighteenth century, were pleased to sit at the feet of their English cousins; and thus it was that they became deeply indebted to English literature for inspiration, for matter, and for literary form, just as in the Middle Ages, and subsequently, certain German authors had gone to school to their French *confrères*.

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NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF HERMENEUTICS

Introductory

One of the essential functions of the philologian and the teacher of literature consists in the proper understanding or appreciation of literary productions and of conveying to others the insight thus gained. Yet little or nothing is being done at present for a systematic training in the exercise of this important function. At best the future interpreters of literature, whether teachers or commentators, will follow for better or for worse the example of their teachers who, in all probability themselves had reflected little, if at all, on the fundamental principles of their hermeneutic methods, but had followed certain trends of the times and thus developed a more or less successful dilettantism which could easily be imitated. As a consequence we may observe, for instance, that during the period of the predominance of abstract metaphysics the 'philosophical method' of interpretation came into vogue, while later, with the ascendency of the natural sciences, the 'scientific method' was heralded as the only procedure deserving scholastic recognition.

Soon it was discovered, however, that the application of this method to the problems of language and literature was far from satisfactory, especially as far as the deeper understanding of literature was concerned, and that it resulted in a distinct failure, even in linguistics, if not restricted to mere physiological functions such as those of human speech. The chief reason for this failure must be found in the fact that the final test of the scientific method, the test of the experiment, cannot be applied by the philologian and the historian. Among thoughtful representatives of the mental and historical sciences the conviction has, therefore, been growing for a long time that their methods had followed the lead of the natural sciences altogether too slavishly and needed revision. It became evident not only that the phenomena studied in the two great groups of knowledge differed essentially, but also that the intellectual processes involved in both branches of scientific research were divers in their character.

The mental process by which we obtain knowledge in the mental and historical sciences is commonly called understanding. Applied

to nature the term understanding—interpretatio naturae—can evidently be used only in a metaphorical sense. In its exact meaning it describes the process of recognizing by means of given outward signs a psychic factor. The fundamental importance of this process in our daily intercourse with other individuals will easily be seen. We are aware of their existence through sense impressions such as sounds, gestures and actions, but it is by an act of reconstructing these outward signs and of supplementing them with elements from our own inner life that we come to understand other persons.

It is in the same way that we arrive at the understanding of the manifestations of human life in the past. Upon the comprehension of the relics of these manifestations depend not only our historical consciousness and our insight into the meaning of life as such, but also the progress of our higher civilization. We are thus enabled to resurrect from seeming death and destruction the manifestations of human life in bygone periods, to share this life once more as if it were present and to establish, at least within ourselves, the feeling of its continuity and permanence.

To the paramount significance of the mental process called understanding are due the many attempts to guide and to regulate it by strict rules and thus to secure for its results the force of general validity—attempts which extend from the time of Aristotle to the present and are known by the name of hermeneutics or the art of interpretation. We may therefore define interpretation as the art of understanding and explaining according to rules all manifestations of human life permanently fixed in marble or stone, in colors, in musical tones and in script. If hermeneutics is applied chiefly to the art of interpreting works of literature it is justified by the fact that the human mind has nowhere found an expression as perfect, as exhaustive and as capable of understanding as in literary documents.

At this point, however, the question may suggest itself whether it is possible to obtain exactness of knowledge, such as is claimed by the natural sciences, through a mental process so eminently subjective as that involved in the art of interpretation. Is it not, after all, the interpreter's own spirit in which, according to Goethe's skeptical assertion, bygone periods are *reflected*, while the real spirit of past times remains unattainable?

There are essentially two ways which have been pursued to

arrive at a full and adequate understanding of the manifestations of human life in literature: interpretation proceeding from without inward and interpretation which takes the opposite course. A brief survey of the history of hermeneutics will disclose the fact that up to the time of Herder this opposite method has been the prevailing one. It will show, moreover, that all the efforts which have been made in the course of time to put interpretation on a scientific basis have had as their ultimate aim the establishment of general validity for the hermeneutic operation.

Historical Sketch[1]

The art of hermeneutics which in the mental and historical sciences occupies the same position as is held in the natural sciences by the experiment developed, like the latter, slowly and gradually. It originated, as is generally known, from the needs of school instruction among the Greeks. The Sophists and Rhetoricians were the first to give it a more solid basis for the purposes of Rhetoric. Thus we can easily see why Aristotle, the great classifier and analyser of organic nature, of political bodies and of poetic productions, taught in his Rhetoric how to analyse the whole of a work of literature into its constituent parts, how to distinguish the various forms of style and how to discern the effects of rhythm, of the metaphor and similar literary devices. And in his famous book on poetics he makes it his explicit aim to deduct from the definition of the nature and the aim of poetry its inner and exterior form.

An important further step in the development of the art of interpretation was taken by the philologians of the Alexandrian School who gathered, catalogued and revised critically the literary legacy left us by Greece.

[1] Owing to the vital importance of hermeneutics for Biblical criticism and exegesis, the principles of interpretation and their history have been extensively discussed by theologians with the result that most handbooks of Biblical hermeneutics contain a chapter on its history. Bibliographies of the principal works on this subject are given in the valuable articles on Hermeneutics by T. A. F. Salmond in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and by G. Henrici in Hauck-Herzog's *Realencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. 7. See also W. Dilthey, *Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik* (1900); A. C. Zenos, *The Elements of Higher Criticism*, New York. 1895, and Theodor Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik* Muenchen 1913.

It may be called one of the last and most characteristic creations of the Greek mind: the creation of philology as the art of text revision, of higher criticism and of interpretation. It seems evident that the great representatives of Alexandrian philology, Aristarchus and Hipparchus, begin to become aware of the rules and principles which are at the bottom of their critical operations. Thus Aristarchus in establishing and interpretating the text of Homer's epics consciously follows the principle of basing his work upon a careful study of the Homeric diction. Hipparchus, on the other hand, quite as consciously introduces the literary method by interpreting the "Phainomena" of Aratos from the sources which this poet had used.

This consciousness with regard to the proper method of interpretation which we observe among the Alexandrians was probably increased by their opposition to the grammatical school of Pergamum, the representative of the so-called allegoric method of interpretation. This method had been introduced at Pergamum by Krates of Mallos who, in turn, had learned it from the Stoics. The reason for the popularity and lasting influence of this method of interpretation is to be found in the fact that it attempts to do away with or to adjust the contradictions between the religious documents of former periods and the more enlightened views of later times. While absolutely worthless as such, it has, nevertheless, for obvious reasons, often been a last resort of the interpreters of the Vedas and of Homer as well as to those of the Bible and of the Koran.

The opposition between grammatic and allegoric interpretation seems to have been continued during the early Christian era by the Theological Schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Both schools have their common aim in the demonstration of the existence of an inner connection between the Old Testament prophecies and their fulfillment in the New Testament. While the allegoric method of interpretation was needed as a weapon against the Jewish opponents of the Church, it had to be restricted so far as the Gnostics were concerned because they were carrying it too far. Thus Justin and Irenäus and afterwards Tertullian attempted to fix certain rules for the limited use of the allegoric interpretation. The school of Antioch, on the other hand, interpreted the Bible only according to grammatical and historical principles. Thus Theodorus of Antioch saw in the *Song of Songs* nothing but a

collection of epithalamia or love poems, and in the book of Job he found the poetical version of certain histroical traditions. Quite contrary to him Clement of Alexandria and Origen distinguished between the real and the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures. The result of these various discussions concerning the method of interpretation finally was the establishment of certain rules of hermeneutics by Origen in the fourth book of his περὶ ἀρχῶν and by Augustine in the third book of his "Doctrina christiana."

A great stride in the development of hermeneutics was taken during the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation. More than ever before did interpretation now mean the understanding by grammatical and historical studies of classical and christian antiquity from which the student of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries found himself widely separated by his own language, life and nationality. In many cases interpretation had to deal with literary fragments only, which had the effect of making it creative and constructive in its character. An extensive mass of hermeneutic literature was produced in the four centuries following the Renaissance, among which we may distinguish two great branches of hermeneutics: the classical and the Biblical. Classical interpretation which is treated in numerous essays and prefaces is called "Ars Critica".

It is, however, to Biblical interpretation that we owe the discovery of the true method of hermeneutics which finds its first expression in the famous "Clavis Scripturae sacrae" of M. Flacius, published in 1567. In this book the rules of interpretation thus far established were arranged into a regular system, the author taking it for granted that by the artistic application of these rules an understanding of the scriptures carrying with it general validity could be obtained. An exegesis of all convincing power seemed necessary to Flacius in the religious controversies of his time; it was to furnish him with a weapon to combat the subjectivism of the Anabaptistic claim of the inner light, as well as the Catholic doctrine that the interpretation of the Bible was to be determined by tradition. In his efforts to find an hermeneutic principle of general validity Flacius for the first time introduced the psychological factor into the art of interpretation, claiming that in the exposition of textual difficulties the interpreter, while using all the means of grammatical

explanation at his disposal, must consult above all his own religious experience, in which he has the key to the understanding of the hidden connections of scriptural truth revealed by the Holy Spirit. Discussing this essential element in the hermeneutic operation Flacius says (Clavis, p. 668): "Spiritus Domini est qui primum nos vere cupidos facit veritatis, et hostes errorom, omnisque sophistices, praesertim autem in sacris Liberis ac rebus divinis.

"Accendit fulgentius quoddam lumen in cordibus nostris, ut verum cernere, ac a falso distinguere possimus. Suggerit etiam ac illustrat nobis dicta utilia et cujusque loci aut dubii explicationem atque ita nos inducit in omnem veritatem.

"*Perpetuis spiritualibusque exercitiis illas antea in nobis excitatis et accensas, aut verbo Dei commonstratas notitias, quae antea tantum theoreticae erant, nuncprorsus practicas insitas ac vivas, vigentesque tanquam igniculos quosdam ardentes in corde reddit.*"

The work of Flacius was continued and supplemented during the eighteenth century by scholars such as Baumgarten, Semler and Michaelis, who gradually freed the art of Biblical hermeneutics from the influence of dogmatics and became the founders of the grammatico-historical school of interpretation. The principles of this school found their classical expression in the "Institutio interpretis" of Ernesti, a book which sums up and brings to a close the efforts at establishing a scientific system of hermeneutics beginning with the Renaissance.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the rise of poetic productivity during the eighteenth century was accompanied by careful inquiries into the nature and the functions of the creative faculty of man. English, French and German critics, philosophers and poets, successively, participated in these inquiries with the result that the Aristotelian doctrine of the imitative origin and character of poetry which, in the last analysis, had hitherto governed all aesthetic theorizing as well as all interpretation, no longer was considered tenable and that a new explanation of the aesthetic process was dicovered in the creative ability of the genius. The effect of this new conception of the origin and the nature of poetry upon the art of interpretation seems evident; it is especially noticeable in the work of one of the greatest critics and interpreters of this period and, in fact, of all times: Herder. Endowed with an extraordinary sensibility and irreconcilably opposed to mere abstract reasoning and philosophic "systems", he was one of

the first to recognize the fundamental function of the feeling in the creative act of the imagination as well as in the activity of the critic and the interpreter which he first conceived as an act of re-creating. He was thus enabled to perceive with the most sympathetic ear the original note in the popular poetry of all nations and, with the aid of previous observations of Blackwell, and Hamann to make the far-reaching discovery that the genius of the language of a people is also the genius of its literature. No critic, moreover, had before Herder's time recognized, as clearly as he did, what afterwards came to be called the *milieu* in literature.

Stimulating and productive in their effect upon the art of interpretation as were the ideas which Herder with an abundant hand had scattered throughout his critical and historical essays, he neither had the patience nor the interest to comprehend them in a system of hermeneutics. This was accomplished by Friedrich Schleiermacher whose many-sided activity may be said to have been in more than one way the culmination of the critical and philosophical movements of his time.

As an interpreter Schleiermacher had felt the influence of Winckelmann and especially of Herder,[2] as also that of Heyne and Friedrich August Wolf, the great philologians, who in their special field had already applied successfully the new aesthetic and hermeneutic principles established by the former critics. With this philological and literary training Schleiermacher, as a devoted student of Kant and Schiller, combined the keen method of philosophical thinking which had led him to assume in the activity of the poet a creative faculty, independent of his consciousness.

At best, hermeneutics had, up to Schleiermacher's time, been a system of rules the parts of which, i.e. the single rules, had been held together by the aim of giving an interpretation of general validity. The various functions of the interpreter, all of which had this same general aim in view, had been divided into grammatical, historical, logical and aesthetic interpretation. Schleiermacher went back of these rules to the analysis of the process of understanding, deducing from the results gained thereby the possibility

[2] A comprehensive study of Scheiermscher's obvious indebtedness to Herder has, strange to say, not yet been written. For a brief discussion of some of the essential points of contact between the two masterminds see the excellent treatise *Herder und Schleiermachers Reden über die Religion*, by L. Goebel, Gotha 1904.

of an interpretation of general validity, of its means, its rules and its limits.

Understanding is essentially a process of reconstructing and re-creating, closely related to the creative act in the poet. In the true comprehension and vivid conception of the creative act by which a great work of literature is produced, Schleiermacher sees the condition for the comprehension of the second act, i.e. the process of understanding from scriptural signs the whole of a literary product and from this whole the intention and character of its author.

This new conception of hermeneutics is, of course, due to new psychological and historical views. The old conception of the poetic process which had governed interpreters since the time of the Greek rhetoricians and which is still held by many at the present time, is, in the last analysis, to be considered a mechanical one. According to this conception the creative process is mainly a logical procedure, the product of which shows logical connection and logical order. This logical skeleton is afterwards dressed up by the poet, like the dummy in the show window, with the figures of speech and other traditional embellishments of style.

How essentially different from this traditional view is the conception of the creative process discovered by the critics and poets of the eighteenth century and now adopted by Schleiermacher! It is the conception of a creative faculty which is unconscious of its activity. In it the act of conceiving a work of literature is inseparable from the act of putting it into literary shape. Hence the individuality of the author will disclose itself in every word, and it will find its most perfect expression in the inner as well as in the exterior form of his work.

Although we have Schleiermacher's hermeneutics only in the incomplete form of notes which he prepared for his lectures and which were afterwards published with the notes taken by his students little has since been written which can compare with this work.[3]

[3] *Hermeneutik and Kritik* von Friedrich Schleiermacher, aus Schleiermachers handschriftlichem Nachlass und nachgeschriebenen Vorlesungen herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Lücke, Berlin 1838. There seems to be no question that the foremost English critic and interpreter of literature of the 19th century, Thomas Carlysle, was deeply influenced by the principles of hermeneutics introduced by Herder and Schleiermacher. Unfortunately this influence is not sufficiently recognized in F. W. Roe's otherwise meritorious monograph, *Carlysle as a Critic of Literature*, New York 1910.

Even the famous chapter on hermeneutics in Boeckh's *Encyclopaedie und Methodologie der klassischen Wissenschaften* is, on the whole, a repetition of Schleiermacher's ideas, not to mention the various books on theological hermeneutics, both in English and German, which have drawn upon the same ideas. Nor is there any doubt in my mind that the exhaustive psychological analysis of the poetic process, contained in W. Dilthey's famous treatise *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters, Bausteine für eine Poetik* (1886) is based upon the foundations laid by Schleiermacher.

In the following pages I shall attempt to give a short summary of the principles of hermeneutics, supplementing Schleiermacher's sketch by suggestions of my own.

The Principles of Hermeneutics

The interpretation of literary works is the artistic development of the process of understanding which takes place in the comprehension of all spoken or written words. The process of understanding consists of two elements: the understanding of speech as a part of language and as a product of thought. Both factors of understanding, which may be called the grammatical and the psychological, do not take place separately but are in reality a single function. The individual is dependent in his thinking on common language, he can think such thoughts only as already have found their signification in his language. Our thinking is an inner or silent speaking. On the other hand we can understand a work of literature only as a product of the entire life of the writer, which again must be explained by the knowledge of the entirety of the surroundings in which the speaker lives, his nationality and his time.[4]

The art of understanding and interpretation is called hermeneutics. It is based upon the successful practice of the talent for language and upon the knowledge of human nature.[5] The funda-

[4] Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik*, p. 13: Eben so ist jede Rede immer nur zu verstehen aus dem ganzen Leben, dem sie angehört, d.h. da jede Rede nur als Lebensmoment des Redenden in der Bedingtheit aller seiner Lebensmomente erkennbar ist, und dies nur aus der Gesammtheit seiner Umgebungen, wodurch seine Entwicklung und sein Fortbestehen bestimmt werden, so ist jeder Redende nur verstehbar durch seine Nationalität und sein Zeitalter.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 17: Das Sprachtalent ist nun wieder ein zwiefaches. Der Verkehr der Menschen geht von der Muttersprache aus, kann sich aber auch auf eine andere erstrecken. Darin liegt die Duplicität des Sprachtalents. Das

mental presupposition for the exercise of these talents is contained in the essential unity and community of human thinking and of human life.[6] It is from this fact that the possibility of an interpretation of general validity can be deduced. According to the nature of understanding, the individualities of the interpreter and of the author are not two incomparable quantities. Both have developed upon the common basis of human nature and the differences in individuals are differences not of quality but of degrees in the intellectual processes. Thus the interpreter by placing himself, for a test as it were, in certain historical conditions can accentuate and increase some of his intellectual processes while he lets others rest, and in this way he may bring about the reconstruction of the life of other individuals.

This reconstruction of a given discourse or literary work presupposes historical knowledge as well as the gift of divination. Historical knowledge because it is necessary to understand a work of literature as a part of the totality of the language of the author, divination because it is necessary to understand the work as a product of the inner life of the author. The latter can, however, not be done without an insight into the creative process by which a work of literature is produced. No one is qualified to interpret literature who is lacking this insight into the psychology of the poet.

Since the creative process is, so far as the poet or author is concerned, an unconscious process, it is the ultimate aim of inter-

comparative Auffassen der Sprachen in ihren Differenzen, das extensive Sprachtalent, ist verschieden von dem Eindringen in das Innere der Sprache in Beziehung auf das Denken, dem intensiven Sprachtalent. Dies ist das Talent des eigentlichen Sprachforschers. Beide sind notwendig, aber fast nie vereinigt in einem und demselben Subject, sie müssen sich also in verschiedenen gegenseitig ergänzen. Das Talent der Menschenkenntniss zerfällt auch in zwei. Viele Menschen können die Einzelheiten Anderer leicht comparativ in ihren Verschiedenheiten auffassen. Dies (extensive) Talent kann die Handlungsweise Anderer leicht nach, ja auch vorkonstruiren. Aber ein anderes Talent ist das Verstehen der eigentümlichen Bedeutung eines Menschen und seiner Eigentümlichkeiten im Verhältniss zum Begriff des Menschen. Dies (das intensive Talent) geht in die Tiefe. Beide sind notwendig, aber selten verbunden, müssen sich also gegenseitig ergänzen.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 25: In dem Maasse in welchem das Denken eins ist giebt as auch eine Identität der Sprachen. . . . Ebenso auf der psychologischen Seite. In dem Maasse als das menschliche Leben ein und dasselbe ist unterliegt jede Rede als Lebensakt des Einzelnen den allgemeinen hermeneutischen Regeln.

pretation to understand the author better than he could possibly have understood himself.[7] This, however, can only be accomplished if we restore within ourselves the original relations between the author and his hearers or readers. As soon as the knowledge of these relations, of the circle of life or the milieu in which the author lived and moved is wanting, the result will be inevitable misunderstanding. A discussion of the origin and nature of misunderstanding will aid us in the comprehension of true understanding.

Misunderstanding is the result either of hastiness and superficiality or of prejudice and bias. While the former may be corrected the latter is a deeply rooted defect. Being the one-sided predeliction for the interpreter's own ideas, the latter will interpret into the author what is not contained in him.

Misunderstanding is either qualitative or quantitative, a misapprehension either of contents or of emphasis and intention. The misunderstanding of the contents shows itself, for example, in the confounding of the meaning of a word or of is relations to other words. The misunderstanding of the tone and intention of the author, on the other hand, manifests itself, for example, in the misapprehension of the force and emphasis which the author gave to certain parts of speech. It is from the latter misunderstanding that the former, the misapprehension of the contents, usually arises. An example from Düntzer' well known *Erläuterungen zu den deutschen Classikern*, a collection of commentaries in which the editors of German texts not infrequently have sought refuge and comfort in their hermeneutic troubles, will illustrate what I have said about misunderstanding. I take, for the sake of brevity, Düntzer's interpretation of one of the shorter poems of Goethe, the "Königlich Gebet":

Ha, ich bin der Herr der Welt! mich lieben
Die Edlen, die mir dienen.
Ha, ich bin der Herr der Welt! ich liebe
Die Edlen, denen ich gebiete.
O gieb mir, Gott im Himmel! dass ich mich
Der Höh und Liebe nicht überhebe.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 32: Die Aufgabe ist auch so auszudrücken, die Rede zuerst eben so gut und dann besser zu verstehen als ihr Urheber. Denn weil wir keine unmittelbare Kenntniss dessen haben, was in ihm ist, so müssen wir vieles zum Bewustsein su bringen suchen was ihm unbewusst bleiben kann, ausser soiern er selbst reflektirend sein eigner Leser wird. Auf der objectiven Seite hat er auch hier keine andern Data als wir.

The poem is a product of Goethe's storm and stress period, one of those short "morning prayers" of which he writes occasionally to Frau von Stein. What Goethe meant by "Königlich Gebet" and by "ich bin der Herr der Welt" discloses itself if we remember how, during the time of the storm and stress period, he becomes conscious of the intellectual and moral leadership that had fallen to him. He feels himself not only a prophet but also a ruler or a prince as, for example, in the original version of "Schwager Chronos." Likewise in the famous soliloquy "Forest and Cavern" Faust-Goethe extols the earth-spirit for having given him the "kingdom" of nature for his domain. The "Edlen" who serve him and whom he leads and rules are those who follow and aid him in the regeneration of the world. Following the example of Klopstock who uses the word "Edle" for the first time in this sense, he also calls his followers and helpers his congregation:

> Meine Freunde
> Sind aus einer Mittelzeit,
> Eine schöne *Gemeinde*;
> Weit und breit,
> Auch entfernt,
> Haben sie von mir gelernt.

That Goethe was considered the leader and "King" by the young generation is evident from a passage in a letter of Lavater: "He could be a king if he wished." How he, on the other hand, in deep humility tried to become worthy of the responsibility of his leadership, may be seen from an entry in his diary of that time: "I must become master of myself. Only he who practices absolute self-denial is worthy of leadership and able to lead." With the confidence of authoritativeness Düntzer interprets this poem briefly as follows: "The verses, written in the years 1774 or 1775, emphasize that only mutual love between a prince and his subjects can preserve the state."

A more deliciously shallow and ridiculous misunderstanding cannot be imagined. Not only does he miss the motive which prompted the poet to write these lines but he also misunderstands the personal accent which Goethe lays upon such words as "Herr der Welt", "Königlich", and "Edle". In place of the poet's real meaning and intention Düntzer substitutes his own shallow notion that "only mutual love between a prince and his subjects can preserve the state," and the result is that he cannot see the personal

force in Goethe's language. I need not add that by substituing his own abstract notion Düntzter shows a deplorable ignorance of the poetical process.

It is evident from what has been said that we must distinguish in the process of hermeneutics between grammatical and psychological interpretation. Schleiermacher has treated these two sides of interpretation in two special chapters and his observations seem to me fundamental and lasting. I shall confine myself in the following to a brief summary of the chief rules of interpretation as outlined by him.

a. Grammatical Interpretation

Whatever is to be explained in a work of literature must be explained from the language which the author and his hearers or readers had in common.[8] The knowledge of this common language by which we understand the dialect and the history of certain forms of diction at certain periods, must be gained by an extensive reading of the literature of such periods, and not only from lexicons during the process of interpretation.[9] Careful attention must be given to the new word formations of an author, which are not taken from common language.[10] It is necessary not only to distinguish between the real and the metaphorical meaning of words but also to go back to the original meaning of a word and to follow the subsequent history of its meaning.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 41: Alles was noch einer näheren Bestimmung bedarf in einer gegebenen Rede, darf nur aus dem Verfasser und seinem ursprünglichen Publikum gemeinsamen Sprachgebiet bestimmt werden.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 33: Der Sprachschatz und die Geschichte des Zeitalters eines Verfassers verhalten sich wie das Ganze aus welchem seine Schriften als das Einzelne müssen verstanden werden und jenes wieder aus ihm.

Überall ist das vollkommene Wissen in diesem scheinbaren Kreise, dass jedes Besondere nur aus dem Allgemeinen, dessen Teil es ist, verstanden werden kann und umgekehrt. Und jedes Wissen ist nur wissenschaftlich, wenn es so gebildet ist.

Wenn die Kenntniss des bestimmten Sprachschatzes erst während des Auslegens durch lexikalische Hülfe und durch einzelne Bemerkung zusammengerafft werden soll, kann keine selbständige Auslegung entstehen.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 44: So lange die Sprache lebt, werden neue Ausdrücke gemacht . . . Sobald uns entgeht, dass der Verfasser etwas neues Sprachliches gebildet hat, so verstehen wir ihn nicht vollkommen in Beziehung auf die Sprache; es kommt etwas nicht in unser Bewusstsein, was in dem Bewusstsein des Verfassers war. Dasselbe gilt von ganzen Phrasen.

This original unity of the meaning of a word always governs the author, whether he is conscious of it or not, and it is impossible to arrive at a true interpretation of an author if the interpreter has not restored for himself the original unity of meaning.[11] The concrete and sensual meaning is always the original meaning of words.[12] If we desire to obtain an exact understanding of an author it is necessary to know with what degree of vivacity and force he produced his expressions and how much of his inner life they contain.[13] This is true especially of the newly coined expressions of an author which have an accent and tone of color quite different from that of words and expressions that have been in use for a long time.[14]

What is true of single words is true also of the connection of words in sentences. The knowledge of the syntactical usage of an author is as necessary as the knowledge of his vocabulary. The meaning of a word frequently depends also upon the connection in which it is used, and it is here where the importance of parallel passages, not only from the same author but also from others, can be seen.[15]

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 50: Das ganze Verhältniss der eigentlichen und uneigentlichen Bedeutung beruht auf dem der Analogie und der Parallelisirung der Dinge. Verkenne ich bei der Auslegung das Bildliche, Emphatische einer Bezeichnung, so entsteht ein quantitatives Missverständniss. Nun hat freilich die lexikalische Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Gebrauchsweisen ihre Bequemlichkeit. Aber zum Verständniss einer Schrift gelangt man nicht, ohne zur Einheit gelangt zu sein, denn diese hat immer den Schrifsteller beherrscht, wenn er sich auch keine Rechenschaft davon zu geben vermochte.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 51: Versteht man unter sinnlichem, was durch die äussere Wahrnehmung entsteht und unter geistigem, was durch die innere, so ist diess einseitig, denn alle ursprüngliche Wahrnehmung ist eine innere. Aber wohl ist nichts *abstraktes* ursprünglich in der Sprache, sondern das *concrete*.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 52: Wollen wir nun *genau* verstehen, so müssen wir wissen mit welchem Grade von Lebendigkeit der Redende seine Ausdrücke hervorgebracht und was sie, in dieser *Innerlichkeit* betrachtet, für ihn beschlossen halten. *Denn nur auf diese Weise finden wir den Process des Denkens.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 52: Denn ein Ausdruck dessen ich mich als eines neuen bewusst bin, der hat einen Accent, eine Emphasis, einen Farbenton ganz anderer Art, als dessen ich mich als eines abgegriffenen Zeichens bediene. Dazu gehört die Kenntniss der ganzen Sprache und ihrer Geschichte und das Verhältniss des Schrifstellers zu derselben.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 70: Die Erweiterung des Kanons, welche im zu Hülfe nehmen der Parallelstellen liegt, ist nur scheinbar, und der Gebrauch der Parallelen wird durch den Kanon begrenzt. Denn nur das ist eine parallele Stelle, welche

While the grammatical interpretation thus proceeds to understand the language of an author from single words to the most complicated syntactic constructions, the psychological interpretation aims at an understanding of the productive process in the mind of the author.

b. Psychological Interpretation

The first aim of the psychological interpretation is to comprehend the unity of a work and the principal features of its composition. By the unity of the work we understand the final motive or impulse which actuated the author; by the principal features of the composition we understand the individuality of the author as it reveals itself in the impulse.[16]

The final aim of the psychological interpretation is to understand the totality of the work in all its parts.[17] It may also be defined as a perfect understanding of style. By style we do not mean only the exterior literary form of a work as it is expressed in language, but also the inner form which shows itself in the peculiar conception and arrangement of the subject matter.[18] This distinction between the inner and exterior form of a work of literature is one of the greatest importance in Schleiermacher's hermeneutics.

Before the psychological interpretation can begin, however, we must know how the author came to choose his subject matter and in what state he found the language and literature of his nation

in Beziehung auf die vorgefundene Schwierigkeit als identisch mit dem Satze selbst, also in der Einheit des Zusammenhanges kann gedacht werden.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 143: Der gemeinsame Anfang für diese Seite der Auslegung und die grammatische ist die allgemeine Übersicht, welche die Einheit des Werkes und die Hauptzüge der Composition auffasst. Aber die Einheit des Werkes, das Thema, wird hier angesehen als das den Schreibenden *bewegende Princip*, und die Grundzüge der Composition als *seine in jener Bewegung sich offenbarende eigenthümliche Natur*.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 144: Das letzte Ziel der psychologischen (technischen) Auslegung ist auch nichts anderes, als der entwickelte Anfang, nämlich das Ganze der Tat in seinen Teilen und in jedem Teile wieder den Stoff als das Bewegende und die Form als die durch den Stoff bewegte Natur anzuschauen.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 145: Das ganze Ziel ist zu bezeichnen als vollkommenes Verstehen des Styls. Gewohnt sind wir unter Styl nur die Behandlung der Sprache zu verstehen. Allein Gedanke und Sprache gehen überall ineinander über, und die eigentümliche Art den Gegenstand aufzufassen geht in die Anordnung und somit auch in die Sprachbehandlung über.

at his time. It is necessary, furthermore, to inform ourselves as much as possible about everything that may throw light on the character and individuality of the writer.

The methods which are employed by the psychological interpretation are the divinitory and the comparative methods which, however, must not be separated from each other.[19] What means do we have for the understanding of a work of literature as a product of the inner life of the author? The answer to this question may be found by going back to the relation of speaker and hearer in conversation. If the manner of thinking of both is the same and both speak the same language, they will understand each other at once. The understanding will, however, not result spontaneously if both differ essentially in their mode of thought. Here the difficult problem arises of entering into the understanding of the nature of and the reasons for the differences between speaker and hearer. Although in conversation, with its free production and loose connection of thought, the individuality of the speaker can be understood with comparative ease, it is far more difficult to understand the individuality of the author from his written work. In the latter the connection of the thoughts is determined by a certain aim or purpose and the result of the whole production is the result of premeditation, of method and technique. Psychological interpretation must therefore be divided into psychological interpretation proper and technical interpretation.

It is the business of the former to understand the original impulse of the writer from his individuality, the origin of his

[19] *Ibid*, 146: Für das ganze Geschäft giebt es vom ersten Anfang an zwei Methoden, die divinatorische und die comparative, welche aber, wie sie auf einander zurückweisen, auch nicht dürfen von einander getrennt werden.

Die divinatorische ist die, welche indem man sich selbst gleichsam in den andern verwandelt, das individuelle unmittelbar aufzufassen sucht. Die comparative setzt erst den zu verstehenden als ein allgemeines, und findet dann das Eigentümliche, indem mit andern unter demselben allgemeinen befassten verglichen wird. Jenes ist die weibliche Stärke in der Menschenkenntniss, dieses die männliche.

Beide weisen auf einander zurück, denn die erste beruht zunächst darauf, dass jeder Mensch ausser dem dass er selbst ein eigentümlicher ist eine Empfänglichkeit für alle andere hat. Allein dieses selbst scheint nur darauf zn beruhen, dass jeder von jedem ein Minimum in sich trägt, und die Divinatiou wird sonach aufgeregt durch Vergleichung mit sich selbst.

thoughts from the totality of his life.[20] For this purpose the study of the letters, diaries and memoirs of the writer are invaluable owing to their directness and to their lack of premeditated art. The less artistic form they show the more they reflect the author's individuality. Moreover, the more minutely I know the writer's mode of thinking and his entire store of thoughts and feelings, the more easy it will be for me to overcome the difference between his ways of thinking and my own.[21]

The aim of technical interpretation, on the other hand, is to trace back the author's work to the point where he began to meditate on the original impulse and to choose the method of representation. While the meditation of the author refers to the conscious development of all the elements contained in the original unconscious impulse or conception of a work, the composition refers to the method of arranging the single parts of a work, or the expression in literary form of the contents developed by meditation. Again the individuality of an author will reveal itself in both processes. It is by the reconstruction of the form of the meditation of an author that I can decide whether certain writings which have been handed down under his name are genuine or not. On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance to understand the principle which guided the author in the process of composition, his method and aim of representing to his readers or hearers the contents of his work. This does not exclude the free play of the imagination which Schleiermacher, like Schiller, ascribes to the creative act. "Everywhere," he says, "even in the realm of philosophy there is a free play of thoughts, preparatory to and

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 152: Der relative Gegensatz des rein Psychologischen und Technischen ist bestimmter so zu fassen, dass der erste sich mehr auf das Entstehen der Gedanken aus der Gesammtheit der Lebensmomente des Individuums bezieht, das zweite mehr ein Zurückführen ist auf ein bestimmtes Denken und Darstellenwollen, woraus sich Reihen entwickeln. Am nächsten kommen sich beide Seiten, wenn ein Darstellenwollen, ein Entschluss nur festgehalten und die gelegentliche Wirksamkeit abgewartet wird. Aber in ihrem Unterschiede ist das technische das Verstehen der Meditation und das der Composition, das psychologische das Verstehen der Einfälle, unter welchen auch die Grundgedanken mit zu begreifen sind, aus welchen sich ganze Reihen entwickeln, und das Verstehen der Nebengedanken.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 152: Je genauer ich das Vorstellungsmaterial des Andern kenne, desto leichter werde ich die Differenz zwischen seiner und meiner Denkweise überwinden und umgekehrt. Wenn ich mir die eine Bedingung vollkommen erfüllt denke, muss die andere dadurch zugleich erfüllt werden.

preceding artistic production." And again, "poetry is thinking with the freedom of play:" Die Poesie ist das Denken in seinem freien Spiel.

Since it is the aim of the psychological and technical interpretation to understand the thoughts of an author, not in relation to our own thoughts but as his own productions, it is necessary to know the relation between the act of meditation and composition in the mind of the writer. A full understanding of these hidden processes, the very secret of the productive activity, can only be gained if we ourselves have tried our hand at the higher form of literary composition.[22] I shall attempt to explain it by one of Goethe's lyric poems, "Schäfers Klagelied."

Da droben auf jenem Berge,
Da steh' ich tausendmal,
An meinem Stabe gebogen
Und schaue hinab in das Thal.

Dann folg' ich der weidenden Herde,
Mein Hündchen bewahret mir sie;
Ich bin herunter gekommen
Und weiss doch selber nicht wie.

Da stehet von schönen Blumen
Die ganze Wiese so voll;
Ich breche sie, ohne zu wissen,
Wem ich sie geben soll.

Und Regen, Sturm und Gewitter
Verpass' ich unter dem Baum.
Die Thüre dort bleibet verschlossen;
Doch alles ist leider ein Traum.

Es stehet ein Regenbogen
Wohl über jenem Haus!
Sie ist aber weggezogen
Und weit in das Land hinaus.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 205: Um aber in diesem Sinne die hermeneutische Aufgabe zu lösen, muss man vor Allem das Verhältniss zwischen der Meditation und Composition des Schrifstellers zu erkennen suchen. Wir fangen an mit der allgemeinen Übersicht. Aber wie können wir daraus den inneren Process des Schrifstellers verstehen? Durch Beobachtung. Diese aber hat ihren Halt in der Selbstbeobachtung. Man muss selbst in der Meditation und Composition versirt sein, um die eines Andern verstehen zu können.

Hinaus in das Land und weiter,
Vielleicht gar über die See.—
Vorüber, ihr Schafe, vorüber!
Dem Schäfer ist gar so weh.

The poet's original impulse is to be found in the mood resulting from the experience of the woes of disappointed love. This, however, is not expressed directly in the poem. A special investigation would have to show whether the shepherd was suggested to Goethe by the folk song or by other sources, or whether this figure arose before the poet's vision simultaneously with the first impulse. If the latter was the case it does not follow that the whole series of pictures in which we see the shepherd was the product of the same instant. To be sure, the feeling knows of no other expression than that of the image, the picture, yet the shepherd's descent from the hill, the picking of flowers, the stopping under the tree, all of which is an unconscious repetition of what he did so often, and, finally, the rainbow over the house of his love give evidence of the process of meditation by which Goethe, allowing the imagination seemingly free play, evolved the various scenes from the original vision of the unfortunate shepherd. The arranging of the various scenes for the purpose of representation, their expression in rhythm and verse is the second act, the act of composition. The process of composition in this case is determined by the form of lyric poetry, and the questions arise to what extent did the composition influence the meditation and how much was there in the poet's thoughts which is not contained in the final form of the poem. There are cases in which the second version of a poem differs essentially from the original draft, and it is possible to gain an insight into the poet's workshop by a comparison of both versions. In the case of the poem before us there is no such second version. We can, however, still see how the unlimited play of the poet's imagination was guided by the secret purpose of showing us how the shepherd, lost in his woeful thoughts, unconsciously takes his way in the direction of the former abode of his lost love. While we are thus able to reconstruct for ourselves the two processes of meditation and composition, the poem as such shows no trace whatsoever of the two processes. Content and form are in absolute harmony, and wherever we find this harmony the greatest perfection of art, the classical, is realized.

In closing this short summary of the history and principles of hermeneutics I hope to have succeeded in showing the possibility of attaining exact knowledge in the mental sciences without the aid of the scientific or laboratory methods. Such knowledge is possible of attainment chiefly because we are able to reproduce in our own inner experience, which constitutes the only reality immediately perceptible to us, the phenomena we study. This cannot be said of the mental process involved in the scientific experiment as the phenomena of nature are, after all, only the pictures of reality *reflected* in our consciousness.

I hope to have succeeded also in demonstrating that the study and interpretation of literature without the basis of philological training is as ineffective and futile as is, on the other hand, the study of philology without the aid of the psychology of poetry.

Whenever in history we notice a revival of the mental and historical sciences we also observe a renewed interest in the study of hermeneutics, the key to the fairyland where the eternal values of life have their abode. Here, oblivious to the limitations with which time—our present time—has encompassed us, we behold, as Herder pointed out, the pulsating heart of distant and present civilizations, and are enabled to assimilate their strength and greatness and to enjoy their charm and beauty.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

CHAUCER AND HIS POETRY. By George Lyman Kittredge Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915. 230 pp.

SHAKSPERE. By George Lyman Kittredge. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916. 54 pp.

It was but yesterday that scientific scholarship in the field of literary study was enjoying all the benefits of candid criticism from its dearest foes. Among the critics were persons of more or less light and leading; but for every one of these there were fifty of lesser breed, including those who had either failed in their doctor's examinations or who had had so close a call that they burned with angry resentment against the whole system that had grudgingly awarded them the prize. All of these more or less innocently swelled the cry against what they called philology, while the hunted philologist, though in no particular danger, felt himself distracted by this rumor of many tongues, which like Virgil's *Fama* seemed to acquire strength by going.

Long before the hunt was up it appeared that the hunters were after big game. No less a person than the author of the volumes before us was often alluded to as a kind of black magician, who through his unholy traffic with the Dark Ages had corrupted the youth of our graduate schools. *Socrates accusatus est quod corrumperet juventutem.* Almost every week the ideologists of the Nation shied their critical pebbles at him. When they became instrumental, they played upon a harp of two strings. Kittredge, it appeared, had never had an "idea," and Kittredge was an unimaginative mediaevalist. He had, too, somehow experienced a sharp distaste for humanism, at the very moment, we were left to suppose, when he was reading Plato with his feet on the fender. The full indictment the pedant-magician might seem to have met rather queerly by shifting his shape under the noses of his critics from that of a philologist to that of a literary critic.

As a matter of fact we have Professor Kittredge here in his customary habit. In the first place, he has always been a literary critic. Those who think otherwise do not know where to look for his criticism. Some of it—very condensed—has been set up in eight-point type and relegated to the footnotes of scientific articles; a considerable body of it appeared in the form of unsigned reviews in the columns of the Nation during the palmy days of that weekly; a still larger portion of it has been delivered orally to more than one generation of Harvard students. The hostility to "ideas" which has appeared in all this criticism knows no truce in the volumes before us. At the very beginning of the book on Chaucer, the author kills two or three of them at a pot shot:

Chaucer is not naif and he is not quaint. How the book can make headway without such mainstays of literary criticism is no doubt the first question a reviewer should raise.

Professor Kittredge's method is at bottom simple, if somewhat austere. He asks the question, What is true? and then he stays for answer. Like Seneca he seems to think it unmanly to gather nosegays, and like Socrates he is more interested in truth than in himself. He can not get away from a feeling that the facts have a right to be heard. "Was Chaucer in the House of Fame inventing, or was he, as poets do, converting familiar material to novel uses? This is not a trivial question—no mere frivolous conundrum for erudite and impertinent pedantry." And, then, what did Chaucer mean to his contemporaries? Such close-range questions should be asked "at the threshold" of literary study. "If there is an inner shrine, we must enter it through the portal of the obvious."

A critic who thus keeps his feet on the earth can hardly be expected to participate in the aerial conflicts of realists and romanticists. "Realism is only a fragment of life, or of poetry. It needs its complement, or the world is nothing but prose. To debate their comparative excellence is the very pedantry of literary criticism; to settle the question and fulminate against the other side, is the crackling of thorns under a pot." At this point we can imagine many critics of the nobler sort closing the volume on Chaucer once for all. Should they then turn to the Shakspere lecture, they should not overlook the following condemnation of Professor Kittredge out of his own mouth: "I have neither conceit enough to fancy that I can say anything new; nor stodginess enough to rehearse old saws with the self-conviction of Sir Oracle, nor sophistry enough to turn commonplaces into paradoxes by standing them on their heads; nor enough of the philosopher or the modern critic in me to parade them as novelties by draping their shrunk shanks in the ample robes of an esoteric jargon."

Professor Kittredge's understanding of the critic's function may be found at page 16 of the book on Shakspere. "His primal duty," he there declares, is "to understand." Our critic accordingly always stands within the danger of Chaucer and Shakspere, and brings his opinions to the bar of their texts. "This requires some self-control, lest the disciple mistake himself for the Master. The temptation is almost compulsive, now and then, to close the book and dream away at a tangent, unaware that one has left the track." The critic, however, "must never close the book until he is sure that he has read to the end. For it is Shakspere that he professes, and he should keep the faith."

Like him or not, we have here a rare instance of a literary critic who gives his author a chance. As a result there emerge an authentic Chaucer and Shakspere. The legendary poet, naif and shy, gives way to a man who has "a strong sense of fact," a man

who "always knew what he was about," who had as an element in his nature "the thought that life and love and happiness are transitory." Chaucer is "the great sympathetic ironist;" "he took his religion seriously;" he "found no answer to the puzzle of life but in truth and courage and beauty and belief in God." Like Geoffrey Chaucer, William Shakspere was an "Englishman of the most thorough and indubitable breed;" he "could enter at will into the thoughts and feelings of a wide range of human beings in a multitude of experiences, and under circumstances of infinite variety and then he could make them speak . . . as they would have spoken if they had been Shakspere." "In addition he had the gift of poetry." "He had learned the trade or art or craft of bringing plays to pass." So much is verifiable. For the rest, "the real Shakspere is somehow latent in his plays: but "how is one to extract him?" "How shall we tackle this stupendous problem in biochemistry?"

Professor Kittredge, then, is interested in portraying his poets only in so far as they stand revealed to the clear eye of an instructed criticism. To their work he applies simple and familiar principles of analysis. The poet's utterance is conditioned by the literary form in which his thought is cast, by the language which in his time was spoken, and by the life of his period. Shakspere spoke Elizabethan English, breathed the liberal air of Elizabethan thought, and imposed upon his work certain restrictions of contemporary dramatic literature. Language, literary type, and the times are the critic's points of reference, if his concern is to understand Shakspere and Chaucer rather than to quote them to his purpose. The rules as Kittredge understands them in their breach and their observance are set forth in characteristically sinewy English in the Shakspere lecture. This little volume is really an essay in criticism of the kind for which the Harvard school of English scholarship has resolutely stood. Unregenerate souls will find here more than one awful warning and example.

The higher uses of the much derided *quellen forschungen* appear in the second chapter of the Chaucer volume. This contribution to Chaucer criticism reminds us of the saying of an American essayist—to be original one must be thorough. The interpretation of the mood as well as the technique of the *Book of the Duchess* is based squarely upon a detailed examination of its sources. Only in a knowledge of what Chaucer has borrowed can we understand what Chaucer has achieved. Froissart and Machault were, indeed, more than mere quarries for poetic phrase and formula. The English poet had a sense for the texture and the color of their mediaeval tapestry, which appears when we put side by side the fabric of his verse and of theirs. That he had too a taste of his own becomes a matter of definite conviction rather than pleasant assumption as we study in his sources accepted and rejected details. Treading

the firm ground of ascertained fact, Kittredge has restored to its rightful place a beautiful English elegy, which lazy and light-hearted critics long ago threw on the scrap heap of the "merely conventional." *Lumen siccum optima anima.*

If the chapter on the *Book of the Duchess* justifies source studies on the ground of literary appreciation, that on the *House of Fame* is valuable for its recognition of the character of the poet, revealed in the very words of his poem, as a controlling consideration in the task of interpretation. This sort of criticism needs of course to be instructed and judicious. Like intelligent study of sources it presents its references and reasons for its faith. The happy result is that the poem is left in the hands of Chaucer as something delightfully his.

In the following lecture on the *Troilus*, the literary conventions of courtly poetry give us the clew to an understanding of Chaucer's meaning. With such a reference it becomes impossible to regard Cressida as the adventuress, or one whose character suffers deterioration in her love for Troilus. To wrest the story, so to speak, out of its context in time, is an act of violence, to which many misunderstandings are due. A necessary equipment for the critic is to know the lore of courtly love, the doctrine of love out of marriage and of the place of sexual passion in moral development. The concluding lectures on the *Canterbury Tales* are as liberal as their theme. The critic follows the course of the work with the liveliest appreciation of every dramatic detail, letting moot questions go in the interest of a full and sympathetic understanding. Here as in the other lectures Kittredge shows an ability not only to enter into the past but to bring it up to the present. While he carefully avoids confusing the critical issue by imposing modern views of life upon a mediaeval story, he illustrates by modern instances the human heritage which we share with Chaucer.

Professor Kittredge's *Shakspere* and *Chaucer* are both devotional and doctrinal. But it is the critical doctrine of the books that should be emphasized. This teaches the verbal inspiration of the poet. Any young medium reporting private messages from Shakspere or Chaucer should be confronted with the Shaksperean or Chaucerian Scripture. Evidently, too, our critic believes in interpreting what might be called the larger language of literature, the language of literary convention, the accepted ideas of the particular genre, dramatic, or other, the accustomed motif and point of view. But nobody knows better than Professor Kittredge that these are but means to an end; what he calls the portal to the inner shrine. That he has dwelt within this inner shrine, nobody who knows anything about him can for a moment doubt.

H. S. V. Jones.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER IN GERMAN LITERATURE With Special Reference to the Period 1770-1800. By Oscar Helmuth Werner, Ph.D. New York, Columbia University Press, 1917. VIII+127 pp. $1.00 net.

Some time in May of the current year middle western papers carried a news item telling of a girl who had to face the jury for having killed her new-born babe. The trial but rehearsed the age-old story. In fact, there was scarcely anything new or peculiar about the case except the verdict, which was unanimous acquittal. The girl had concealed her condition until the last day and had resumed work the day after the tragedy. Her martyrdom for months previous and the wretched state in which she appeared before her judges made it plain that justice no longer had any claim upon her.

We have here an illustration showing how completely the views have changed regarding a crime which for centuries has been looked upon as one of the blackest that could be committed. The subject of unmarried motherhood, to state it broadly, has of late years attracted the widest attention in circles of social reformers and legislators, both in this country and abroad. In Europe the Woman's Movement, once the inequity of archaic laws and customs had become apparent, took it upon itself to bring about a new distribution of responsibilities more compatible with social justice. Its first signal success was achieved in France when in 1913 the French Senate abrogated that notorious paragraph of the Code Napoléon, "*La recherche de la paternité est interdite.*" In Norway the victory was even more sweeping, the Storthing in 1915 decreeing that henceforward children born out of wedlock shall enjoy the same family and inheritance rights as legitimate children. The principle underlying this legislation is evidently to regard marriage as consummated as soon as a child is born, or is expected to be born, to a couple. The aim, then, is to keep the parents of the child together by depriving them (especially the father) of any advantages possibly accruing from separation. The responsibility of parenthood is thereby placed squarely upon the shoulders of man and woman alike; self-discipline, the basis of citizenship in any democratic country, is hoped for as a result. At any rate it would seem that the unmarried Norwegian mother could ultimately still maintain herself on the level of a divorcee or even of a deserted wife. Whatever we may think of such race-policy, the fact remains that modern society strives to preserve in each single case two of its members, the unfortunate mother who might otherwise come to utter ruin, and the innocent child for whose murder there can not now be the slightest impulsion.

One might muse a long while over the question how it has come about that 'modern society' has any use for a kind of individual for whom our forebears not so many generations ago could hardly invent a punishment cruel enough. But we touch upon the modern

aspect of the problem only to point out that there *is* a distinct present-day interest involved in any study that has unmarried motherhood for its subject. Dr. O. H. Werner, whose task it has been to investigate the social and literary background of the *Gretchen-Tragödie* in Goethe's *Faust*, is well aware of this, as his preface and also his treatment of the material clearly indicate.

To most of us the fate of Goethe's Gretchen is so intricately interwoven with the development of Faust himself, her tragedy exhausts its subject so completely, that we easily overlook the social problem involved in it. This may in some measure account for the fact that up to the present the question just what standing the mother of a fatherless child had in the eighteenth-century society, what punishment awaited her if she killed her child, has received but scant critical attention on the part of literary historians. This in spite of the enormous popularity which, as everybody knows, any novel or drama dealing with inter-class love commanded in the pre-revolutionary age. To give an idea of the extent of the field to be covered, we wish to quote from Dr. Werner's "Introduction" in which the public interest generally attaching to the theme in Germany during the Storm and Stress period is briefly outlined. The author formulates his questions as follows (p. 11):

"To what state of public opinion on the subject of child-murder did Goethe address himself? If that opinion was hard and cruel as compared with that of our own time, to what is the fact due? What were its antecedents in social and religious usage, in legislation and in the administration of the law? When did the revolt against the inhuman treatment of unmarried mothers set in, what form did it take, who were its leaders, and what its effects? Finally, I shall discuss more fully than has been done hitherto the poems, plays, and novels which deal with the subject and reflect the changing phases of public opinion with regard to it."

Accordingly we have the chapters: (I) "Traditional Status of the Unmarried Mother" (pp. 12-39); (II) "The Humanitarian Revolt of the Eighteenth Century" (pp. 40-68); (III) "The Literary Reflex of the Revolt in the Storm and Stress Period" (pp. 69-104); and "Concluding Observations" (pp. 105-111).

The author begins his study with "the first stage of the evolution of the human race" and goes on setting forth the doctrines regarding sex relations as developed by the early Christian church and the Fathers, in contradistinction to which the laws and customs of pagan peoples subsequently converted to Christianity are described. Naturally the procedure tends to take a rather summary course, and we may doubt if the variegated material on hand dealing with these matters is already sufficiently sifted and organized to allow of such simplification. The axis around which the whole question revolves is given in the sentence (p. 25): "I know of no more terrible page in history than the attempt of the church through

canon and civil law to define marriage and to stamp out a delict which it made possible by its definition." The contention is here that the church by its strict enforcement of monogamy, while failing to improve the morals of the male part of the population, was really responsible for the increasing numbers of 'unmarried mothers' with all the contempt implied by the term; that consequently the church was also responsible for all the crimes by which the unhappy girls tried outwardly to conform to its demands: concealment of pregnancy, abortion, infanticide.

These are extremely hard roads to travel. The whole argument involves a tacit consideration of 'what would have happened *if*,' to wit, if the church had simply conformed to the laws and customs of the newly converted peoples, as it did in so many other respects. Let us grant for the moment that the pagan world which the church set out to conquer was, as regards sex questions, in a state of natural equilibrium. But did not the structure of this society change completely with the advancing centuries? And if there was room enough in the social systems of the old Roman Empire and of the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons for legal concubinage, does this prove that provision should have been made for it in the statutes of any subsequent generation? The fact is that economically and socially the later Middle Ages present a picture altogether different from that revealed, e.g., in the *leges barbarorum*. We simply cannot conceive, however, of the conditions of these people in any forms but those actually studied in history. The question, then, is really this: Could this society have safely existed after fully absorbing the Christian teachings of the day, without any remodeling of its ancient marriage laws? Or, from another point of view: If monogamy was to come into its own, were there any other intermediate stages possible in the development but just those under attack, church or no church? The ultimate answer to both questions will probably be that the mind of medieval peoples should have been different in many other and the most decisive respects, if we want to reply in the affirmative. Most likely, however, that they knew better what they were about than we ever shall with all our historic intuition. An historian should never forget, certainly not when dealing with questions of such sweeping importance, that it is simply incredibly difficult to visualize a past so far removed from our own age as is this, expecting to do justice to all the forces at work in it.

The relative strength of traditional forces on the one hand, and of material conditions of existence on the other in determining the attitude of a people toward all questions of social interest is just what we should like to know a great deal more about before we go ahead. The worst of it is we cannot even keep the two factors from becoming intermixed. Naturally we stand aghast when we contemplate the terrible penalties that the law had in store for the

child-murderess up to the eighteenth century: drowning, empaling, burning and burying alive, because we unconsciously transfer both crime and punishment to our own environments. But when those laws took shape, it was firmly believed by both legislators and those who were legislated on that the soul of a child that died unbaptized (which would be the case under the circumstances) lost its claim to salvation. Was it not an unpardonable sin, in an age when a thief was hanged, to bring such a fate upon anybody—an innocent babe, at that? And how could the church humanely have evaded the issue—since admitting that any soul might go to heaven without baptism would of necessity have unraveled the whole texture of the creed? If Christianity was or had to be adopted, in the shape which it had assumed by that time, these doctrines had to be adopted too. No referring back to Christ (as Dr. Werner does in and between the lines) could have altered the situation; where was Christ save in the doctrines of the church? Logics were terribly primitive in those days, and since the true factors moving at the bottom of Life were not known, terribly binding too, binding for a thousand years or more to come, binding to the last conclusions that could be squeezed out of the once-granted premises, while in the meantime tradition had made the most horrible caricatures of justice appear as the normal status. The big difference between the pagan beliefs and the new faith was that Christianity was a religion of salvation, making this salvation dependent upon the convert's submission to a distinct set of ceremonies and an acceptance of certain well-defined formulas of creed. Ceremonies occasioned by the birth of an infant in the pagan world had determined the earthly life or death of the new-born, but not its life to come.

It was the passing of this mechanistic conception of Christianity which, in the eighteenth century, made possible a reform of the laws pertaining to infanticide. Of course, the dynamic factors by which the disappearance of this conception was brought about, economic changes and, accompanying them, a gradual loosening of old social bonds and fetters, the advance of science, a deeper penetration of the phenomena of human life, also contributed their share directly to the solution of the problem. Thus it is perfectly legitimate to ascribe the reform simply to the Humanitarian Revolt which was at the same time the outgrowth and the conscious expression of the new situation in its totality.

Our author does not enter into a discussion of these aspects of the development, but he does give us a lucid exposition of the facts of the case as he found them, and of the attitude of the contemporaries toward them. In his second chapter he deals with the problem as it appeared in Germany in the last decades of the century. Seemingly 'unmarried motherhood' was everywhere on the increase. Inflated prosperity (after the Seven Years' War),

the rise of the theatre, university morals, the privileges of the nobility, and especially the prevailing army system which condemned soldiers to celibacy, are blamed as the chief causes of the evil.[1] Was it really that conditions had never been worse before? We must not forget that then for the first time in history something like what we call public opinion began to take shape in Germany; naturally topics of this type were the first to be seized upon inasmuch as their treatment, while of universal appeal, could least be objected to by the political authorities. Thus the question suggests itself whether in reality the impassioned discussion which now broke loose in all quarters was not simply a manifestation of the newly awakened public conscience. The author leaves it to his readers to judge for themselves; the material submitted, though necessarily condensed, is abundant and illustrative. In this connection the greatest interest probably attaches to the Mannheim prize of one hundred ducates offered by von Dalberg in 1781 for the best answer to the question, "What are the best and most practicable means to eradicate infanticide without promoting prostitution?" Some hundreds of answers poured in, three of the best shared the prize, dozens were published. Did these publications effect any change?

To be sure, something had been done for the unmarried mother in the meantime, the edicts of Frederick the Great of 1756 and 1765 touching us as the first breath of a spirit of humanity that has not died since. Yet in many states there still was the church penance, and wherever even that was abolished the situation remained desperate enough. It was simply the situation of which Goethe, with a few strokes, has drawn such an overpowering picture in *Faust*: respectable people (Gretchen included) knew, or thought they knew, only too well that it was from the ranks of these girls that prostitution continually recruited itself afresh. Hence, e.g., the wrath of Miller in *Kabale und Liebe* when informed of the young aristocrat's love for his daughter, no matter how idealistic; there was no other end to such affairs. On the other hand, there was the girl, knowing what was to be her fate among her family and friends if she was ever found out: virtue, honor, the respect of people, her chance of marriage, even the chance of decently earning a living—all gone forever. That to a troubled state of mind infanticide should appear as the only way out, is only too natural. At any rate we may understand how the enormity of the crime was outweighed in the girl's mind by the consequences of a confession. Whether there is a final solution to the problem at all remains to be seen, in spite of Norway. In Goethe's day it was about the most hopeless subject that could be discussed, as all the testimonies, all

[1] Dr. Werner here utilizes Lenz's essay *Über die Soldatenehen*, written 1773/6 but not published until 1914. (Leipzig, ed. by Karl Freye.)

the views and opinions expressed by conservatives and reformers which Dr. Werner records, prove to conviction. About as many remedies suggested as writers interested, and not one of them able to do more than replace an old evil by a new one. This is really the background of the famous line,

"*Der Menschheit ganzer Jammer fasst mich an,*"

symbolizing, as it does, in Gretchen's fate the tragical limitation of human nature in all its complexity.

It is necessary to be acquainted with this state of affairs, if we want to understand the extent and the kind of popularity which the theme then enjoyed in literary circles. Any attempt at a reform of the social status of the unfortunates had to start in the sphere of literature, thus, in the Age of Pedagogy, necessarily assuming didactic form. This did not mean teaching in abstract terms of law and theology, but by the living picture on the stage, by the ever-remembered words of a song, a ballad. The success of the method is shown by Bürger's "Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhain," which Brentano discovered scarcely a generation later reshaped into a living folksong. Of the imaginative literature evoked by this situation we gain a comprehensive view in Dr. Werner's third chapter. The author judiciously omitted everything that did not obviously come under his prime caption. The motif is really under the surface in a host of productions, to name only one as illustration, in Goethe's ballad fragment "*Es war ein Knabe frech genung . .* " However, one may well claim that only a slight unfocusing might have blurred the whole picture. Dr. Werner reviews his field by going over all the sub-motifs that are discovered in the treatment of 'unmarried motherhood': the forsaken girl, hatred and jealousy, fear of shame, ridicule of parents and of the world, the blustering father, dark outlook for the child's future, emphasis by the church on virginity at marriage, despair, popular superstitions, the hell-motif, the 'eternal feminine.' That almost all of these motifs have a direct bearing upon each other is a fact to which the author calls due attention.

Preceding this discussion, however, purpose and style of this literature are looked into. The point that interests us chiefly is the 'naturalism' of the day. The author shows a judgment at least independent in sentences like this, "Erich Schmidt would be quite right in condemning the use of so much crass realism were it not for the conscious attempt to apply the *Abschreckungstheorie.*" In proof of this contention ("a conscious attempt") he gives various quotations which seem quite convincing; only the passage taken from a letter of Bürger's "—scenes which will make your hair stand on end," is hardly well chosen. Bürger's attitude is far better accounted for by the democratic element in his makeup. One might question whether this didacticism was a real incen-

tive or rather an excuse, a point which could only be decided on biographical grounds. Aside from this, however, we must not overlook the fact that the habitual modes of thinking, ways of expression etc. of a generation may continue in force long after the disappearance of the interest that originally called them into being. Forms of presentation always exist in us in the larger aspect more or less conventionalized, simply because ordinarily they become ingrained in us long before any creative instincts become articulate. The real dynamic behind a given production, sub- and semi-conscious reactions of a mind upon a changed situation, may be totally different from the factors that first molded the form, and the treatment of a subject is a 'form.' Thus here, too, we would after all rather speak of a didacticism at last come to life, fired with imagination, nay, with the spirit of revolt, carried along by all the creative fervor of the young geniuses who had come under the spell of Shakespeare, Shakespeare in German prose.

Such didacticism let loose upon such a subject, with the 'tragedy from civil life' in vogue everywhere, was bound to provoke at least some performances evidently crude and absurd. To say this and to illustrate it might have been sufficient. Unfortunately Dr. Werner does not avoid the shoals of a rather extensive esthetic discussion. Strange to say he views his material wholly from an absolute standpoint, which is here, to say the least, superfluous. Even more strange, he simply applies the ancient formula of ἔλεος καὶ φόβος to judge drama and ballads alike. Now this formula, backed by the authority of Lessing, certainly held sway throughout the period—and had its share just as certainly in producing all the shortcomings of the Storm and Stress drama which the author tries to bring to light by using it as a touchstone. He admits (p. 74) that practically all the writers succeeded in arousing pity, while he is inclined to believe that for fear they purposely substituted horror and disgust. We know what the latter are, terms taken from our every-day vocabulary; the Aristotelian 'fear,' however, is a great deal more perplexing to us and, maybe, to the author too, since he handles it entirely on a level with horror, disgust, and pity.

We find the result of such loose thinking on page 75, in a footnote. Here the author tries to vindicate Gretchen's innocence in granting that fateful permission to Faust, by referring to the well-known institution called in German *Probenacht*, in French *nuit dépreuve*, etc. Says Dr. Werner: ". . If conception resulted and the lover was honorable, legal marriage followed. The danger of the custom lay in the lover's being of a frivolous or vicious mind and his refusal to accept the social consequences of his paternity Faust proved to be a lover of the latter type—hence the tragedy of Gretchen." But to begin with, the custom existed (and exists) only in rural communities where for a number of reasons it is of importance to know before marriage whether a girl can have issue or

not. Cathedrals are not found in villages. Secondly, the incident with Bärbelchen testifies strictly against the assumption, so does Valentin's wrath, etc. etc. Goethe gives the complete explanation of Gretchen's conduct in one line, "*Was tu ich nicht um deinetwillen?*." The motive is as simple as it is typical. Gretchen knows that she is doing wrong ("*Das ist des Landes nicht der Brauch*"); it is only her boundless love that makes her sacrifice—and her sin—appear to her as negligible. She *is* innocent in a higher sense, because she consciously anticipates no other pleasure than making her lover happy. This is exactly where the tragical element enters, in this case of a purely ethical stamp, the motif: "How can good come to be evil?" If Dr. Werner's *aperçu* were to apply, the natural tragedy of anything beautiful destroyed would be left in Gretchen's fate, but nothing humanly tragical. 'Pity and fear,' to be sure, would be aroused anyway, but the point is that 'fear' and 'pity,' without the addition of long footnotes, are at best inadequate expressions of some emotional by-products of the tragedy; the melodramas of Iffland and Kotzebue are based exclusively upon them. We may now reflect whether, by any miracle of an abstract definition, the two terms could ever be made to go to the bottom of what we experience as 'tragical.'

We should hardly have paid so much attention to this point, if Dr. Werner did not wind up his whole book with a panegyric on the time-worn *Schönfärberei*: "the province of art is to attract, to ennoble, to lift up, to emphasize the beautiful, not to repel, to drag down, to debase, to stress the horrible," etc. (p. 111). Whatever is true in this is a truism, but it is not the whole truth. The method of the Storm and Stress movement was, if not the best, the most effective way to wean the public away from the complacency and self-satisfaction of the old rationalism: only in this fashion could it be prepared for the maturer works of Schiller and of Goethe. For the historian (and we are here dealing with an historical sketch) it is important to recognize the intrinsic necessity of the development in its various aspects, whilst he gladly leaves it to the philosopher to determine and characterize our own esthetic attitude toward it, in the proper place.

In the reviewer's opinion, these are not exactly minor points; but they may be left out of consideration just because Dr. Werner's interest is sociological rather than literary. In his concluding remarks he summarizes the effect which the Humanitarian Revolt at length had upon penal and social legislation. The establishment of new orphanages, maternity houses, homes of refuge, etc., are traced back by the author to the public interest aroused in these problems by the literature which they in turn had first evoked. Society slowly began to assume its modern appearance. While infanticide became more and more obsolete, other aspects of the problem only came into better view. If the author carries out his

intention, mentioned in the "Preface," of pursuing his study of the subject in German life and literature up to the present day, he will find ample material.

In regard to matters of form it may be said that hardly any misprints have been noticed in the English text; there are a few others, none of them of consequence. E.g., the use of capitals in books is different in German from the system which is here—inconsistently—followed; hyphens are often omitted where needed in German; Schlözer's *Staatsanzeigen* and the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* are preferably quoted as here given. The whole paragraph "Writers of this period . . ." on page 96 belongs to page 98, so as to precede the paragraph "Jung-Stilling in . . ."

The index (pp. 124-127) lists authors and periodicals while omitting titles of poems and dramas, etc.; to give, however, simply the names of Bürger, Goethe, Lenz, and others, with a score or more page-numbers following them, is of hardly any practical value. The bibliography (pp. 112-123) might well be the pride of its compiler; it contains approximately one hundred and fifty titles, of which eighty-five percent bear an eighteenth-century date. Almost all of these books and pamphlets were obtained in this country. The books bearing upon the origins and early development of human marriage, etc., are on the whole not relisted, but must be found in the footnotes. Evidently the author has not here tried to give the whole amount of his reading, a discreet "etc." (p. 18) veiling all titles that seem missing.

Quotations are ample, judiciously chosen, and well condensed. With a few unexplained exceptions (pp. 64, 88, 89) all those in prose are given in English translation, which brings the book within easy reach of anybody who may take a purely sociological interest. The author does not disdain to make ample reference to facts of which his reader had better be reminded although the student of German literature may be well conversant with them. Finally, Dr. Werner is to be congratulated on his fluent and lucid style which makes his work an attractive and readable little book.

H. W. Nordmeyer.

La Salle, Ill.



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